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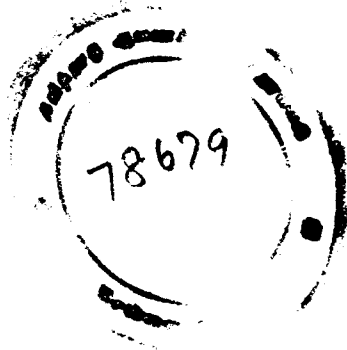
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JANUARY, 1937

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ADMINISTRATION IN INDO-CHINA WITH INDIAN COMPARISONS

BY MONSIEUR C. A. LE NEVEU

(Director-General of the Union Coloniale Française.)

THERE are honours one feels all the more that they are so un-merited as to cover the recipient with confusion. That which was conferred upon me when I was asked to deliver a lecture before the East India Association is so evidently one of them that elementary wisdom should have prompted me to decline it. When it was made clear that the lecture not only was to be on "French Administration in Indo-China," but that "some comparisons should be drawn with British administration in India," there is no doubt that my acceptance was a sign of being struck with dementia. I realize that I am entangled in one of the innumerable intricacies which will face me all along. Comparisons are practically impossible between the systems—or shall we say the systems *and* traditions?—of two different nations.

What I mean is that there is no common measure—that is, no means of comparison—between French administration in Indo-China and British administration in India, for the simple and decisive reason that our administration overseas is, quite naturally, derived from our home laws and customs, whereas you, quite as naturally, remain imbued with your national principles and traditions whenever you transplant British administrative policy abroad.

This is so self-evident that those who drafted the Covenant, and who had the power, and perhaps the desire, to establish a uniform system of administration for mandated territories, deliberately abstained from doing so. Article 22 merely refers to "principles,"

2 *Administration in Indo-China with Indian Comparisons*

and, provided they are respected or enforced, Mandatory Powers remain perfectly free to choose the methods of administration they prefer, or are best prepared to apply; in point of fact: those in which their Civil Servants have been trained. I believe, moreover, that all who have studied comparatively French and British colonial institutions are agreed on the impossibility of assimilating one to the other.

INDO-CHINA

I am here, however, to speak on Administration in Indo-China, "with Indian comparisons." Before comparing, it is as well to know how each element stands. My first task is to make clear to a British audience, more versed than I am in Asiatic affairs, that administration in Indo-China bears, in most respects, the mark of French "genius" inasmuch as it is permeated with the spirit that pervades our characteristic methods and procedures.

This may be emphasized in a few words: by status the Governor-General of Indo-China is "the depository of the powers of the Republic." Practically, therefore, a similitude seems to exist with India, where all the territories under British control are vested in His Majesty, and all the powers of the Viceroy are exercised in his name. It is, of course, only so in appearance. The entity known as Indo-China, which comprises the colony of Cochin China, the Protectorates of Tonking, Annam and Cambodia, the territory of Laos and the small territory of Kwang Tchu Wan, is far less intricate than India, with its British provinces and its Indian States or Agencies, its innumerable Princes and Chiefs. The fact that there are in Annam a French concession (Tourane) and a province (Darlac), two concessions in Tonking (Hanoi and Haiphong) and a territory in Cambodia (Battambang), which are under the direct rule of a French official, makes in itself a poor semblance of the mosaic that exists in India. The complexity of administration it entails is such that the Viceroy, as befits his very title, has to depend upon diplomacy as much as, if not more than, upon administrative ability.

In the eyes of French public opinion, Indo-China is a vast colony, of twenty-two million inhabitants, occupying, between

India and China, a territory equal in size to France and Belgium combined. Such a simple conception is a sure sign that the average Frenchman does not differentiate between the colony of Cochin China and the Protectorates of Cambodia and Annam. As a matter of fact, not infrequently does one hear of the Member of Parliament returned by the electorate of Cochin China referred to as the "Deputy for Indo-China."

When differences were settled between the French Government and the Emperor of Annam, Cochin China was ceded to France in full sovereignty and was at once given the status of a colony. It was our first step into the peninsula, and the word colony, which was then—the 'sixties—in general use for designating an establishment overseas, became all the more usual and set in our vocabulary. Later—for the first time in 1887—the trend in French colonial policy matured in the formation of an "Indo-Chinese Union," with a Governor-General directly responsible for the policy of all the provinces under his Government. In fact, however, the status of each of these provinces was maintained.

The occupation of Cochin China led to difficulties with the Emperor of Annam, which ended with the establishment, by successive treaties, of France's protectorate of Cambodia (in 1863), Tonking (in 1884) and Annam itself (in 1886). The Laos territory was later (in 1893) also placed under French protectorate, as also the independent State of Luang Prabang within that territory. Kwang Tchu Wan was leased from China in 1898.

There is, then, a Governor-General, responsible for the administration of at least five different countries, each having a separate status, recognized by treaty, which necessitates a varied administration, and yet all forming an administrative "union," that of Indo-China. To understand its organization, it is best to analyze briefly the chief elements of each component, and to see afterwards how the authority of the super-government is exercised on the whole.

COCHIN CHINA

Cochin China, being a colony proper—that is, a country with no remains of a government of its own—is under direct French administration. At the head is a Governor, who is appointed by

the French Government, but is primarily responsible to the Governor-General. Each of the twenty provinces is under an "Administrator of the Civil Service." To avoid repetition, let me say now that the system is the same for the thirteen provinces of Cambodia, those of Tonking (twenty-three), those of Annam (sixteen) and the ten provinces of Laos. In the colony of Cochin China, however, this civil servant is called "Administrator of the Province," whereas in Cambodia, Annam and Tonking he is "Administrator-Resident in the Province of . . ." which indicates clearly that he is to supervise local administration under the indirect rule system, and not to govern. In Laos, they are "Administrator-Commissary for the Government," another term to differentiate indirect, as against direct government.

The Governor of Cochin China is assisted by two councils: a Privy Council and a Colonial Council. I find it difficult to explain the composition and the rôle of such councils for the simple reason that, here again, words have not the same meaning in your system as in ours. The mere enumeration of titles may convey a misleading idea, because you are naturally apt to endow each with a part which they do not always play in our administration, although they are fully entitled to it in your own.

Let us simply note, therefore, that in the Privy Council the Governor, who presides, is assisted by five of the highest officials of the colony, including the Attorney-General, and by two French citizens and two indigenous "notables." Those four non-official members are appointed for two years (together with a substitute for each, who sits in their place in case of need) by the Governor-General, on their nomination by the Governor. It is a purely consultative body, the opinion of which must, however, be sought in some definite matters, financial, fiscal and administrative. It is a permanent body in this sense, that it meets at any time it is summoned by the Governor, and its deliberations are valid only if *all* members (or their substitutes) are present. A majority is necessary to carry a vote.

The Privy Council may be taken as being a sort of Cabinet except for the presence of four non-official members in which the Governor is able to hear opinions on which to sanction his

own decision—although it may be that his opinion is probably formed before he convenes the body he must consult. The Colonial Council, on the other hand, may seem a step forward towards local government as you understand it. I hazard this remark with great reluctance. I have lived long enough in your country in the past to know how you feel about franchise, local government and Parliament. However casual may have been my studies, if I may call them such, of the ways in which, and the tenacity and sincerity with which, you have carried those ideals with you to your possessions overseas, as if they were—and I believe they are—second nature for you, I am really most embarrassed at the mere idea of presenting our institutions under the angle at which you are accustomed to see your own.

PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

I may recall what I said at the beginning on the difficulty of comparing things which are not comparable. If we go to the root of things, I hope, speaking of Parliament, I am not committing a crime of lèse-patriotism in stating bluntly that, although we are supposed to have imported into France the system or the idea of Parliamentary government, we have applied it in such a way as to make it unrecognizable. And yet, as words have their meanings, and each individual or each nation will give them the sense they are best used to, when you read news of our political activities, you do so with an involuntary distortion of facts, which is apt to be erratic if not unjust. We are sinners, too, in the same way, and I am not complaining. Let me recall, as an illustration, the way in which a good and commonplace gesture has been misrepresented when transported and transplanted into an alien land. Some years ago it transpired that traffic was better regulated in London than in Paris and some official was sent over here to study matters. He was, no doubt, struck with the way your admirable policeman gently waved his hand to indicate the way was clear and to invite traffic to proceed. This was carefully noted, imported home, where it became part and parcel of the instructions of the Paris "agent." But alas, within a day, if not within an hour, the temperament of the Paris policeman had the better of

him, and soon the calm movement of the hand, which was expected to do wonders, as in London, degenerated into a nervous, rapid gesture, accompanied by blasts of a whistle, urging, nay, demanding, rushing response, whereas wary haste only was necessary.

COCHIN CHINA ELECTORATE

Has this trivial but inoffensive recollection helped to illustrate my point? And may I now proceed to explain how, under French administration, Cochin China must have followed an evolution which can only be understood if looked at from a French angle?

The Colonial Council in Cochin China is "representative" in this sense, that no official receiving a salary from the local or the metropolitan government is eligible. There are twenty-four members in all, twelve of them French citizens and twelve natives. They are all elected for four years.

The electorate is different for the French and for the native members. Each French male citizen, of full age, with at least one year's residence in Cochin China, has a vote. A naturalized native or his issue may, however, opt for the native electorate, but in so doing he bars himself for some time from subsequent inclusion in the French electorate.

Besides the ten members so returned, the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Agriculture each elects two members who must be of French nationality. Any French citizen (apart from the Civil Servants in active service, as previously noted) who has a vote is eligible, provided he is not less than 25 years of age and is a resident in Cochin China of at least two years' standing.

The native electorate is derived practically from the "système censitaire" which was the rule in France until 1848. In short, natives of 25 years of age and above, who either pay a minimum tax of \$20 a year, hold a licence as merchants, or a "certificate" acknowledging some schooling, who are members of chambers of commerce or agriculture, active or retired officials, chiefs and notables, etc., have a vote. Any voter is eligible, provided he is at least 30 years old and has a sufficient knowledge of the French language. As with French members, no native is eligible if he is

a paid official on active service. Two natives are returned, as are the French, by the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture.

The members elect their own chairman, two deputy-chairmen and two secretaries. The Governor has always the right to be present at the meetings which, moreover, are public, unless necessity demands debating a subject *in camera*.

The Council meets once a year for a maximum period of twenty days, and the meeting is convened by the Governor. But there is a Permanent Committee, which is elected among the Councillors, comprising from five to seven members, two of whom must be natives, and which assists the Governor during the interval between sessions.

COUNCIL RULES

The Colonial Council is legislative, representative and consultative, according to the questions it deals with.

1. Estimates are submitted to the Council, and they may be passed with or without amendments, provided, however, (a) the Budget be balanced and (b) "obligatory expenditure" is passed, such as arrears of public debt.

2. The Council passes all *direct* taxation, subject to the approval of the Governor. Should this be refused, a second reading is requested and, should this not be sanctioned by a satisfactory vote, direct taxes continue to be levied for another year under the system or assessment previously passed by the Council.

3. It legislates on other matters, provided only that its decisions are not in contradiction to existing provisions of French law.

4. It is consulted *compulsorily* on certain matters which have no bearing on economic or financial policy—for example, education.

Each Administrator-Chief of a province is similarly assisted by a Provincial Council, but one composed of natives only, elected in the same way and under the same system as are the native members of the Colonial Council. As a rule each canton returns one member (there are 215 cantons in Cochin China); but as they are very unevenly divided between provinces, a canton may return two or three members so as to make up a minimum of ten members per Council.

I simply mention here the fact, dealt with later, that both French citizens and natives are also represented in France by their delegates to the Superior Colonial Council which meets in Paris. But before leaving Cochin China it is essential to quote my friend Sir

Hesketh Bell's *Foreign Colonial Administration in the Far East*.*

"One of the chief differences between the French and the British systems of colonial administration is the degree of representation granted to the colonies in the metropolitan Parliament. While the British territories overseas are represented only on Ministerial benches, the French colonies have, for a long period, been granted the privilege of sending members to both Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Fourteen of these representatives sit in the French Parliament. . . . Those Senators and Deputies are elected in the same way as their metropolitan colleagues."

I should very much like to quote Sir Hesketh Bell further, as his conclusions on this question, amongst many others, would carry a far greater weight than my own in a matter probably difficult to grasp by Englishmen, rightly immersed in their own practice of government. As a former colonial Governor, with an experience surpassed by none, Sir Hesketh is able to throw light on many subjects which would gain if they were the matter of more frequent and unbiased exchange of views.

"ONE AND INDIVISIBLE"

Cochin China is blessed with one Deputy, so far. He is returned by the same French electorate that returns members to the Colonial Council. At the last general election, the electorate numbered 4,602 and 3,082 cast their votes. The candidate who was returned at the second poll received 1,566 votes as against 1,536 to his competitor, a majority of thirty. We touch here on one of the sacred principles of the French Revolution, that the nation is "one and indivisible." Under similar circumstances, you would choose to create a local parliament calling upon an ever-increasing electorate freely to elect those whom they would like to appoint guardians of their rights and liberties to the best of their ability. This is a tradition which found its first public expression at Runnymede and has never faltered since. Having entrusted their own liberties to representative institutions, British settlers overseas have not for one moment thought that they could be otherwise treated there than in England. And this explains the quasi-spontaneous formation of self-governments wherever the Union Jack is hoisted.

* London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1928.

I ask you to realize that the French follow another trend of thought and have other methods or aims in view. Whether it be because France has groped so long for unity, or for some other reason—for instance, our irritating logic, which, by the way, may have some connection with that constant aim at unity—the fact is that the principle of unity has played a great, if unconscious, part in the setting of our methods of administration and government of colonies. One of our former Ambassadors here used to say we are not a race but are undoubtedly a nation. This may, and I think does, explain a good deal, amongst other things the fact we have not the sense of colour or, if you prefer, the prejudice of colour.

And yet, instead of calling the people of our possessions together to form those local governments you are so proud of, we prefer to reverse the method and enable them to come to our own Parliament and take part in the making of our own laws. For I wish you to realize that a native, provided he is a citizen, is in no way barred from the French Parliament and, although the present Member for Cochin China is a white man, many are and have been the coloured natives sitting in the Chamber of Deputies or in the Senate.

THE POLICY OF ASSOCIATION

We should try, I suppose, to judge on the merits and demerits of the case, and I am all the more ready to do so that I own to be greatly in favour of local government, wherever it is possible. Our policy of association should have a wholesome influence on the populations we have under our guidance. That guidance is somewhat more subtle in the Protectorates. There, indirect rule is the password. It is indirect on principle, but in practice you probably find that our attitude towards the native rulers and chiefs is nearer direction than advice or control. My illustrious chief, Marshal Lyautey, reduced indirect rule to a fine art, and I hope many here have read what he wrote as early as 1894 when, a mere major of cavalry, he returned from a visit he was called upon to pay to the then unfortunate boy-emperor of Annam. The whole of his brilliant colonial career is there in a nutshell.

Perhaps there should be a special corps in the Colonial Civil Service, trained for duty in Protectorates. It must be very diffi-

cult for a man who has been for years in full command, a sort of modern satrap, to become a gentle but firm adviser, to control and not to execute, to govern and not to administer. There are, no doubt, men with such powers of adaptation who do wonders in either capacity. I am not sure, however, that they are the majority, nor that indirect rule is always applied with the desired elasticity and smoothness.

COUNCILS AND CHAMBERS

Institutions, nevertheless, show plainly a varied application. The Privy Council of Cochin China becomes the Protectorate Council in Annam, Tonking and Cambodia. But the Colonial Council is replaced by a Native Consultative Chamber (Annam and Tonking) or Assembly (Cambodia and Laos).^{*} Members of Chambers or Assemblies are elected practically on the same lines as are the natives to the Colonial Council, at the ratio of one member per 20,000 tax-payers. The chief difference lies in the appointment by the Governor-General of native public servants and notables, whereas you will remember that no paid official (European or native) may sit in the Colonial Council, and I believe the proportion of elected and nominated members is eight to one.

The Chamber—or Assembly—meets once a year for about ten days, in the second half of June. It chooses, by secret ballot, a committee of seven, which in their turn elect, in the same way, the President and two secretaries. Divisions in ordinary business are also by ballot. A French official is at the disposal of the meetings to give advice or explanations on matters under discussion. The Government are under the obligation to submit the Budget to examination and the Chamber may express their wishes or desires on any other subject, save those of a political nature.

THE INDIGENOUS RULERS

All business transacted is to be submitted to, or in agreement with, the French Resident and not to, or with, the Emperor of

^{*} To these is added a "French Economic and Financial Council," with a purely consultative rôle. It has, however, power to suggest new or different revenue and expenditure. Its principal feature is that all its members are returned by all the French electorate, exactly as they would be in the Metropolis.

Annam or the King of Cambodia. (As you know, Tonking has no sovereign of its own: it is part of the Annam Empire, and the Emperor has permanently vested his authority in the French Resident, who is thus "Kinh-Luoc.") And yet the reigning sovereigns of the protected States retain their authority, are assisted by their own Cabinet Ministers and Great Chancellors, and other councillors, all chosen according to the ancient customs of the country. This is all very intricate to the layman, all the more that it varies with each Court.* For instance, the King of Cambodia

"administers his Government by means of ordinances, which his subjects are bound to obey. Such ordinances need not necessarily be considered by his Council, but cannot be promulgated until they have been agreed to and countersigned by the Resident. The sovereign is the head of the native Civil Service and may appoint and dismiss Cambodian officials at his pleasure, provided his acts be in accordance with Regulations that have already been approved."

In retaining the form of monarchy in these States, we have also preserved, if with many changes, the native auxiliaries, Mandarins, who belong to a hierarchy, the Mandarinate, which is a very ancient Annamite institution, very similar to that of old China. The fundamental principle remains that rank in the Mandarinate is predominant over the function (except in Tonking, for the reason mentioned previously). But considering that French authorities may, in certain cases, bestow both title and rank on some functionaries in public service, this seems to minimize an ancient institution which, under proper guidance, might have suited tradition better than some European importations.

It is commonly said that, as a rule, the French Civil Service has a marked tendency towards the general introduction of direct administration. How "marked" is, of course, difficult to appreciate. More subtle, and I think more appropriate, is the other tendency which constitutes a sort of balance of administra-

^{*} Those interested in ancient Annamite institutions might read *L'Annam d'autrefois*, A. Challamel and Co., 17, rue Jacob, Paris, 1907 (now Société d'Éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales). This book was written by the late P. Pasquier, when he was a District Officer in Annam, before his appointment as Governor-General of Indo-China.

tive power: whenever it seems opportune to give more scope to Mandarins, French administrators are retrenched. The influx of a greater number of European officials in a province is a sure sign that Mandarin power has to suffer a setback.

THE JUDICIARY

One of the chief points in French colonial government is the great importance attached to the distinct separation of administrative from judicial functions. This is, of course, a fundamental constitutional point in France, and it is especially observed in matters of justice administered by native officials, where it is thought that specific influences had better be avoided whenever possible.

According to our national habits, we have endeavoured to codify native law and I believe this is a blessing to all, and especially to accused persons, just as I believe that similar good was attained by Macaulay's codifying work in India. We have, moreover, created law schools, where native judiciaries may be trained. Instruction of cases is entrusted to Mandarins who are at the head of the local administration concerned.

You all know that the contrast between French and British systems is probably nowhere so fundamental as in judicial procedure. Of course, in Indo-China we have closely followed the French practice. We have had to improve on it in this way, that we had to deal with (a) purely French jurisdiction, (b) native jurisdiction and (c) mixed cases. The principle is that no French citizen may be tried before a native court. In our colonial terminology, we say "French, Europeans or assimilated," and "assimilated" often covers all that is not aboriginal. Therefore if a European or a Hindu is involved in a case, whether it be civil, criminal or commercial, the only competent court is the French Tribunal. The principle is so strictly adhered to that if a case arises in Annam, for instance, between an Annamite and a Cambodian or a Tonkinese, it is brought before the French and not the native judges. In native courts native laws and customs are enforced, variously of course in each State. Cochin China, as a colony, has no native courts of any kind. French courts deal

with French cases as would a Tribunal in France. But when they have to deal with natives *inter se*, they are confronted with entirely new legislation, in which learned jurists have endeavoured, with success I am told, to embody principles of native common law into an organic text based on French law, in order to enable judges to pass equitable sentences appropriate to the local conditions.

* * * * *

I have often heard it said that in France we work from the bottom up, and that the village or commune "is the fundamental unit of the French system of administration." That may be so. It reminds me that some cities in Indo-China enjoy the privilege of a special administration, under a Resident-Mayor. But time prevents me from enlarging upon those details.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

I must, before I state conclusions, explain the rôle and functions of the Governor-General. The best definition I can offer is that he is the permanent delegate of the French Government in Indo-China, where he presides over the whole of the Union practically in the same way as the Colonial Minister in Paris would do if there was no Governor-General. He has therefore the upper hand, not only over the whole administration, but also over the personnel in charge. He has also power to legislate by decree, as has the Minister, provided, of course, his "orders" are within the scope of French legislation applicable in the Union. He must, nevertheless, respect the administrative autonomy of the Governor or Resident at the head of a State included in the Union, as long as the exercise of such autonomy is not contrary to the paramount interests of the Union.

The Governor-General promulgates the laws and decrees which shall be applied in the Union. He may refuse such promulgation if he thinks it necessary, but has to refer to Paris in the matter. On the other hand, should he wish to promulgate a text which is not *in se* applicable in the Union, he must seek special authorization, which, if granted, is given by decree.

He settles the general Budget and those of the States, contracts

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public loans (which are to be sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, if issued with the guarantee of the French Government, or by a "Decree in Council of State," if without that guarantee). He alone is qualified to assess taxes other than custom duties, and yet taxes have to be approved in Paris before they may be levied.

THE COUNCILS

Several Councils assist the Governor-General. First, the Council of Government, which is practically a grouping of all the heads of the different services of the Government-Général (civil, judiciary and military), of the Governors, or Residents of the five States, to whom are added the Member of Parliament for Cochin China, the Delegates—of whom I shall speak later—for Tonking, Annam and Cambodia, and five notables, one for each State, nominated by the Governor-General.

It is obvious, from its very composition, that this body is merely consultative, and so it is not so very important to analyze its duties. They may be said to be, *in globo*, similar to those of the Privy Council in Cochin China.

In recent years, a step forward was made, under the influence of what has been successfully achieved in Algeria since 1900: a new body was called upon, if not to bear direct influence over administration, at least to share in its elaboration. The *Grand Conseil des Intérêts Économiques* has fifty-one members in all, twenty-eight French and twenty-three natives. French or native members are selected in the same way—i.e., twenty-two French and eighteen natives are chosen by the local councils or assemblies, which you will remember are elected, and six French and five natives—out of active service—are nominated by the Governor-General.

The Grand Conseil has an ordinary session of twenty to thirty days every year, but the Governor-General may summon one or several extraordinary sessions if needs be. Two "permanent committees" sit, one in Hanoi and the other in Saigon, for transaction of business between the sessions. The Governor-General has permanent access to the Grand Conseil and the opening of the

session gives him a welcome opportunity to review the situation and to make a statement of his general policy. He may also delegate any of his representatives to take part in the proceedings.

As is the case with other consultative bodies, the Budget, estimates of public works, etc., are necessarily brought before the Conseil. But whereas the Colonial Council of Cochin China passes the estimates and *direct* taxation of the colony, the Grand Conseil is merely consulted on the Budget of the Union and passes *indirect* taxation and public loans. The Governor-General has power to demand that the Conseil reconsider their vote. If a second vote does not meet with the approval of the Administration, the question is submitted to arbitration by a Conciliation Committee, presided over by the Governor-General and composed of six members, three of whom are chosen by the Executive Council and three by the Grand Conseil.

In sum, it seems the Grand Conseil has less initiative and less power than the Colonial Council. It is, nevertheless, an attempt at legislative, but not at Parliamentary government, as the Administration is not responsible to any of these councils.

COMPARISONS WITH INDIA

How am I to draw any comparisons between your Indian administration and a system so permeated and imbued with French ideas and traditions? With us everything is supposed to be closely linked to the rest, to the extent that "from the bottom up" one floor has not been added to the edifice until the previous one has been ascertained to be sound and solid, or rather the building has been erected all at once, but with enormous forethought and preparation, as a logical monument. In India, on the other hand, everything is left, not to chance of course, but to the force of events, constituting on your part a patient and well-wishing effort to adapt methods, even principles, to facts. We are met with the clash, I might say, of entirely different concepts, rendered all the more apparent because the chief elements we are confronted with—human beings of differing outlook—are not in themselves comparable.

Let us begin with size and number. What are our 285,000

square miles and our 22 million people as against the enormous mass of India, a world in itself of 350 million inhabitants?

Race is homogeneous in Indo-China and varied in India, where you have diversity, chiefly in religious matters, to an extent which is perhaps not equalled anywhere else. There is no caste in Indo-China, as in India. India is an Empire, with an Emperor: your King. Indo-China is a Government-General, similar to others, administered like others by the Colonial Office of Paris, just as might be your West Africa if you thought fit, as we have, to place Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast under the supervision of one high official residing in Lagos or in Freetown.

Furthermore, in the very origin of our establishments there are differences which are an insurmountable barrier to comparisons. From the days of the East India Company and its essential commercial aims, there have been incessant negotiations, conquests and annexations with numerous sovereigns, princes and chiefs involved. When we first arrived in Indo-China, the old Cham and Khmer dynasties had long ceased to play their part in civilization, and we were only faced with the rivalry of the sovereigns of Cambodia and Annam.

POINTS OF SIMILARITY

Those premises, at best very incomplete, are, to say the least, discouraging. But extremes meet, and I hope I shall not be taxed with upholding a paradox if I endeavour to find, in apparent contradictions, similitude and not antinomy. Before I proceed, however, I must ask permission to reflect on certain aspects of your institutions as well as on our own, and I hope you will allow me to do so with the frankness and sincerity which is the privilege of true affection.

Establishment in a foreign land, either through conquest or by treaties more or less freely negotiated and accepted, is easy enough, considering the difference of power which exists, in every respect, between the two parties concerned. The mere fact that the newcomer has the will to colonize is in itself a measure of his strength and capacity. On the other hand, however brilliant may have been the civilization and effective the dominating power, in the

past, of the colonized people, they were, at the time they gave up their autonomy, in a state of disintegration or anarchy such as to create a vital necessity for the very order which is brought or imposed upon them. Whether foreign domination is at once accepted by the whole population, or whether it has to fight its way through resistance of clans or even of provinces, has little bearing, other than material, on the position, because in the end order succeeds disorder. The modern history of Indo-China, which from that point of view is a very short chapter, and that of India, which has lasted for wellnigh two centuries, seems to me a sure illustration of that contention, and historians in the remote future will no doubt treat as mere episodes events which to us are tragedies.

THE INDIGENOUS OUTLOOK

But this very order, and the unification it necessarily entails, gives further opportunity to the people to react on their past "grandeur" and to take stock of the force they represent as a nation, although they were totally incapable of acquiring it for themselves. This reaction, by the way, has not been sufficiently catered for by either of us. I mean, for instance, that we take too easily for granted that Oriental peoples appreciate modern amenities of life in the same manner and to the same degree as we do. As often as not they ignore or despise, or even oppose them. What is more important still, they may adopt them, and even materially benefit by them, and either believe they are a natural outcome, or that they are their elementary due, or even they would reach further if they were independent. This may be experienced fully in countries quite recently placed under our rule.

Having lived in Morocco immediately after we established our Protectorate, I am able to compare notes. Talks with old and young Moors are most enlightening. Those who are old enough to have had personal experience of the chaotic Maghzen administration own freely that the change is all for the better. But those who were young when the old regime crashed do not in the least realize that the change is ours. And as for the very young, who were born or brought up in our days, they are openly convinced that we have made matters worse instead of improving them. We

do nothing practically to face them with the reality, and I understand that there is similar lack on your part. Indeed, two distinguished experts tell us that

"the tendency was to attribute all India's evils to English rule. The prevailing ignorance of Indian history counted much in this development. The textbooks in use a generation ago were very inadequate . . . while the Victorian complacency of their tone made the Indian readers all the more inclined, by a most natural reaction, to accept at face value the alternative account put forward from time to time of a great and glorious past blighted by the devastating rule of the English or by the plague of Western civilization which the English had introduced."*

One sees from this that present textbooks are better and more suitable. But how many are there who accept their facts, inferences and conclusions? Textbooks are not enough and real enlightenment can only be attained by patient and constant contacts, free talks and fair explanation, such as social intercourse, on all the scales of the ladder, can provide or afford.

Very few, otherwise, are those who can find out or imagine for themselves the reality that time and even oral tradition have hidden or distorted so completely. And rare also are those who are able to foresee that our order and authority are only obstacles against the domination of a few and the servitude of most. As yet they seem unable to comprehend that our withdrawal would mean dictatorial domination instead of democratic government, even if democratic institutions are not so fully or so generally developed and distributed as they are in the countries of those who dispense it.

This indeed needs a great deal of explanation, and patience and tact that have to be exercised are among the chief qualities that one must expect from those who have the perilous honour to look after our wards. We have reached our present stage at home, which is neither ideal nor perfect, after long evolution or harsh revolutions, and the question is doubly pertinent as to whether our wards have reached the stage to which our institutions are fitted and whether our Western institutions are in essence acceptable to Eastern populations.

* *A Short History of India*, by W. H. Moreland and Sir Atul Chatterjee. (Longmans.) 1936.

I am not ready to answer these questions. What I may say is that on the one hand you, more than we, are calling more and more upon the people not only to take part in the administration of their country and, if to a lesser extent, in the shaping of their own constitution. We know, however, that the British public was long disinclined to make very great extensions of the elective principle in India; they realized, as we do, that this matter is delicate. On the other hand, if we, perhaps more than you, are fighting daily for our own constitutional standards, nevertheless we do it, so far at least, under some recognized rules and restraints which are those of the very organizations we are sometimes anxious to alter. But when such aspirations are hampered by insurmountable obstacles—such as are disclosed by an Indian leader urging his compatriots, "claiming equality with the *other* civilized nations, to aim first at equality between themselves"—or are hiding dictatorial ambitions, I do say that the necessity for umpires and advisers and even governors remains an urgent need.

BRITISH POLICY

It is most difficult for a Frenchman, and probably for any but an Englishman, to discover the exact meaning and the minute bearing of your Imperial policy. When we hear of Dominion status, we are puzzled, but when we are confronted with the admission of India to membership of the League of Nations, we are amazed. Our logic receives a shock. If I may be permitted to go further, the idea of an Indian Dominion is to us very daring. If I am correctly informed, in the self-governing British Dominions the European population is paramount, with the possible exception of the Union of South Africa, where most of the natives are so backward that their numerical preponderance may less be taken into account. Even there, that majority is only four to one. In India the British are an infinitesimal minority, and you are there nearer our position in Indo-China although our population ratio is higher than yours in India. With our scanty knowledge of the working of your institutions, we wonder a little how in the end a non-British Dominion may fit in. Students of colonial affairs know, for instance, that there have been occasions on which immigration

of Indians to British territories was apt to cause friction. This, of course, is a purely internal affair of your own, and if I venture to mention it, is simply because it has a direct bearing on the comparisons I am called upon to suggest.

Any treatise you may chance to open on an Imperial question will bring you, if it is British, to a chapter entitled "Constitution and Government." If French, the word "Government" suffices. This is in itself an explanation, or at least a clue, as I suppose one would meet with the same experience in studying French and British home conditions.

Asiatics, of whatever rank, who go abroad, and students in particular, quite naturally elect the Metropolis they depend upon as the first—and most often only—stage of their voyage. There they imbibe the very essence of current ideas. This is obvious.* True, life in their temporary surroundings may have helped to develop new aspirations, which they were keen to carry back for adoption.

Admission in English homes, good-fellowship in schools and universities, free intercourse everywhere, are some of the points which play a most important part in the life and evolution of your oversea Empire. Reaction on the change of attitude of some Englishmen when once the home life of the Asiatic is resumed, in thoroughly different surroundings, has been dwelt upon so often that it does not need any emphasis here.

A CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL

I have said before that Cochin China is represented in the Paris Parliament. May I recall that the French electorate alone returns the member, who must be French. To no greater extent are the natives represented in the Superior Colonial Council† in Paris.

* I have often noted it under another form during the Great War. Infatuation for French or British military superiority, on the part of overseas officers, Americans included, was derived chiefly, if not solely, from the fact that they were attached to staffs of one or the other: I have never seen the reverse.

† It is now called Superior Overseas Council, so as to include Algeria and the two Protectorates of Tunis and Morocco.

I have heard that body highly praised in England: "It may be considered, in some quarters, that some such consultative body might not be a disadvantage to the [British] Colonial Office." These wellwishers must have based their opinion on the study of its constitution and not of its activity: the meetings are not public. In fact it has hardly ever given any sign of its usefulness. That its godfathers meant well cannot be doubted. It nevertheless remains a consultative body which is not consulted and has no authority. Its very composition deprives it of any real action. True, this can be easily amended and the Superior Council might be one of the means, in keeping with our general conceptions, of bringing France and Indo-China closer together. The mere fact that the Council is universally consultative reduces its competence, but I will agree that a simple decree may entrust it with the particular study of each particular part of our Dominion, and another decree can bring natives to offer it very useful co-operation.

The old India Council (now, I am told, about to disappear) offers, to my mind—and yet I may be as far off the mark as were the British exegetes I have quoted—a much better scope for real representation of Indian interests at home. Indeed the idea has been often advanced that such a Council should be created in Paris for Indo-China, and the only reason I can offer for its remaining in limbo is that it is too specifically British to justify any tentative adaptation in Latin form.

INDIAN FEDERATION

The very structure of the British Empire may have helped towards a federation of all elements constituting India. Your difficulty in achieving this, as I believe it to be your ultimate aim, must have been tremendous, and one of your ways of approaching such questions should be commended to Frenchmen. Whenever we have tried imitation it has, however, ended in caricature. I am referring to the appointment of Royal Commissions to enquire and report on specific questions. I remember having read in full at the time the whole report issued by the Simon Commission and I was very much impressed by the quality of the work done. Difficulties were immense, but they were all faced with the will

thoroughly to understand them, in order that they might be overcome. This seems to have been achieved. The new constitution will soon be applied in two stages. The solemn appeal made to the people on these occasions must bear its fruits, for the common good of all. It is a piece of British statesmanship that must affect us.

I hope I have not utterly failed in my attempts to show the mobility—and the progress, I trust—of our Far Eastern institutions, achieved by prudent but deliberate stages. We have done it in our way, you have advanced in India and elsewhere in your own way. Whatever our preferences may be, and it has perhaps transpired that my admiration for yours is both ancient and sincere, let us remember that the soundness of a policy depends much more on the manner in which it is applied and the aim it has in view, than on the political concept from which it derives. There is no other common measure in overseas administration than the progress it brings to the territory involved. To appraise it in terms of our own would be unjust. Just as our home constitutions differ, our colonial systems vary. But where we must and do meet is in our indomitable will to prevent injustice which “entails great miseries and immense hardships on helpless peoples.”

EXCHANGE OF OFFICERS

I have often wondered if our common aims could not be better reached, to some extent, through actual interchange of the services directly concerned, in colonial administration, with the welfare and social progress of the people. Independent nations see no harm in harbouring in their midst Foreign Attachés of every description. True, they are, so to speak, on neutral ground, and under diplomatic privileges. Colonial administration does not offer such convenient conditions, but I have enough respect for human nature to hope that intercourse is possible without being regulated by public conventions and treaties. If my trust is justified—and experience would soon acquire the force of precedent—is it preposterous to foresee a French civil servant serving on the staff of a British Governor, whilst his opposite British number was attached to a French Government in a neighbouring colony?

I realize fully that difficulties would be greater in exchanges between India and Indo-China than in most cases. When first I thought out a scheme of this kind, I had Africa in mind more than Asia—at least as a beginning—but Indo-China and the Malayan Peninsula, for instance, might be a good field in which to experiment.

I am merely putting this idea forward because I feel very strongly the necessity of improving on our respective methods whenever we can. We are trustees of enormous populations, and we have no right to ignore any attempts made on their behalf in similar circumstances over a political frontier, which should not be a barrier against people of the same race. We may have succeeded or we may have failed in our endeavours. The point to be retained is that results may or may not have been up to our expectations but that our good faith was never impaired. I therefore see no reason why the successful experiences of one should not be available to the other, nor that he could not be warned against avoidable failures.

The whole world is undergoing evolution, noticeable in many conflicts. Those between East and West or far and near are perhaps more spectacular, but are not more real. They vary in degree, not in essence. Through heartfelt comprehension we may hope that they will subside. And such comprehension can only be complete through interchange of views between those who may differ in their principles and even in their methods, but who serve, with the same spirit, the same eternal ideals.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 13, 1936, when a paper entitled "Administration in Indo-China with Indian Comparisons" was read by Monsieur C. A. Le Neveu. In the absence, owing to a severe chill, of the Countess of Bessborough, who telegraphed her regrets from her country seat, Dr. Drummond Shiels, M.C., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Lord Askwith, K.C.B., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Edward Chamier, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., Sir Howard D'Egville, K.B.E., Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Lieut.-Colonel A. P. Heneage, D.S.O., M.P., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Monsieur Charbonnière (representing H.E. the French Ambassador), Madame Le Neveu, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. D. N. Bonarjee, Mrs. M. Barden, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. D. Saurat, Mrs. Damry, Mr. Phirozshah Mehta, Mr. H. E. E. Acton, Mr. B. S. Townroe, Mrs. Woolner, Mr. T. E. Rogers, Capt. H. J. Inman, Mr. Leonard Matters, Mr. G. J. Ellis, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Percy Brown, Miss London, Mr. A. G. Morkill, Mrs. Marmaduke Pickthall, Mr. J. B. Churchill, Miss Gunter, Mr. R. A. Clinton-Thomas, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure that you will share my great disappointment that the Countess of Bessborough has not been able to be here this afternoon, and that you regret still more the cause of her absence.

You will wish, I know, to ask Mr. Brown to be good enough to send to her an expression of our sympathy and of our wishes for her speedy recovery. In the absence of the appointed chairman, I have been precipitately placed in the chair. It is only this afternoon that I was made aware of the great honour which was to be paid to me, and I feel, frankly, that there are many here who ought to have had precedence in such a great distinction.

I am glad, however, of the opportunity of being able to welcome M. Le Neveu, whom I have previously had the pleasure of meeting in his own country, and who is such a great authority on matters in which many of us are interested.

M. Le Neveu is exceptionally well qualified to deal with the subject on which he speaks today. After some years of active colonial administration he was appointed Director-General of the Union Coloniale in Paris. This body, although it is not an official body, has a great influence on French colonial administration, and it contains in its ranks men of great

overseas experience. It has regular sectional meetings dealing with different parts of the Colonial Empire and with various subjects, and is of great assistance in many ways to the Central Government as well as to the local administrations.

There is also the fact, interesting to us and with a bearing on M. Le Neveu's mastery of English, that he was for some years in this country at the French Embassy. He got to know us very well then, and, I am afraid, discovered some of our weaknesses as well as, we hope, some of our better qualities. With the exquisite tact of his countrymen, I am sure he will deal very gently with that aspect of the subject.

I have great pleasure in asking M. Le Neveu to read us his paper. (Applause.)

M. C. A. LE NEVEU then read his paper on "Administration in Indo-China with Indian Comparisons."

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you have been greatly impressed with the very interesting and informative description of French colonial administrative machinery and methods which M. Le Neveu has given us.

As I said at the beginning, I took the chair at the earnest request of your good Secretary and my friend, Mr. Brown, and I was very happy to do so. But, unfortunately, I have to go on to another meeting, and, therefore, will not be able to stay till the end, and I am going to ask Sir Atul Chatterjee to take my place. Before I go, however, I might, perhaps, be permitted, as Chairman, to open the discussion.

I think you will agree that I did not exaggerate at the beginning in my anticipation of the tact and delicacy of the references by M. Le Neveu to British principles and methods. I confess that the differences between British and French practice do not seem to me to be so fundamental as is sometimes suggested. There are, of course, many variations in detail, but British methods themselves are so various and so lacking in logical arrangement that we can find in some colony or another a parallel to almost any other system. Even the French Colonial Privy Council, to which M. Le Neveu has referred, is very similar in form and function to the Executive Councils in many of our colonies.

I am glad that M. Le Neveu emphasized the fact that in the French colonial system they have a rigid separation between the executive and the judiciary. We used to have that general rule also, but, to my regret, in certain of our colonies in Africa we have made a sort of liaison between the judiciary and the executive, certainly as far as the native courts are concerned, with appeals to executive officers instead of to higher judicial authority. I have never approved of that, but there is a strong body of local opinion which believes it is desirable. It was very interesting to have the testimony of M. Le Neveu to the French method. As a matter of fact, the subject is of interest to this Association because, though in somewhat different form, it has caused a good deal of controversy in India.

With regard to direct colonial representation in the French Parliament, M. Le Neveu has naturally said a great deal, and he has suggested that it is

a logical expression of a valued French tradition. No doubt it is, but even here it seems to me that the difference from the British system is more formal than substantial. The Deputies and Senators from the colonies are elected by a French electorate. The non-French Senators and Deputies are few in number, and a good many oversea territories are not represented at all. It is more of a gesture than a serious political factor!

Nevertheless, it is important for us to realize that it is a gesture which is of great significance and psychological value. In British policy and administration throughout our colonies and dependencies there tends to be a failure to realize the importance of the recognition of the prestige and status of other races. Good government alone does not satisfy! And there is no doubt that the French, by the fact that they have in their two Houses representatives—however few in number—of other races, of their African and Eastern peoples, have achieved something which satisfies a deep longing in these peoples. There is no question of the pride and satisfaction which even the limited membership affords, because it marks status and prestige. I have often felt that if we had learnt this lesson earlier in India our difficulties would have been less, because the Indian problem in the beginning was largely human and psychological, and only later became mainly a political one.

We are grateful to M. Le Neveu for his suggestion about the interchange of staff. The idea is a capital one. I was glad, also, that he emphasized what has always been traditional in British policy as well as in French, but which I am afraid in both cases has not always been so well implemented as we would have wished—that the colonies are not possessions to be exploited for the benefit of the metropolitan country; they are rather to be regarded as a great responsibility and a great trust. He very rightly emphasized our duty to those over whom we exercise authority, and the importance of our seeing that they are given every opportunity for development and for the bringing out of all that is best in them.

I hope I may be permitted once again to express my personal appreciation of the compliment of having presided at your meeting. The value of assemblies and collaborations of this kind between those responsible for colonial policy in the various countries is inestimable, and the East India Association has done a great national and international service in arranging this meeting.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE then took the chair.

Monsieur CHARBONNIÈRE: The French Ambassador has been prevented by a most imperative obligation from attending this meeting, but he has read with great interest the text of M. Le Neveu's lecture, and he has instructed me, while expressing all his regrets at not being here himself, to deliver a short message to you. The message from His Excellency is as follows:

"It is a pleasure to contribute to the Proceedings of the East India Association, not least because, while the main object of its discussions is the study of Indian problems as such, at times distinguished Continental specialists are invited to describe to the Association the system of government in Asiatic countries under European control, for purpose of comparison. Thus some two years ago a Dutchman well conversant with the colonial problems of Holland delivered an address to the Associations of the Netherlands Indies.

and the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, was in the chair. Today we are honoured by the presence in the chair of Dr. Drummond Shiels, formerly Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who has shown constant interest in and support of the most cordial British and French relations.

"The lecture delivered by M. Le Neveu is a very timely contribution to the highly important collaboration of Great Britain and France in all the international problems. Being both great colonial Powers, they have all over the world responsibilities which require between themselves a permanent understanding. M. Le Neveu has clearly outlined the position of France in Indo-China as compared with the formidable task of Great Britain in India. He has shown how much simpler are our undertakings in Indo-China. In that colony France has the privilege of dealing with a population which to a great extent offers some similarity with the population of France itself. Many artisans, many artists, many peasants; religious or racial problems, if any, are in Indo-China of little importance.

"The national temperament has always incited our fellow-countrymen to start every colonial enterprise by a careful survey of the agricultural possibilities. In Indo-China rice plays the same part as wheat and wine in France, and behind the various measures and regulations issued by the different official and administrative bodies, which M. Le Neveu enumerated and explained, you will find everywhere and in every occasion an increasing pre-occupation with the desirability and possibilities of expansion of agriculture, and specially an interest in small holdings and the marketing conditions.

"Although the attempt to make use in distant countries of the principles of our French legislation and administration may look paradoxical, we are proud to say that our colonial Governors have always shown an exceptional talent in adapting this European and mostly Latin interpretation of human law to native collectivities. This may be due to the fact that nowhere in our Colonial Empire have we met with political organizations that could be compared with those which you have found in India.

"Great Britain has had to solve many more problems and of a far greater diversity than ourselves, and we appreciate the tribute paid to our colonial methods by many of your statesmen and colonial officers. But it may be said that where French and British colonies have common frontiers the natives have not in any known case shown their preference for the methods of the one or the other administration by leaving one zone to settle in the other. This state of affairs constitutes a kind of referendum, which shows that two different colonial organizations may prove equally suitable to natives."

The CHAIRMAN: May I say that, although we regret very much the unavoidable absence of His Excellency the French Ambassador, I think all of us will agree that we are most grateful to him for sending us such an instructive and at the same time interesting message? (Applause.)

Mr. C. A. KINCAID: I hope I may be privileged to express again our appreciation of the lecture that we have heard. I do not think that there is any

Englishman, at any rate none of my acquaintance, who in similar circumstances could surpass that lecture either in manner or in matter. (Applause.)

The lecturer said that there were no points upon which English and French administration differed more widely than in the matter of the judiciary. That is perfectly true between France and England, but not quite true between France and India.

In England far too much of the judicial work is centralized in London. In India our system approaches much more closely to the French system. As soon as I went to France I poked about and found how the French ran their law courts. I was delighted to find that the system of civil jurisdiction was almost identical with that in India. Suppose in India a provincial has a quarrel and wishes to file a suit. He goes to the sub-court in his country town. There is an appeal on fact and law to the district judge's court, and a second appeal on law only to the High Court. I found exactly the same thing in Cherbourg.

There is one thing still more remarkable. One of the first things I did when I went to Cherbourg was to buy a copy of the *Code Pénal*. Of course, I began to read it with a sense of superiority. The more I read it, the more astonished I was with its familiarity. I seemed to have read it all before. So I had. It was the same.

Sir George Trevelyan, in his biography of Macaulay, gives the reader the impression that when Macaulay could not make anything of the English findings in Bombay and Calcutta, he said: "Well, boys, leave it to me." He went off by himself, drafted a code, and produced it like a conjurer produces a rabbit out of a top-hat. He was not such a fool. In 1809 a body of eminent jurists, under the guidance of Napoleon himself, had produced the *Code Pénal*, and Macaulay translated it. In his Report he mentions, if somewhat grudgingly, his obligations to the *Code Pénal*.

Also the Criminal Procedure Code, so far as the sections relating to the powers of the police and magistracy, are drawn from the *Code de Procédure Criminelle*. Neither in France nor in India would the Home Secretary find the same difficulty that he finds at present about stopping processions in the East End.

So far I have dwelt upon the similarities. It is only fair that I should speak of one very grave dissimilarity, and that is the question of roads. It has been my good fortune to go over much of French North Africa, including Morocco. Morocco is one of the wonders of the world! The French only occupied it during the Great War, and now you go over the most beautiful roads right into the heart of the Atlas Mountains, where only a few years ago there was some of the most desperate fighting in history.

When I saw this I thought of the poor roads in India, and felt very sad. In my own province of Sind there does not exist one single road. In Gujarat it is not much better. In fact, you can usually tell when you are coming to British India because the road becomes like a cart track.

The lecturer said it would be a good thing if we could exchange officers. As a matter of fact, I believe Marshal Lyautey, the greatest European of the twentieth century, did not disdain to go to India and spend six months there that he might get some information as to our methods. If only our Viceroy

would spend six weeks in French Morocco, I think we would hear very much less of constitution-making and a great deal more of road-making. The learned lecturer has some doubts as to the advisability of the reforms we are bringing in. I can assure him that I share those doubts to the full. But there is this point: that it is almost impossible for an Englishman to guess how certain events will react with an Indian.

During the Great War the Government expected us all to join the Imperial Defence Force, and we all drilled, and felt that India was absolutely safe in our hands. One day an Indian friend of mine, about the same age as myself (forty-five or so), came to see me. I said, "What do you think of our drilling?" expecting a most flattering reply. He said: "Sir, you will excuse me, but I must tell you this, that we all think England must be in a very bad way to drag you out of your homes and drill all you octogenarians." (Laughter.)

Lord ASKWITH: I have listened with the greatest interest to M. Le Neveu's lecture. I have not been in Indo-China, and only travelled through India many years ago, but in 1934 I went as Chairman of a delegation of the Empire Parliamentary Association to a conference, convened by M. Doumergue, with a view to the consideration of various colonial questions, particularly the different methods of dealing with the tenure of land by different nations in their colonies or dominions, and with the extreme views held by various sections of peoples in the world. I could have wished that, as the French, the Dutch, and the Belgians were so strongly represented, and Portugal also sent a delegation, that Great Britain had had a larger delegation and more interest taken in it. If a similar conference takes place in London, which I understand is likely, I hope that the East India Association will be able to assist in the debates that may take place.

M. Le Neveu has called attention to many points. I would only mention two, and they are of considerable importance. He has mentioned how the different changes that have taken place have impressed different generations, and that a younger generation has a different view in the course of time. I think he is perfectly right.

Further than that, as my second point, I think it has become more true at a time when the East is rapidly changing. All of us must be aware of the changes that have taken place during the last few years. Even a child can recognize that in pictures, when he sees Turks without their fezes and their ladies without their yashmaks. So it is, as far as I have read, in India, in Indo-China, in China itself, and, of course, in Japan, in matters far beyond superficial dress.

What does that mean? It means that we may have to adapt things very rapidly to changes that take place in the world, and "the moan of doves in immemorial elms" may cease to apply. It is no longer possible to think that in any of these countries the old opinion of Englishmen as to the unchanging East can continue in an unmodified form.

Therefore the idea of more interchange of opinion, which M. Le Neveu has outlined, is, I think, a very valuable suggestion, and, if possible, might well be developed.

Mr. LALKARA : It was very interesting indeed to hear so much logic and reason embodied in this paper. What surprises me is that it was not possible for such a paper from a great savant and administrator of another nation to be read before this Society when so many papers, weighted with pious hopes and good intentions, were read in the last year or two when we were discussing that very debatable question of the India Bill, now the India Act of 1935.

All I need say is that I am entirely in agreement with M. Le Neveu's suggestion to make it possible for responsible people from this country to go to the French colonies and see how things were done there and to study the prevailing state of their affairs. That would really make a world of difference. But more than to the district officer, who has, after all, got to carry out a given policy, such an object lesson would be to the purpose for our parliamentarians—those Pagett M.P.s—who in about November go out for three months to India and then write about "Asian solar myths."

M. Le Neveu told us how the French build up all these constitutions and big policies, taking only one step at a time. But we want to get the whole thing in one leap, one mouthful. We have not yet, for instance, tried out Provincial Autonomy when we are talking of Federation. These, I submit, are a few points which should make us pause and think. It may even cause us to question the wisdom of some of our doctrinaire idealists who in purple tones will insist on facts being adjusted to their theories instead of taking the trouble to correlate irrefragable facts and then evolve theories out of them.

And, finally, a word about this "fast-changing East." Lord Askwith endeavoured to give instances of the changing East. But are not the instances he gave an example, after all, of superficial changes and not anything fundamental which would strike at the very roots? My own domicile of over a quarter of a century in India tells me that things that matter have hardly changed in the East. I do ask you to remember that what does matter to an Asiatic people is that they should be assured of security of life and property, of peace and justice, of cheap food and clothing, and, above all, of their being able to go about their avocations quietly without let or hindrance.

The CHAIRMAN : It is my very pleasant duty, on behalf of you all as well as of myself, to tender to our lecturer our grateful thanks for the trouble he has taken not only in preparing such an excellent paper, but in coming over to London to read it to us. (Applause.) I may say that as an Indian I have felt the very greatest interest in all that he has had to say. It would take me a very long time to explain all the points which have arisen in my mind. I wish I could get M. Le Neveu for a couple of hours to myself, and I would ply him with a number of questions.

I have only one or two points which I should like to make. There is first this big question of the representation of the French colonial possessions in the East in the Metropolitan parliament in Paris. Our Chairman, Dr. Drummond Shiels, thought that was a very useful thing from the point of view of gesture. I am myself rather doubtful, at least nowadays, of any such gesture, because what we want from the Indian point of view is to be able to manage our own affairs first. I do not think Indians now would be particularly keen

on getting accommodation for a very small number of representatives from India, either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords.

It is possible that eventually the constitution of the British Empire might need an Imperial Parliament, different from a Parliament for Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In that case certainly we shall stake out a large claim.

On the question of the interchange of staff also I have grave doubts as to whether it would be of any great advantage. Already I think a very large number of Englishmen, especially Englishmen who rise to high positions in the Colonial Empire or in India, get a fair idea of French and other colonial systems by visits and by study of books and literature. Simply going to a country for three, four, or six months does not really enable one to study adequately all the extremely difficult and intricate questions which give rise to differences in administrative policies.

There was one point on which I should like to have had further information from M. Le Neveu; that was with regard to law. So far as I could understand from the paper, the law administered in French Indo-China is for French people French law, and for the Indo-Chinese natives the law which is their own customary law. I am not sure if that is the position.

As regards India, Mr. Kincaid has referred to Macaulay's Penal Code. It is quite clear that the Indian Penal Code is not the same as the old Indian Criminal Law, and I am very glad that Mr. Kincaid has drawn attention to the fact that an entirely new system of penal law was introduced into India by the British administration. But there is also the further fact that for civil actions, for personal law apart from the laws of contract or evidence, the old Indian laws have been more or less crystallized and are still applied by British-Indian judges both in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We have very grave doubts whether a more progressive system of law would not be desirable at this stage in regard to personal law.

There have been references in the discussion to the question how far the new policy in India is desirable or not. I listened with very great interest to what Lord Askwith had to say on this subject. I should just like to say that even in the West the system of government today is not the same as it was one or two hundred years ago. It is all a question of psychology. In Europe, at least until democracy came to Europe fifty or sixty years ago, you had government only by a very small minority of the population. A psychological change has come about, and now it is government by the whole people for the entire people. It may be that where there are dictators the position is different. I think it is only natural that in the East as well as in the West the people should want to govern themselves, whatever might be the details of the system. Administrative efficiency may not be as good as when they are governed by experts, amongst whom I used to count myself one.

I should again like to thank M. Le Neveu for the brilliant lecture he has given us, and I think we would all agree that we were very fortunate in having Dr. Drummond Shiels as our Chairman, for the remarks that he made before going away were extremely illuminating.

M. LE NEVEU : I wish to thank you heartily for the very great honour you have done me and for the very cordial reception you have afforded me this

afternoon. I also wish to thank you for the very nice things which you have said about me. Unfortunately, I see here a few old friends who, if they were to speak, would probably say they are not true.

I am afraid it is too late now to reply to all the questions which were raised. It will give me great pleasure, moreover, to answer them in writing later if the speakers or any other so desire. But there are two points on which I would like to say just a word. One is the application of French law in Indo-China. It is applicable to all in the French courts. If there is discrimination, it is because we have preserved, if sometimes in adjusted and amended forms, the law of the country whenever we found it was suitable and equitable, and that European importation could not be easily adapted to Oriental ideas or traditions. In such cases our chief duty has been to supervise the administration of justice in order to make sure, to the best of our ability, that it is equitably applied to all.*

The other point bears on exchange of personnel. I must say I was not contemplating mere courtesy visits of short duration. On the contrary, my ambition is to see a Civil Servant serve the whole of his *séjour*—I think you say "tour"—with the staff in the foreign colony the administrative methods of which he is asked to study. For instance, a French and a British district officer both return from leave; the French receives his appointment to a British post and *vice versa*. In point of fact, my ambition is so great that I would like to see this sort of colonial attaché serve his next "tour" with his original service, where he could see for himself how foreign methods can or cannot be applied or adapted, and return, after his normal leave, to the foreign colonial staff in order definitely to compare notes. But during his absence he should be replaced by one of his colleagues, so as to render the liaison permanent. I know there are difficulties. I do not think they are insurmountable.

The Chairman has kindly expressed the desire of getting me all to himself for a couple of hours. There is no need to say that I would be delighted to have that conversation, which would greatly enlighten me. I might, perhaps, put it another way. If you think that a little good may have been done by my short visit here and by my very modest attempts at telling you about things in Indo-China, I am sure a great deal of good would be done if you, Sir Atul, would come to Paris and tell us of India. This would carry the full weight attached, not only to your position and to your personality, but also to all which we in France know you represent. We would do our best to return the hearty welcome I have received here, although I feel I was not entitled to it. I can assure you that our welcome, being far more merited, would be extended to you and any of your friends to our full capacity.

* I must admit that in saying "the contrast between French and British systems is perhaps nowhere so fundamental as in judicial procedure" I was forgetting for the time I was speaking of Indo-China and of India. I had in mind England and France, where it remains, I think, obvious. The remarks of Mr. Kincaid, with whom I fully concur, are nevertheless quite pertinent.

INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Bedford College, Regent's Park (by the kind hospitality of Miss Jebb, the Principal), on Thursday, October 22, 1936, to consider the question of women's education.

Mr. R. A. BUTLER, M.P., Under Secretary for India, was in the Chair, and said: I was very pleased when I received the invitation of the East India Association to take the Chair at this meeting, and I was all the more thrilled, being a student of history, when I arrived at the College and was directed to the meeting of the East India Company!

I have been asked by the organizers of this meeting to say a few words to start with, so please do not think that I am taking a wrong position as Chairman in making a speech because I have been particularly asked to do so. The observations I should like to make relate first of all to the Central Provinces, with which I have been rather closely connected as my father was for nearly nine years the Governor previous to Sir Hyde Gowan. I am sure we are very glad to welcome Lady Gowan here this afternoon.

I learnt as the son of my father to take a great pride in the Central Provinces Government, and to regard the Central Provinces as the centre of India, and it will always remain so to me, the centre of India's communications, the centre of India, as I think, in the success which has been made of the constitutional experiment in that Province under dyarchy, and I hope as we shall see as a result of this meeting this afternoon the leader and therefore the centre of India in the women's movement.

That, I suppose, is a bold and a prejudiced claim, but, as you will see from the three facts which I have adduced to support my theory, there is some basis for believing that I am not being too optimistic in claiming the Central Provinces as being really central in India's present and a really great centre in India's future. When we are talking of the Central Provinces we should think particularly of those who are doing the work for women's education which we are here to consider this afternoon.

When I was on the Franchise Committee I had the pleasure of meeting Miss Rangarao, who has played such a part in education and in this college in particular at Nagpur. She is the sister of Mrs. Subbarayan, whom we all remember as having done so much on the Round Table Conference, and, like her sister, I believe Miss Rangarao is very up to date. You will remember that Mrs. Subbarayan had a reputation for being very up to date. She flew to and from India, was one of the first to do so, and took a great part not only in the women's movement but in the whole of the constitutional work in which we were engaged for several years.

I should like to congratulate Miss Rangarao on the initiative she has shown in establishing the college at Nagpur, about which we shall hear more from Lady Gowan; and I should like to thank her as one who has had experience of her lively wit in travelling India occasionally in her com-

pany on the Franchise Committee. I hope that her work will be crowned with success and followed by many other successful efforts of the same sort in India.

Before I leave the Central Provinces may I make one or two observations about women's education? It seems to me that the education of girls in India has a great contribution to make to the cause of education as a whole; secondly, to their own development; and, thirdly, to the whole future of India, and to the cause of India's constitutional development in general. Let me consider those three aspects of the subject.

It seems to me that already the experience gained in the education of girls in India has brought us to certain tentative conclusions, one of which I hope Lady Hartog will mention when she speaks later this afternoon, because this point I have borrowed from previous experience of her great knowledge of this subject, and that is that co-education has hitherto been left to play much too large a part in girls' education in India. I have here some extracts of previous views she has stated as regards co-education in the primary, the secondary and the University stage, and it seems to me from reading these views that she is perfectly right.

For instance, here is one phrase: "There is a crying need for women's colleges in the more conservative provinces, and where they go to colleges for men, a crying need for women's hostels if the women are to have the full advantage of college life."

We are fortunate to proceed from the general phrase, which I have just quoted, to the particular this afternoon in that we are going to consider among other matters in the question of women's education a particular college at Nagpur.

It has always seemed to me that the women's colleges have an opportunity of really contributing a great deal to the cause of education. They can illustrate the value of mixing together, of breaking down some of the old caste barriers, and of harmonizing as far as possible, without any intent to prejudice the religious beliefs of any particular person attending that college, the general attitude towards religion, which as we know is very important in India.

When I come to examine the hard facts of the administration of education in India and take the Central Provinces, I am glad to see that there is at last a tendency to spend more upon the education of girls. For instance, in the Central Provinces—which was rather attacked in a very comprehensive paper, at which I had the honour of taking the chair, given by Lady Hartog about a year ago—I notice in the latest statistics the Central Provinces have improved and that now 10·2 per cent. of their expenditure is on girls' education, which is double what it was in 1927. (Applause.) That is a very definite improvement, and I hope you will convey our very respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Governor when you return, Lady Gowan.

There is one other encouraging statistic which was worked out for me, and that is that in 1934 institutions for the education of girls increased by 760 in India as a whole. That is three times as much as the increase in 1933. That, I think, is another remarkable figure, showing the improvement in the number of institutions for girls' education.

But there is one rather serious figure, and that is that there is a need for increased enrolment of more women teachers under training. There is a shortage of trainees for the profession of teaching, and a shortage of institutions in which the women teachers can be trained. So I am not giving you an entirely optimistic set of figures. I am showing you that there are certain facts which do need improvement. But I have derived a certain satisfaction myself from the fact that there has been an increased expenditure and an increased number of institutions set up for the education of girls in India.

When I come to look at the third head of my remarks, that is the contribution that women will make to their own advancement by the development of education, I am rather interested in the part that vocational education will play in the future of India. Two distinguished educational experts have just left for India, Mr. Abbott and Mr. Wood, and I am sure we wish them well in their study of the vocational aspect of education and hope that they will bring within the scope of their enquiry a study of the vocational needs of girls as well as boys. I should like to take this opportunity of wishing those two distinguished educational experts well in their enquiry in India and thanking them for undertaking the very important work which they are undertaking.

When I come to consider education with regard to girls, I must remember that one of their most important vocations is to be a good wife and mother, and I trust that in the excellent work which this college does, that that most important of all vocations will be remembered, and that women will be fitted to take their part as much or even more in family life as they are in the life of India as a whole. But let me leave the family unit to go to the larger unit of India. I think when we consider India as a nation, we are not always quite proud enough of our achievement and of the importance of India within the orbit of the Empire. When we think of her great culture and great traditions, which we have done our best to encourage, but which she herself is on the sill of developing to an even greater extent than we have been able to do, we must gain a great satisfaction from the thought that the whole of this culture can be doubled and even trebled if we consider the immense weightage which the adhesion of women to these matters can give. I am ready to rate them at two to one if the women will pull their part, and perhaps that will be more satisfactory than some of those unfortunate ratios which we have tried to work out over the past few years. The contribution of India to the world in culture will be immensely increased if the women play their part.

I have been inspired by the work of the Poona Seva Sadan, which has sent out over the last twenty-five years several hundreds of women workers in the cause of social service, and when I think of the work that women can do in the social future of India, I must say I am really inspired, because here we have coinciding two great movements—the growth of the women's movement and the growth of the need for social betterment in India. It is peculiarly fortunate that both these great drives can occur together and can help each other.

I therefore am particularly interested to notice the Viceroy's present drive for the improvement of health and sanitation in the Indian villages, and

to note what the Indian Village Welfare Association has said about the part that the Universities and the women in the Universities could play in courses of social study and public administration.

You will see from the number of points upon which I have touched that there is a vast field for the women of India at the present moment. There is a vast field for which they can work as they gradually increase their emancipation and take more part in the life of India as a whole, a vast field ranging from the general word culture down to the particular need for social improvement in the Indian village.

I can only say that they will fit themselves more and more for this task to the extent that they can be educated from their earliest days, and I think we are particularly fortunate to have here Lady Gowan to tell us a little more of this college at Nagpur, to tell us her impressions of its administration and opportunities. In introducing her, I would remind you that her husband is the present distinguished Governor of the Central Provinces, and that both he and she are doing their utmost to bring to a reality the theory I put forward at the opening of my remarks, that the Central Provinces is in fact the centre of India.

Lady GOWAN: I feel I am here on false pretences as a speaker. Luckily for me it is not the duty of a Governor's wife to speak. Governors can do all the talking necessary, and their wives need only sit by with an admiring smile.

I have two very good reasons for talking to you this afternoon. One is that I do know about the college in Nagpur. I am very keen on it and on the advancement of women's education in India, especially in my husband's Province. The other one is that I feel those of us who have had the happiness of a college life do owe a very deep debt of gratitude, which we must pay wherever we feel we can help in the very least. We cannot let anything interfere with an attempt to pay that debt of gratitude in the way of helping any young and struggling institution in the way of a women's college in any other part of the world.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch said that his idea of the benefit one got from a University education was that one was trained to recognize and value the best when you came across it; and that is what one wants to help the women of India do. One wants to give them a sense of values, to make them see that there is something bigger than caste and creed and all these political intrigues and race prejudices that are making so much trouble at present; to realize that if they can be good wives and good mothers and fitter help-mates for their husbands, who are going through a very difficult stage in their history at present, we shall be doing something to help international affairs.

Women in the Central Provinces have been able for many years now to go to the men's colleges and take their degrees there. But there is a certain feeling in the community that co-education is not the right form of education for India. India is perhaps not ready for it now. The women have always lived sheltered lives. You will hear from Sir George Anderson and Lady Hartog later that there are many women's colleges in other parts of

India. Madras has ten or twelve, but there was no college in the whole of the Central Provinces nor in Central India. Miss Rangarao was educated in Madras, and in a way came up to Nagpur almost by accident. There had been a sort of college started about six years ago in Nagpur, but it was not started on quite the right lines. The college got rather swept up into a wave of political affairs and led a very precarious existence for about three years. Then the lady who started it realized that there would have to be a good deal of re-organization done, and she persuaded Miss Rangarao to come up and undertake the work.

I do not think anybody with less pluck and determination could ever have got started. From the beginning Miss Rangarao had a most difficult task. There was political feeling against her. She had no money at all. Looking back on it now, one does not quite understand how she ever stuck to it at all. Nobody would promise her any money, and it was only through the generosity of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trustees that she was able to start at all. I think it was through her importunity that she finally got a donation of about Rs. 5,000.

She started with sixteen pupils and then we began a vicious circle. She was trying not to persuade me, but they invited me to become President of the governing body. My husband's Government said I could not accept. After a time she got a number of local subscriptions, but you must remember that the Central Provinces is not a rich Province. There are very few members of the population who have the money to spare. But she did get a certain amount of money, and two years ago I was allowed to accept the invitation to become the President of the governing body. Last year the Government were able to secure for us a grant of Rs. 6,500.

We are now in the third academic year, and the fact that the numbers have risen from sixteen to over forty is very encouraging. It is a little difficult to give you exact numbers, because the students are not very particular about whether they will come, and if there is a birth, marriage or death in the family, they very often stay away for a term.

Perhaps you think the college ought to be self-supporting, but when I tell you that the fees paid by the students are so small that £25 a year will cover all board and tuition, and even leave a small margin to buy books, you will realize that there is nothing left over to help with the salaries of staff and other necessities.

While my husband has been at home this summer on leave, the officiating Governor, Mr. Raghavendra Rao, has made a special and personal appeal on behalf of the college, and I hear he has raised half a lakh of rupees; but we feel that this must go towards a building fund, as the present quarters of the college—just an ordinary bungalow—are most inadequate, and I honestly do not know how Miss Rangarao managed to keep her students well and happy during the early weeks of this term, when the monsoon rains and winds were still raging, and the increased numbers must have made everything most difficult.

All castes and creeds are already represented in the college, and one great success is that they all eat and play together. Miss Rangarao and her resident staff take their meals with the students, and enter into all their

games and amusements; and those of you who know India will realize what great tact and self-control are needed when you have Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, and Indian Christians in such close proximity.

We offer tuition in almost every branch of education, and you may be amused to hear that in reply to an advertisement for a Professor of Home Science this year we had one *male* applicant.

We specially want to concentrate on everything that will fit the women of India to be more suitable wives and helpmates to their husbands, and better mothers to the coming generation; and also to make them realize how they can best help their country to rid itself of its own social evils and to take its proper part in international affairs.

Lady ABDUL QADIR: I am sure we are indebted very much to Lady Gowan for the very interesting account she has given us of the progress made by the Central College for Women at Nagpur. It appears that it has a zealous and devoted worker in its Principal, Miss Rangarao, who is assisted by other teachers actuated by the same spirit as herself, and they have the good fortune of having in Lady Gowan a warm supporter of their college. Her deep sympathy with the cause of higher education for girls in India is shown by the fact that she has not forgotten it even during the short period of well-earned rest which she and her husband, H.E. the Governor, have had in England.

It gives me great pleasure indeed to support the appeal made by Lady Gowan to enlist your sympathy and interest in the work that is being carried on in Nagpur in spite of the lack of adequate finances. I have never had an opportunity of visiting the Central Provinces, and I cannot claim any first-hand knowledge about that part of India: but I can sympathize with what has been said, because the problem of the education of women is the same all over India and presents a remarkable similarity of feature. As you all know, the education of girls has been neglected in the greater part of India for a long time, and even now it is not receiving as much attention as it should. It is gratifying, however, that a tendency is observable all round to lay stress on it, but the pace of progress of education of women varies in different Provinces.

In the Punjab—which is the Province with which I am familiar—the education of girls has been advancing rapidly every year. We have two first-grade colleges for women, and one teaching up to the intermediate standard. One of the colleges is the Lahore College for Women, and is a Government institution. The number of girls in it is about 150. The other is the Kinnaird College, which is a mission college with about the same number of pupils. The most popular and eagerly sought after institution, however, is the Queen Mary's College, which was established in memory of the visit of Her Majesty the Queen as a school for girls belonging to the better class Indian families. It is now a large residential institution, and has a fine building with a beautiful garden around it. It has recently added intermediate classes to the High School.

Those colleges are no longer sufficient to meet the growing demands, and students have to be refused every year. In addition there are also some

girls who attend men's colleges, especially colleges for professional studies such as law and medicine, because there are no separate colleges for women for law and medicine. Though the progress made in the Punjab in recent years is very encouraging, we wish for a greater advance still, and feel that women's education is not receiving enough financial help from the authorities and the public.

I may add that in trying to improve the education of women in all Provinces, we want not only to increase the number of schools, colleges, and pupils, but the nature and quality of the instruction imparted, which should be suited to the special needs of girls and must include a knowledge of domestic science, household economy, hygiene, and public health.

I may be permitted to refer again to the Central College at Nagpur, for if some friends in this country would help this institution, they would be not only helping women's education, but would be strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON: I much regret that, for some reason or another, I have seen perhaps less of education in the Central Provinces than elsewhere in India; and I have never even seen the College for Women in Nagpur. I shall therefore confine myself to a few general observations on women's education in India.

It would be an impertinence for me to dilate on the importance of girls' education before an audience such as this, but I would first hazard a few remarks on the necessity of its development in the interest of education as a whole. We all realize the importance of home influence in education, and that the influence of the mother is paramount in the home; but, unfortunately, the influence of the mother and therefore of the home is often apathetic, and even hostile, to education in India. In consequence, children often lead dual lives. They spend half of each day engrossed in school studies and activities, but the remainder of the day is spent in an atmosphere which is often hostile to those studies. I once examined the figures and arrived at the conclusion that, on an average, sixty-nine educated men have to compete for the hand of each educated woman! This unseemly strife among the men should be eliminated.

There is also another aspect to which I would refer, the vital importance of promoting literacy in India, which presents great difficulties; but these difficulties are further increased by the fact that only as rare exceptions do women take part in the teaching of boys in primary schools. I wonder what English educationists would say if the edict were to go forth that women should no longer teach in primary schools; but this is a disability from which education in India suffers.

Educational development in India also suffers from the practice of segregation. Some years ago Mr. G. E. Fawcus, Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, deplored the tendency to maintain in each village five schools where one would suffice; a board school for boys; a *maktab* for Muslims; a *pathshala* for Hindus; a separate school for the depressed classes, and a school for girls.

One of the most pleasing of recent developments is the changed attitude

towards the depressed classes. In place of the separate schools for these children, which merely crystallize the stigma of inferiority, there is a steadily growing desire that the depressed classes should be educated *pari passu* with other children. It may be that they still do not receive the welcome to which they are entitled, but reports from all Provinces indicate this old-time prejudice is fast giving way to tolerance.

I wish that I could give a similarly optimistic account of the Communal Schools. In the Punjab, owing to the sagacity of the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Muslims are sending their children more and more to the publicly managed schools as the primary stage, but in Bengal 750,000 Muslim pupils still attend *maktabs*, which make but little contribution towards the removal of illiteracy. And again, in the secondary stage (in which sphere the Punjab is far from immaculate), it cannot be right that children should spend the impressionable years of youth in the harrowing atmosphere of a communal school. It is on these and on other grounds that I welcome the College for Women at Nagpur.

Turning to the girls, it has always been a mystery to me why little girls should not, as in other countries, accompany their little brothers to school. In point of fact, the ideals of co-education are fast gaining ground. Nearly forty per cent. of the girls under instruction are now enrolled in co-educational schools; and the poorer Provinces, such as Bihar and the Central Provinces, are being driven by the financial shortage to realize that by far the most effective means of developing girls' primary education lies in the direction of co-education. But co-education should not be limited to the pupils; it should be extended to the staffs, and girls should no longer be admitted only on sufferance. I therefore agree with the Chairman that the extension and improvement of training facilities for girls is perhaps the most urgent educational necessity of to-day. It will be of little use, however, to extend these facilities in the towns, because it would be hazardous to expect girls thus trained to seek employment in the uncongenial and perhaps unsafe environment of an Indian village. Training facilities should therefore be located in rural areas; and vernacular middle schools should provide for their recruitment.

And now for a few figures, though Lady Hartog (whose address earlier in the year was of such great value) will doubtless have much to say on the subject. There has been great quantitative figures as the number of girls at school increased from 1,230,000 in 1917 to 2,492,000 fifteen years later; but there is still only one girl to every four boys at school. In her address Lady Hartog derived consolation from the fact that, whereas in 1932-3 the enrolment of boys decreased by 25,000, that of girls increased by 112,000; she therefore deduced that the disproportion between the sexes was at last being rectified, though slowly. Unfortunately, the figures that Lady Hartog quoted now appear to represent a temporary slump in boys' education rather than a boom in girls' education, as the figures of the subsequent year show an increase of 170,000 boys against one of only 145,000 girls. There are not many signs of a rectification of the serious disproportion between the sexes.

In finance the position is also depressing. The Hartog Committee, of

which I had the privilege to be a member, recommended that "In the interests of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion." After considerable experience of commissions and committees I have learned at any rate to avoid optimism that their proposals will be put into operation, but I am yet disappointed that the recommendation of the Hartog Committee has received so little support. Recent figures show that the total expenditure on girls' education is still only Rs. 3½ crores as against Rs. 22½ crores on boys' education. The fact that the latter figure includes expenditure on girls reading in boys' schools does not materially reduce the sad disproportion between the sexes. There are, however, signs of a changed attitude towards the girls. As Lady Hartog stated in her previous address, Madras has set "the shining example" of spending more additional money on the girls than on the boys.

In spite of many disappointments, however, the position of girls' education is rapidly improving, especially in the improved attitude of the people themselves, and in the devoted activities of the women's associations. Girls are not only coming to school in larger numbers, but, far more important, they tend to stay longer at school, and thereby to reap greater benefit from their schooling. The examination figures are striking. The number of successful candidates for matriculation advanced from 1,029 in 1927 to 2,188 in 1932; and, still more remarkable, to 3,125 two years later. Similarly, the number of successful candidates in the degree examinations advanced from 130 in 1927 to 226 in 1932; and again, even more remarkable, to 383 in 1934.

This rapid and pleasing increase, however, gives serious cause for thought regarding the future of the promising little women's colleges in India. Will this rapid increase result in these becoming feeble replicas of the huge men's colleges with all their defects and limitations? The Central Advisory Board, at its first meeting last December, considered the momentous question of school reconstruction and unemployment. They realized that schools are of too uniform a pattern, and that they are dominated by urban and by university requirements. They were disturbed by the fact that large numbers of pupils prolong unduly their purely literary studies and thereby become averse from practical occupations and training. It becomes necessary, therefore, to release the schools from university entanglements and the pupils from the lure of matriculation. The period of school education should therefore be divided into separate stages, each with its own objective; and, at the end of appropriate stages, pupils should be diverted to practical occupations and training.

How, then, can these new principles be applied to girls' education. The happy news has just reached me, Lady Gowan, that the Government of India have decided to place this matter before the Central Advisory Board, that a Committee has been appointed to prepare the ground and that Miss Rangarao is a member of the Committee. I regret, however, Lady Gowan, that I was unable to give a more responsive reply to your letters, but the Government of India are unfortunately precluded from giving financial help to provincial educational institutions. Though I am wholeheartedly in

favour of recent political advance, I none the less deplore the divorce of the Central Government from participation in education. A Government which is not concerned with education is in grave danger of stultifying itself.

Lady HARTOG: I am glad that Sir George with his unrivalled knowledge and experience has managed to see some gleams of sunshine in the sky. One thing he did not tell us was that, if things are looking up a bit, it is very largely owing to his work since he became Educational Commissioner. I do not think there is any report with which he has been associated in which he has failed to lay stress both on the absolute necessity for provincial Governments to make better provision for girls, and on the importance of their planning out a policy for the development of girls' education.

We are extremely glad that the Central Advisory Board has been reconstituted with a Committee on Girls' Education and with some women on it, Lady Grigg and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, and I am very glad to hear that Miss Rangarao has now also become a member. We hope great things from that Committee, and indeed we want help of every kind in regard to this question of women's education, in order that public opinion may be really roused, and roused to take action, so that Governments will be forced to take action also.

Although Mr. Butler has managed to extract some comfort from studying the figures in regard to women's education in the Central Provinces, I must confess that when I looked up the latest report I found it extremely depressing. The amount spent on girls was something under Rs. 9 lakhs and on boys Rs. 77 lakhs—8½ times as much. Of course I admit that the existing institutions for boys must be maintained. I am not asking that you should shut up boys' institutions in order that you may open institutions for girls. But what I am asking is that the new money being spent year after year on education should be so allotted between the sexes as gradually to make up this awful leeway and redress the balance. That is a possible thing, and the Province of Madras has shown that it is a possible thing.

In the Central Provinces, according to this last report, there was a new expenditure allotted for education of something over 3½ lakhs. What happened to it? 3½ lakhs went to the boys and the something over—Rs. 36,000 to be exact—to the girls. How can any real progress be made with that kind of policy?

I know again that I shall be told that in the amounts for boys are included all that is spent on the girls who go to boys' schools. And that brings me to the subject of co-education. In all the remarkable features in the extraordinary increase in the demand for education for girls in India during the last ten years, perhaps the most remarkable is the way that the girls have flocked into the boys' schools. In one or two Provinces indeed there are now more girls in boys' schools than in the girls' schools. In the Central Provinces, considered as a backward and conservative Province, two-fifths of the girls at school are in boys' schools. Co-education in the villages is obviously the sensible, practical, economical method of getting both boys and girls to school, but as it is practised at present, and this we hear from all over India, it is not really co-educational at all as we understand it.

There are no special arrangements for the girls, and no special women teachers.

In a letter which came to me from Miss Cashmore—who was Warden at one time of the Manchester University Settlement and who has gone out under the auspices of the Friends to work in the villages of Central India—she says: "I wonder very much as to what you really think about co-education in the villages. You speak as if it has come to stay. I am wholly for it from some points of view. But really what it amounts to is this. Education becomes 'compulsory' in a rural area. What happens? I was in such a rural area the other day. Certain selected places were chosen for this compulsion. The village school I was in had 164 children in attendance. I saw them. I saw two girls! I said, 'If it is compulsory, where are the girls?' There turned out to be nine on the register and two in attendance. I am always finding this, and there is a further difficulty. A girl may attend in the bottom classes, but how is she to attend as she grows in a place where early marriage is taken as a *sine qua non*? I think, of course, the answer is co-education in the sense of schools designed for boys and girls, but with responsible women teachers in charge of the girls, and, above all, separate sanitary arrangements and separate physical exercises. It is a matter that needs the most careful thinking out now."

I most fully agree with that, and I should like to take this opportunity of repeating a practical suggestion that what is wanted is not only a Central Committee for girls' education in every Province, but groups of educated women in every district who would be linked up to that Central Committee, and who would take an interest in the schools for girls and also in the girls who go to boys' schools.

Now I must come back to the higher education of women. All over India girls are now going into the colleges for men. Even in the Central Provinces there are about eighty who are in the men's colleges, but as our Chairman pointed out there is a very great demand for women's hostels, and in the conservative Provinces for separate colleges for women. I need not emphasize here in Bedford College that the advantages of college life do not consist in just going to lectures.

The need of such a college as the Central College at Nagpur is amply shown in the way the numbers have jumped up in the very short time since it has been opened. If any further evidence were wanted it is to be found in the scarcity of teachers to which Lady Gowan has referred. In the pages of the report which I have already quoted I saw that the Inspectress of Schools could not find a single trained graduate who could be Lady Superintendent of the Amraoti Girls' Training School, and a few lines further on that they had to advertise and get a woman teacher for the Anglo-Urdu School from outside the Province at a salary higher than they had budgeted for the post because they could not get a teacher from inside the Central Provinces.

While I firmly believe that it is the Indian public and the Indian Governments who have got to shoulder the general responsibility of the finance of girls' education in every grade, I do think that this college—which has made such an excellent start with Miss Rangarao as its principal and with

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA: RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

BY SIR GEORGE ANDERSON, C.S.I., C.I.E.

I SHALL try to confine attention this afternoon to certain adverse effects of the secondary system of education in India on rural development and on unemployment among the middle classes.

THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

I have no desire to belittle the laudable schemes of rural development which are now being put into operation, but suggest that the essential conditions of success are sadly lacking. There is not at hand a peasantry sufficiently educated to appreciate their value; nor is there an indigenous agency which will guide their development. Success should not be dependent on spasmodic efforts from *without*; there should be a widespread movement from *within*, and that movement is dependent on a well-devised system of rural education.

Unfortunately, the present scheme of education is even antagonistic to rural progress, mainly because it is dominated by urban and university requirements. At the very time when upholders of rural reform are crying out for an indigenous agency, the more gifted pupils who would in time have provided that agency are being sucked into the towns in order to pursue a purely urban and literary form of education; and, such being the present conditions of rural life, it is difficult to expect them, on the completion of their education, to return to their homes and serve the countryside. They loiter in the market places, seeking work and finding none.

Alongside, and nominally parallel to, the anglo-vernacular system leading to matriculation and beyond is, as you are aware, the vernacular or, as I would prefer to call it, the rural system of education, the main feature of which is the vernacular middle school with eight classes. The position of these schools varies in the several provinces. In Bengal, they have fallen into almost

hopeless decay; they are now only about fifty in number as against some three thousand middle English and high schools. As a result, after completing their education in the primary schools which, being usually of the three-class variety, are almost valueless for the attainment of literacy, pupils almost inevitably continue their education in an English school, with their eyes glued on matriculation and in an environment divorced from rural life. Whence, then, is to arise that widespread movement which is vital to rural reform?

Unfortunately, even in provinces where vernacular middle schools have at any rate been kept alive, the distinction between them and the English schools is confined mainly to the omission of English teaching, and even that distinction is blurred by the so-called optional English classes. If, therefore, rural progress is to be achieved, not only should vernacular middle schools largely replace English schools, but their teaching should be in harmony with rural life.

Even more important, the teachers in these schools should themselves have been educated and trained in a rural environment. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the teacher in the task of rural reform. In the English countryside there are often at hand the country parson, the country squire and the country doctor, who are in close touch with village life and help to provide an indigenous agency for developing rural activities; but in India these agencies, if they exist at all, are often antagonistic to rural progress. Oliver Goldsmith was fully justified in his warm appreciation of the village parson, who was the prop and stay of the village and "was passing rich on forty pounds a year." The urgent need of the Indian countryside is a constant supply of vernacular teachers, *of* the village and *from* the village, suitably grounded and suitably trained, who will be the Indian counterpart of Goldsmith's parson and will be "passing rich" on forty rupees per mensem.

Let it also be remembered that the tentacles of the present urban system of education are deep-rooted and stretch even to primary schools in rural areas. If these schools have to depend on the urban-minded matriculate, they will be unlikely to become village

institutions in which village folk can take wholehearted pride and interest.

The Hartog Committee were therefore wise in their contention that "money spent on the expansion of vernacular middle schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on the many other objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist."*

The seed of this ideal was planted many years ago by the American Presbyterian Mission and has been nurtured at Moga in the Punjab by successive Principals, Dr. Ray Carter, Mr. W. J. McKee and the Rev. and Mrs. A. E. Harper. The vernacular middle school is a model of its kind; its teaching is such that it escapes the depressing wastage so common in India; the school farm and village crafts provide the right background of village service. Even more valuable is the class for teachers who are trained in matters pertaining to the advancement of the countryside and become later the prop and stay of their folk in the villages.

The example of Moga has provided the incentive to yet further expansion. Would it not be possible to surround the core of general training now given at Moga and other places with special training suited to the requirements of varying types of village worker? A well-rounded training institution such as this would be a rallying point in the progress of the countryside.

Efforts have been made in these directions. I refer, in particular, to the Punjab because of my intimate connection with that province. As the first and essential step, the number of vernacular middle schools in that province has been increased from a few hundred in 1920 to about three thousand at the present day; school farms and gardens have been developed; the teaching has been attuned to village requirements. Even more important, vernacular training institutions have been extended, with the result that practically all vernacular teachers have received training, and on lines well suited to village conditions.

If this be so, why all this fuss; why not persevere along these

lines? Unfortunately, these developments cannot fully prosper so long as rural education is regarded as a cheap and nasty alternative to English education. It must have an individuality of its own; and rural pupils should ordinarily seek their education in rural and not, as now, in urban institutions. In other words, the lure of matriculation must be counteracted.

URBAN UNEMPLOYABLES

I now pass to the baneful effects of the secondary system on unemployment. It is true that education, by itself, cannot create new avenues to employment; that can only be done by an extension of industry. But even if industry were widely extended, the number of posts suitable to graduates would still be negligible. It would be perilous to raise hopes among graduates which cannot be realized.

Though, therefore, Indian education cannot legitimately be accused of failure to provide employment, it has yet to meet an even more serious charge. A very large proportion of pupils prolong unduly a purely literary form of education and thereby become averse from practical work. 314,000, or 57 per cent., of pupils in the four higher classes of high schools cannot hope to appear in, let alone pass, the simple matriculation test before they reach the age of eighteen; and many will be over twenty years of age. And such is the rut into which they have fallen, many will proceed yet further along the unprofitable road. Universities are therefore congested and are precluded from providing that standard of education which the more gifted students deserve and which the country needs; even more serious, the system is *producing unemployables*.

A further defect is the practice of biennial examinations. From an early age, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of a public examination; after each interruption they spend perhaps half a year in adapting themselves to new conditions and often to new surroundings; and, again, half of each second year to "cramming" for the next examination. There can be little continuity of study or training of character. Moreover, these examinations have little purpose; they are but as milestones along

* Hartog Report, p. 77.

the dreary road towards a degree, in which but few are successful. The casualty list at each examination is appalling.

PROPOSED REMEDIES

The secondary system is thus gravely defective. It impoverishes the countryside; it creates unemployables; its teaching is artificial and lifeless; the universities are overcrowded and tend to become administrative machines instead of places of learning. These defects are now widely recognized; what are the remedies?

Some would be content with improvement within the existing framework. In point of fact there has already been much improvement. In the Punjab, for example, most high schools possess admirable buildings; the gardens and playing-fields are well cared for; the large majority of teachers have been trained; the standard of recruitment in training colleges is rapidly improving; physical training and the playing of games reach a high standard of efficiency; the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have brought life and happiness to the pupils; the schools are by no means the dull, drab places that they used to be.

Unfortunately, in spite of these improvements, the position has actually deteriorated. The countryside is being denuded more and more of its better talent; the number of unemployables is rising by leaps and bounds; the teaching is still sterilized by examination "cram"; the universities are further congested; more and more good material is going to waste!

Others seek a solution by including vocational alongside of literary subjects in schools and colleges. New wine should not be put into old bottles. Besides, vocational training needs a firm basis of general training; it needs also expensive equipment and experienced instructors. Resources should not be dissipated, but be concentrated in separate institutions designed for the purpose. There is the further danger that pupils will be tempted by the bait of desultory and superficial training to proceed yet further along the unprofitable road of literary study and to accentuate their aversion from practical work. The framework must first be altered, and only then will vocational training come into its rightful place.

Others advocate a stiffening of matriculation standards, but it would not be equitable to deny facilities to pupils merely because they had no bent for literary study, and to expect them to wait until a more suitable alternative had been provided. Moreover, such action would cause further congestion in high schools as pupils would still prolong their literary studies until they had gained their much belated relief.

Others, again, pin their faith in intermediate colleges. Unfortunately, these institutions have hitherto failed to reach their rightful goal by the fact that they are encased in the present rigid framework which in practice relegates them to an unimportant, though lucrative, part of the university course. Their training is also bisected by a meaningless matriculation or equivalent examination; and while they themselves overlap the college classes at the top, they are also overlapped by the school classes at the bottom.

There can be little surprise, therefore, that radical treatment has been demanded in turn by the Punjab University Committee, by the Universities Conference, by the Government of the United Provinces, by the Government of India, by the Unemployment Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and, last but not least, by the Central Advisory Board. All these authorities, and there are many more besides, are united in the belief that effective remedy can best be found in the schools, which should first be liberated from the entanglements of matriculation. This done, the school system should be divided into separate stages, each with its own objective; and at the completion of each stage pupils should be diverted to vocational training and occupations.

The primary stage should therefore be of a duration sufficient to ensure permanent literacy, and pupils should not be compelled, as now, to proceed to a higher stage in order to attain that modest objective. The lower primary schools, with only three classes, of which there are about 40,000 in Bengal alone, are of little value for the attainment of literacy and therefore represent a distressing waste of money and effort. Bearing in mind, on the other hand, the claims of child labour and other considerations, the primary stage

should not be prolonged. The Universities Conference recommended a period of four or five years; the latter alternative seems preferable. Provided that this stage of education were suitably organized on that basis and the schools were wisely distributed, and provided that the activities of local bodies were adequately controlled by Ministries of Education, a large proportion of the pupils would then leave school fortified by the attainment of literacy and the higher stages of education would be relieved from much unnecessary strain. If, however, these essential conditions are not supplied, there is little prospect either of widespread literacy or of relief to the higher stages of education.

Over and above the primary stage, there should be a lower secondary stage which, in the fulness of time, might approximate to the English primary stage and become universal. This stage, again, should be of sufficient duration to provide pupils with such measure of general training as would enable them either to join humble, though honourable, callings now often filled by illiterates, or to benefit by vocational training. On the other hand, it should not be unduly prolonged so that pupils will become averse from practical work. The Universities Conference proposed a period of four or five years. Given a primary stage of five years, a lower secondary stage of four years would be preferable. Thus, a pupil would complete this stage by the time that he was approximately fifteen years of age, which would roughly coincide with the new school age in England.

The completion of this shortened secondary stage of general education would mark the main point of diversion from literary to vocational training, which would thus be provided at the right time and in the right place. Intermediate colleges would then constitute a self-contained and independent stage of higher secondary education by preparing pupils for admission to universities and by providing for certain forms of professional education. Their course would not then overlap or be overlapped by classes of another stage. Universities, again, could concentrate on a three-year degree course and on higher studies and research; they would also be liberated from administrative functions. Examinations would take place at less frequent intervals and would

have the definite purpose of testing whether the particular objective of each particular stage had been achieved.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF RECONSTRUCTION

There will undoubtedly be strenuous opposition, especially from vested interests. With certain forms of vested interests every sympathy should be shown. For example, compensation should be given to universities for the loss of the large income now derived from matriculation fees; but it would be an advantage if universities were relieved from the temptation of regarding candidates as so much cannon fodder for meeting the needs of higher work and research. The loss of the first-year intermediate class by colleges should also be taken into consideration; but I cannot resist the observation that the present practice of providing what is in reality school education to masses of pupils in the capital cities of India is both harmful and extravagant. In England, for example, it would be regarded as an act of lunacy if children were herded into London for their schooling, yet such is the common practice in India.

I do not believe, however, that the schools would be crippled in their finances, as the lower secondary schools would be self-contained and be relieved from expenditure on the higher classes, while the higher secondary schools would be released from expenditure on the lower classes. Both types of school would thus be released from the present wasteful competition and overlapping.

But what about these vocational institutions, which will undoubtedly cost money? I have made a rough estimate that India now pays annually the sum of five crores of rupees on the creation of unemployable students. I do not suggest that the whole of this gigantic sum could be saved and made available to vocational institutions, but am none the less amazed to be told that, while this extravagance continues to be subsidised and encouraged with complacency, vocational training cannot be provided on the score of expense.

There are other forms of vested interests, with which there should be no quarter; with those who canvass and intrigue for

lucrative examinerships, with the prolific writers of textbooks and so forth, with those who thrive on large increases in the number of examinees and who exercise an undue and an unfortunate influence in university councils. The struggle thus lies between those who desire and those who, mainly in their own interests, do not desire reform.

* * * * *

In conclusion, I fear that I may have failed to give a clear account of present shortcomings and of the main remedies. I trust, however, that I have succeeded, at any rate, in establishing my main contention that there is little use in tinkering with the present system and that radical reconstruction has become imperative. The work of rural reform cannot go on waiting for ever, and the depressing spectacle of ever-increasing numbers of unemployables brooks no delay.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 10, 1936, when a paper entitled "Secondary Education in India: Rural Reconstruction and Unemployment" was read by Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Amherst Selby Bigge, Bart., K.C.B., Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh Macpherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Reginald Clancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., and Lady Hartog, Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Cusack and Lady Walton, Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Bennett, Lady Keymer, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Mary Sorabji, Miss Stella Mead, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. Justice Ba U, Mr. E. Batchelor, Professor G. H. Langley, Mr. T. T. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Briscoe, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Percy Brown, Mrs. Godfrey, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. A. T. Penman, Miss Gunter, Mrs. G. G. Sim, Mr. H. V. Hampton, Mr. R. C. Goffin, Mr. A. B. Rudra, Capt. J. C. Ramchandani, I.M.S., and Mrs. Ramchandani, Mr. S. R. Tawde, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mrs. Joseph, Miss K. Speechley, Miss B. Batlivala, Dr. and Mrs. C. E. Carpmal, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Lord Hailey is on his way back from Geneva, where he is Chairman of the Mandates Commission. He is not able to be here till later on, when he hopes to be able to look in. Consequently I have had the honour to take his position in the Chair this afternoon. We are going to listen to a very important paper by Sir George Anderson, who was until recently Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, on the subject of secondary education in India.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON then delivered his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir George Anderson has given us a very valuable insight into the working of educational institutions in India. His views were rather pessimistic, but I hope the reconstruction required will not be so difficult to carry out as he fears. Everybody is beginning to realize that far too much encouragement is given to Indians to engage in the higher branches of education, including many who have not the equipment to benefit thereby.

Sir AMHERST SELBY-BIGGE: I do not think it is quite fair to ask me to lead off in this matter, because, after all, I am an outsider, and I am tainted with English bureaucracy.

I am glad, however, to congratulate Sir George Anderson not only on the success of his past efforts in the Punjab, which I observed in 1928, to adapt the educational system of India to rural requirements, but on the new departure in the same direction which he has been active in promoting. It is a very fitting termination to his career as Educational Commissioner with the Government of India that he should have been able to move the Government to give a definite lead in the direction of reform of the educational system, or want of system, which prevails in India. I do congratulate him very heartily on that. It is rather remarkable that he has persuaded the Government of India not only to give a lead on paper, but to provide money for obtaining expert advice on the proposals which he has made.

The Government of India have given a lead in a direction which will not only help to develop those indigenous agencies for rural betterment, to which Sir George has referred, but also in the direction of remedying the maladies and maladjustments which have been recognized and emphasized for very many years not only by outside observers but by authoritative expressions of opinion by Indians themselves.

As I say, I am an outsider. I should very much hesitate to diagnose the maladies of the Indian system. I take my diagnosis from authoritative documents which have been published by the Government of India and by all sorts of Commissions and other bodies, and from the statements of those who are themselves concerned in the control and direction of education. The maladies have been recognized for many years, and now at last the Government of India with the newly reconstituted Advisory Board have entered the lists.

As I understand it, the Government of India at present have been moved mainly by the lamentable consequences of the maladjustments of the University system, the admission and retention of unfit students, the disappointment, discontent, and unrest which arise from failure, and the unemployment, or even what Sir George has called the unemployability, of a large number of University graduates, as well as those who do succeed in obtaining degrees.

That is where the Government of India start. The whole system of primary education, with its enormous waste and ineffectiveness, of course also demands attention. But the number of people who are distressed by waste of public money is not very large, and enthusiasts very often drown their voices, and in the field of primary education the vices of the system do not give rise to active discontent or unrest.

In the secondary system you have the domination of the Universities, and the need of radical reform to diminish that domination is universally recognized. Those who have considered this matter in recent years have come, I think, to a practically unanimous conclusion that they must start by a radical reform of the system of secondary schools which feed the Universities.

One of the main features of that reform is the provision of what I may call wayside halts. The other feature is the provision of branch lines which will conduct those who continue their education and do not enter into occupations to destinations other than literary and academic. I think the key of the plan is to divert unfit students, or students for whom a University career would be unprofitable, from the Universities by providing alternative attractions, and the alternative attractions are to be found in a considerable development of vocational and practical training. It is an encouraging move, and I hope it may succeed.

As Sir George has recognized, training and education do not provide jobs, but you must not blame the system of education if the social and economic structure does not provide openings. Personally, if I were going to make any criticism of Sir George Anderson, I should be inclined to say that if there really is to be anything worthy of the name of radical reform, the Governments of the different Provinces will have to go a good deal further; and I expect that even to get the reform which is contemplated they will have to exercise a good deal of resolute administrative pressure.

In the long run I incline to the belief that direct action of some kind will be inevitable, including direct action to exclude unfit University students. Sir George has deprecated that, and, of course, it is quite obvious that when the present system of everybody trying to go on to the University has been so long established you cannot suddenly cut off that access. You must at all events give due notice, because you cannot deprive a whole generation of students who have fixed their ambitions upon a University career of that opening without providing something attractive in its place.

But I expect, as the process of reform goes on, that some direct action, such as was recently taken, I believe, in the University of Bombay, where there was a "matriculation slaughter," will have to be faced in other Universities if the congestion of the Universities by unfit students is to be effectively checked.

My friend Sir Philip Hartog, who is here and on whose Committee I served, came to the conclusion, in the Report of his Committee, that the real difficulty lay in defective control and guidance on the part of Governments. In India the power of the Education Departments and Ministers has not been used so effectively or as much as in England. I could quote instances which would astonish some of my Indian friends as to what the Board of Education has dared to do in the past in that way. The question is whether Governments will really have the strength to do what they think ought to be done and what they would very much like to do. There is in England a really effective Government influence for the administration of the system of education. It is performed in partnership with the local authorities, and that partnership with the local authorities and Whitehall is quite genuine and effective. I believe that in the long run there will have to be some more resolute action by Governments and ministers than is at present perhaps contemplated.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG: I made a rapid calculation at the beginning of this meeting that Sir George Anderson and I have worked together day by day

(besides having worked together casually) for twenty-five months altogether; and the amount of our agreement has been very great compared with the amount of our disagreement. I would like to say here and now how much the Report of what is called "the Hartog Committee" owes to Sir George Anderson and to my friend Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge. I am not going to cover again the ground which they have traversed, because I find myself in almost complete agreement with everything that they have said. But I should like to enlarge on one or two points.

First of all let us take this question of vocational education. As Sir George has pointed out, and Sir Amherst also, it is all very well to provide vocational education, but you have also to find vocations for the people who receive it. I have here before me the report, very kindly furnished by Sir George, of the Central Advisory Board of Education, revived by Government at his instigation, and I find that the "higher secondary stage" includes institutions with varying length of courses:

(i.) Preparing students for admission to Universities in arts and science;
(ii.) for the training of teachers in rural areas. Both these categories are perfectly easy to understand.

(iii.) For agricultural training. Here we are raising a point that, at any rate in Bengal and, I believe, in other Provinces, is one that is not at all easy. In Bengal the problem, as I have said before, is this. You have a large number of persons of the middle class, many of them extremely intelligent, who would be quite capable, if properly trained, of acting as expert advisers for large agricultural estates in this Province of over fifty million people. But the average holding in Bengal is only about two acres. Until you can get some co-operative system, such as you have had in Denmark and in Ireland, you cannot use the brains of the educated classes to assist in agriculture. I should very much like to know Sir James MacKenna's views as to what kind of agricultural training should be provided in this higher secondary stage.

Now we come to (iv.), clerical training, and I notice here, a little below, a very important suggestion: "Candidates desirous of joining the subordinate clerical services of Government and of local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as might be prescribed by the proper authority and should not be more than nineteen years of age at the date of their examination."

That means, I hope, that it should no longer be necessary, as it so often now is, for a man to have taken a degree before he goes into minor clerical employment, and that the training for that clerical employment will be of a much more technical and efficient character than it is at present. I regard that as a most important suggestion. If that clause were to be brought into effect the relief on the pressure to enter the Universities would be enormous, even without such administrative action as Sir Amherst has suggested, an action which I should myself entirely welcome.

Then, finally, the item (v.), "for training in selected technical subjects, which should be chosen in consultation with employers."

There is one point in the recent history of India to which little attention has been drawn. I cannot call to mind any important patent that has

been taken out by an Indian, in spite of the number of Indians employed now in the larger industries. My information may be defective and I may be wrong. If I am not, is there a defect of mechanical imagination in India, or is there only a defect of opportunity? That is one point.

Here is another. In Bengal—I speak of the Province that I know best, though I know others—there is an enormous production of goat skins, which are exported to be turned into kid. The best skins, I believe, are called Dacca skins, though they do not all come from Dacca. I made a great many enquiries as to the possibility of setting up small tanneries in Bengal, and the reply I received everywhere was the same. If you had a small successful tannery in Bengal you might expect it to pay about 10 per cent. But you would have to get your capital locally, and the local capitalist could make 25 per cent. by lending out his money at interest—to the peasant who needs it for marriages and funerals and the dowries of his daughters, and makes debts which keep him in shackles for life. There you have the difficulties of the social system.

I remember that, when I first went to Bengal in 1917, in a few of the high schools there were parallel to the matriculation classes "B" classes giving some manual and other engineering training leading direct to a practical career. The classes were good, but not popular. The officiating author of the *Quinquennial Review*, first published at this time, stated that "No boy will go into a 'B' class if in his parents' or his own estimation he has any chance of passing the matriculation examination."* And the matriculation examination has the same kind of prestige still. So that you will see, ladies and gentlemen, that in carrying out the reforms outlined in the paper the provincial Governments of India have an immense task before them. But I believe that if these Governments as a whole have the kind of imagination that Sir George Anderson himself has, and the kind of drive that he has shown in getting vernacular middle education placed on an entirely new basis in the Punjab, they will succeed.

I should like to congratulate Sir George on his paper.

Professor GEORGE H. LANGLEY: It is a very great pleasure for me to speak in reference to this paper, with which I am in almost entire agreement. I consider that Sir George Anderson has dealt with certain aspects of Indian education which are vitally important, and that the proposals which he has made for radical reconstruction are extremely necessary. Time prevents me from dealing with many points in the paper, but as I had the privilege and honour of presiding over the Universities Conference to which Sir George refers, I will confine what I wish to say to certain comments on the resolution of the Conference.

This resolution embodies a proposal for reorganizing the educational system in India into three main stages. The first is to be a primary stage of four or five years—I agree with Sir George that five is preferable—and the end to be achieved is *permanent*, not temporary, literacy. Now the

* *Report of the Calcutta University Committee*, vol. i., pp. 221-222.

point to which I wish to draw attention here is in regard to the difficulty which must be faced. In most Provinces, at any rate, the reorganization of the primary school stage on these lines will involve considerable expenditure. Sir George has referred to the village teachers who might be passing rich on 40 rupees a month; but I think he will agree that they cannot be passing rich on 6 rupees a month which is approximately the remuneration paid to a majority of the primary school teachers in Bengal. It follows, therefore, that even if you assume there will be no increase in the number of boys and girls receiving education in primary schools, but merely an extension of the educational period from three years—the present period—to five, such increase in the rates of remuneration to primary school teachers as will ensure them livable salaries, and the necessary improvements of buildings and equipment, then certainly considerable additional expenditure would be involved.

But I think you will all agree with me that primary education, the aim of which is permanent literacy, is a right for every boy and girl in any country with an intelligent and cultured people; and India is such a country. A few years ago a special officer was appointed by the Government of Bengal to work out a scheme for compulsory primary education in the Province. So far as I remember the scheme was worked out on the basis of salaries of from 15 to 16 rupees a month for primary school teachers, and the cost of the scheme for the whole of Bengal was estimated at over Rs. 2 crores. Everybody was, of course, theoretically in favour of the scheme, but Government and those responsible for the administration of education would not face the expenditure. Two crores is, I admit, a fairly big expenditure, but then look at the problem in this way. If such a sum were required for a purpose considered by Government as vital—the maintenance of law and order or something of that kind—it would be forthcoming. But when it is required for a creative project such as the people's education, which is at any rate equally important, it appears very difficult for Government to face so large an expenditure. Nevertheless it is an expenditure which must be faced.

Coming to the second part of the scheme, it is proposed that the primary course be followed by another course of four years' duration. The Universities Conference, so far as I remember, held that if the first course were of four years, the second should be of five: while if the first were of five—which Sir George prefers—the second should be of four years. In this connection I am glad Sir George has insisted on the very great importance of training teachers. He emphasizes the importance of relating the schools providing for this course to the vital needs of the population: whom they serve. If the schools are in rural areas they must have a rural bias, and must train pupils in such ways as will promote their interest in their rural environments and inspire them with a desire to improve the conditions of their village lives. For schools of this type two things are essential. First, a group of men and women with imagination to guide the working out of schemes; and, secondly, teachers of the right type and possessing adequate training.

The other point I wished to make was one to which Sir Philip Hartog

has already referred. Side by side with the reform in education you must have improvement in the conditions of the villages; for if you raise the level of intelligence in pupils in rural schools, they will demand a wider interest in life and a higher standard of living. It is the inevitable result of sound education.

One improvement which would be most helpful is referred to by Mr. Strickland in a recent report. He there mentions the great advance which has been made in the Punjab towards the consolidation of small holdings. In 1934-5 100,000 holdings were reduced to 17,000. This means that contiguous holdings are larger and can be cultivated by improved methods. A tremendous drive in this direction would be an advantage in all Provinces. Further assistance might be given by the encouragement of some system of co-operative cultivation. Splendid work has been done in India by the development of co-operative banks and co-operative credit societies for its peasantry, but so far as I know the problem of co-operative cultivation has scarcely been touched. If contiguous small holdings could be worked as units, more modern implements could be introduced, and methods of cultivation improved. Undoubtedly something of the kind is necessary to improve the environment in such manner as to give greater interest to boys and girls who have been educated in rural schools.

In regard to the third stage, it is extremely important, as Sir George has insisted, that those who are really not fitted to take University training should be eliminated at the earlier stages. All interested in University education are anxious to achieve this result. Personally I always feel that the crowding of colleges is not so much the fault of students. I know Indian students possess a passionate desire for obtaining University degrees, but in my opinion only as a means to obtaining employment, and if only you are able to prove that employment can be obtained without acquiring University degrees, many of them will be more than ready to abandon their pursuit of the degrees.

SIR STANLEY REED: The first speaker said he spoke as an outsider and as a bureaucrat. May I speak as a complete outsider but not a bureaucrat? I have listened with enormous pleasure to Sir George Anderson's paper, because everybody who knows anything about educational conditions in India will agree with 99 per cent. of it. It was particularly pleasant to me, because I see in that paper the development and fruition of ideas which he and I shared in common something like twenty-five years ago, when we were members of the Bombay University Senate.

Looking back on our work in India, I think we must regard our work for education, certainly after the 'nineties, as thoroughly bad. For that we and the Government of the day must take supreme responsibility. The root cause of our educational difficulties in India is the tyranny of the matriculation. Our educational system has been based on the assumption that everybody who learns anything is going to be a University student. So now we come to the stage when we are going to have this real development, we hope, of vocational training. There again I have no hope of the

success of the scheme unless Governments arise which will be really interested in education. That has not been the case until now in my connection with India.

Two points in the debate are rather important. Sir Philip Hartog raised the point as to whether the social and economic system would absorb the products of the educational system. I differ entirely from his assumption that adequate capital at a reasonable rate of interest will not be available for the development of industries. India today is suffering from a glut of capital, for which there is no attractive economic outlet. Those whose business it is to control or influence capital know that their great difficulty is to find any outlet for it at a reasonable rate. This is due to many causes, and not least to the remarkable liquidation of India's store of treasure through the sales of gold.

The second point is the development of the productivity of the rural areas. Reference has been made to the consolidation of holdings in the Punjab. Believe me, the problem in the Punjab is only a microscopical fraction of the problem in the ryotwari areas, where uneconomic holdings are divided into a multitude of even more uneconomic patches, denying the possibility of a decent livelihood.

There has been little real interest in rural industries and their development since Lord Curzon until the new movement sponsored by Lord Linlithgow. There is a stir in India at the present time in many directions, although the outward and visible signs of that stirring are chiefly in politics. It is being reflected in the villages and will develop from the rural uplift scheme and broadcasting, which is going to transform the situation. We have an opportunity now of remedying our blunders of the last forty years, and it is for us to do our utmost in that direction, because believe me, we have a tremendously heavy debt to pay.

I am not in the least interested in or influenced by the allegation that there is no money, because a saving of 25 per cent. of the waste of education today will provide a sufficient sum, or very nearly a sufficient sum, to carry out the great reforms which have been adumbrated in the address to which we have listened this afternoon.

SIR HENRY SHARP: I suppose what I say will prove provocative. It generally does. But at all events I speak from considerable conviction and considerable experience. I was for many years Inspector of Schools in the Central Provinces, where rural education was considered to be particularly good. I was also Director of Public Instruction in part of Bengal, where secondary and University education are considered to be particularly faulty. I entirely agree with my friend Sir George Anderson and my friend Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge when they say that the stumbling-block has been the lure of the matriculation.

But when we come to consider remedies for this state of things, which does militate gravely against the economic and social interests of India—well, Lord Lamington said that Sir George was a little pessimistic. I am afraid I am much more pessimistic than Sir George. We are up against a system which was introduced in the middle of last century, and which

very rapidly became entrenched behind the barbed wire of vested interests, and which lives largely upon the fallacious attraction of the University degree or at least the attempt to get a University degree.

We have made all sorts of efforts to get away from this difficulty. I remember when we in Eastern Bengal got an enormous scheme up, the Government of Bengal agreeing, and we began to finance secondary education—which largely is the pivot—in a really satisfactory manner. But the thing proved hopeless. The moment you begin to really improve by Government grants the existing schools, and to fit them out with proper buildings and proper teachers, you get a mushroom growth—perhaps I ought rather to say a fungus growth—of other institutions springing up and spoiling your average and bringing down the standard.

My own fear is, and has been for many years, that the difficulty is so great that no outside control, no application of money—which by the way really ought to be going into elementary education instead of shoring up indifferent secondary education—is going to work the miracle.

I believe the solution depends on two things. First, cure from within. I cannot help thinking that the time will come when the parents will themselves rebel against this system and will rise up and smash it. It is becoming so ludicrous, such an intolerable state of things. And the other is what Sir George Anderson has laid stress upon—namely, the encouragement of rural interests.

I rejoice to see that in the Punjab they are resuscitating the vernacular middle school. In the Central Provinces we had most admirable vernacular middle schools. There was no English in them at all. I had not been there very long before I said that they were the most truly educative institutions in India. We had also a strictly rural curriculum. The textbook was founded upon rural subjects. Of course, we did not attempt to teach in the schools practical agriculture, although we did have simple lessons on the diseases of cattle and their remedies, and irrigation and raising water and that sort of thing. But we taught them the causes of things, trying to give them an interest in the matter; there were lessons on simple botany. Our geography was based on the village and the fields and the papers of the patwari. They knew the boundaries of their fields, the acreage, the rent they had to pay; the pupils had to copy and understand portions of the patwari's registers, the *khasra* and the *jemabandi*; and we taught them very simply the law of landlord and tenant, and the parents showed great appreciation when the boys showed an intelligent knowledge of that. We used our vernacular middle schools as training schools, and very excellent they were. We also had our teachers trained at a central school of agriculture. The result was not an improvement in the agriculture of the country; you have to do that through itinerant teachers, adult instruction, and model farms. But what we did was to produce a set of people who did not want to go running off to the towns and getting secondary education, who really did take an interest in their work in the villages, and who were lovers of their country life, the sun, the rain, and the soil, and who carried on the work of agriculture and taught their children to do the same.

The CHAIRMAN: We now can welcome our proper Chairman, Lord Hailey, who has arrived. I will ask him to speak. He has come straight from Geneva.

Lord HAILEY: I am afraid I really owe a very great apology. I only reached Victoria at 5.30. I came here at once, because I felt that whatever I did I must apologize to everyone here and must express my extreme regret that I failed to keep an engagement to preside at a meeting which was going to be addressed by my old friend Sir George Anderson.

His subject is one in which we in the Punjab took intense interest. I always felt that in the past we had never really done our duty by the rural element in the Punjab, or perhaps in the rest of India. We had failed to realize, perhaps in our preoccupation with other classes, that we were not in time taking those steps which are necessary to prevent a people—who are only just learning what it is to have a cash economy—from misusing the credit which they are able to raise on their agricultural property. Too late we awoke to the fact that the whole of our rural population was deeply indebted, and that it was getting in the hands of moneylenders; that it was being expropriated, and that something like a great and most unfortunate social change was taking place.

I mention that only as an illustration. There were many who believed that we were paying insufficient attention to the rural question. But things led us, perhaps, as I said before, to preoccupation in other matters. Now, however, in later years we had learnt our lesson. We had learnt how much injury we were doing to people by failing to realize that there was something like a rural mentality; that all the ideas, all the feelings of the country people were different from those of the townspeople.

I do not want to pit one class against the other, or to take the side of one class against the other, but the fact is that you cannot do your best for country people unless you do two things: first of all, you must try to get a real insight into their lives, and, secondly, you must as far as possible give them their own Indian officials who come from their own class. If you do not do that, then all that you can do in the way of co-operation, education, and the rest is likely to be a failure.

I have always believed that the solution of the country problem did not lie in making separate departments, a separate type of worker to deal with country people. We had a large number of departments working in India, all of them enthusiastic, all of them keen; all we needed really was some fresh attitude and some fresh direction. If we could get that, directing and inspiring the work of the departments, giving them a new attitude and a new outlook on country affairs, getting them to realize the real needs of the country people, then the departments were there and were fully capable of doing the work. All we needed was a new attitude and a new type of co-operation among them.

I do not know whether Sir George Anderson has been able to tell you that we achieved that; certainly that was our object. When I read his address I shall no doubt get new light myself on a problem which interested and troubled us all. But I have only ventured here, without

being able to marshal my own thoughts at all—and still suffering a little from the effect of what they tell me was the worst crossing of the Channel they have had for years—to try to give you in brief outline what we felt to be the real solution of many of the problems with which we had to deal in helping the countryside.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON, in his brief reply, thanked those who had taken part in the discussion for their kindly remarks about himself and the paper which he had just read.

There was now definite evidence that, in London as well as in India, there was a strong and a growing discontent against the system of education in India and its acknowledged defects and shortcomings. It was at least something that authoritative bodies such as the Universities Conference and the Central Advisory Board of Education had not only emphasized the defects but had made constructive proposals in the direction of reform and reconstruction. In particular, the Unemployment Committee in the United Provinces, of which the Right Hon. Sir Taj Bahadur Supra was the Chairman, had given a decisive lead. Public opinion in India was very different from what it had been five years ago. To that extent the position had materially changed for the Indian.

During the course of his address he expressed keen regret at the death of the late Dr. A. H. Mackenzie, which he represented as an almost irreparable loss to the cause of educational reform.

Sir ABDUL QADIR: I do not rise at this late hour to add anything to the discussion on the merits of the paper, but simply to thank Sir George Anderson on behalf of this Association and all present here for the excellent paper that he has read to us, and for the thought-provoking things that he has said in it, which have evoked such a good discussion.

I wish also to thank Lord Lamington for having kindly presided over this afternoon's meeting. It was our misfortune that our Chairman today, Lord Hailey, was delayed in the circumstances that he has just now explained to us, and we were thus deprived of some of the remarks which we would have got from him on the momentous questions discussed in the paper if he had been present throughout the meeting. We are glad, however, that Lord Hailey arrived before the close of the proceedings, and we are lucky that he has given us the benefit of his ideas. We thank him for the trouble he took in rushing to this meeting in spite of his long journey from Geneva and the bad crossing which delayed his train.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of Sir George Anderson and myself. I apologize for having supplanted Lord Hailey. I am very glad he was able to appear and give us his own valuable ideas on this interesting and important question.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the vote of thanks you have just passed on behalf of Sir George Anderson and myself.

Mr. E. BATCHELOR, late I.C.S., writes: I heartily approve of the schemes of rural development alluded to. I do not consider their success is de-

pendent upon improvement in the educational system. In England, as in India, the more gifted pupils quit the village for the town; are indeed helped to do so, in an increasing measure, by scholarships. The so-called "indigenous agency" of country parson, country squire, and country doctor are University products: were they middle-school products only they would not have much influence. The author has overlooked the powerful influence of the patwari on rural economy: what would the District Officer do without him?

So long as the debates in the Councils are in English, so long must the elector, if he is to have an understanding of these debates and to influence his representative, be able to understand English. I feel certain the debates will continue to be in English; consequently, under the reforms, the importance of English will increase.

The extension of industry appears to be regarded by Sir George Anderson as being independent of education. What, then, is the end of education? Is the birth of industry considered to be haphazard, to wait on spontaneous generation, or is it to be planned? At this very moment, new knowledge, the planned product of education, is opening out vast employment in Germany with new industries for the production of fuel oil, rubber, and textiles. No doubt the cost of such products is now greater than that of the natural products. But it is certain the cost of the synthetic product will fall, may perhaps become the lesser; just as that of synthetic indigo became less than that of the vegetable indigo.

It is not stated what are the "posts suitable to graduates." A sum of Rs. 5,000, with a rate of interest of 3 per cent., buys for 25 years an annuity of Rs. 300 or a monthly payment of Rs. 25. Is it reasonable for a graduate to expect more than Rs. 25 a month in excess of what a matriculate considers reasonable?

The number of unemployed graduates and matriculates is probably due largely to the growth of economic nationalism, which has materially constricted India's foreign market. There is no indication that this growth will cease; indeed, recent events have stimulated it in Italy and Germany. For long I have thought this good for the Central Provinces—and presumably the other Provinces in India—and have, indeed, endeavoured to give effect to the belief. With *laissez-faire*, trial and error methods, we shall never compete with planned activities abroad. The adoption of planned development in India should secure employment to many now regarded as unemployable. Diligence in detecting opportunities for the application of one's knowledge, and perseverance in persuading others of the value of the application when attained, are no doubt necessary and should have formed part of the student's education.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

By SIR JAMES CRERAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

THE Government of India Act became law on August 2, 1935. Action still remains to be taken to implement its two main provisions—the institution of responsible government in the Provinces, and the creation of a Federal Government comprising these autonomous Provinces and the requisite proportion of Indian States acceding to the Federation.

But the Act is now on the Statute Book. The controversies which inevitably attended its passage through Parliament, bitter and prolonged as some of them were, have died down, and, in accordance with that good tradition of political common sense which has rarely deserted us, there is a general disposition in this country, even among those who considered it their duty to oppose many of the provisions of the Act, to accept it as an accomplished fact and to apply themselves to the conditions necessary to make it a success in operation. It is now possible and opportune to attempt some assessment of the prospects.

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS

For the purposes of good government, a law of the constitution, wisely conceived and clearly expressed, is a thing to be commended, sometimes necessary, but never in itself sufficient. The first things needful are a governing authority able to make the welfare of the people its primary concern, the consent of the governed positively expressed in a sufficient measure of support and co-operation, and public services that are honest and efficient.

We have got, considering the vast complexity of its subject, the multitude of interests to be equitably provided for and the formidable task of putting down everything of importance in black and white, on the whole, a good Act. Certainly, the processes of

enquiry and discussion were exhausted, and could have taken us no further. The Act has the merits of maintaining continuity with the past and of allowing adaptation and development in the future. So far so good.

An even more important question is whether we have got, in England and in India, a sufficient stock of political common sense and goodwill to work the Act in accordance with the wisdom and good intent of Parliament. The Act has done, and could do, little more than mark out the arena within which the living issues must be worked out and, if need be, fought out. We must not expect an era of halcyon days, undisturbed by storms of passion, prejudice or folly. In a very imperfect world the auspices at this stage might well have been less favourable. But these are the provinces of the constitutional lawyer, the statesman and other sages. I leave them, with no more than a respectful salutation, for the humbler and more familiar ground of the administrator.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

Nothing is more certain than that the success or failure of the new régime in India, both immediately and in the ultimate account, will in large measure depend upon the maintenance of public services adequate to their enlarging responsibilities. It is to one aspect of this crucial question that I address myself. I imagine that those of us who are veterans, not perhaps without scars, of a pacific campaign, which has already lasted over a century and a half and is now entering upon a decisive phase, need not ask the indulgence of anyone acquainted with the history of Indian government for the proposition that the most direct and, in many respects, the weightiest share of these duties and responsibilities will devolve upon the Indian Civil Service.

The history of the Indian Civil Service coincides pretty nearly with the history of Great Britain as the Paramount Power in India. From the beginning it had duties which covered the whole business of government, and, in discharging them, it was brought into intimate contact with every phase of Indian life in a sense to which the government in England of the same period affords no parallel. In this close concern with the everyday life of the

people, it anticipated by at least a generation the Civil Service in this country and in many respects it still retains this priority.

The traditions of the service, a unique and, I trust, a permanent possession, were founded by such men as Warren Hastings himself, Jonathan Duncan, Theophilus Metcalfe, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. They were carried on and carried further by a succession of distinguished men whose names, unknown or forgotten in England, are many of them remembered in obscure Indian villages with something of the veneration that is paid to the legendary heroes of the soil. Very soon we see emerge the representative types of the Indian civilian of the old school.

THE OLD RÉGIME

First in order, and, I very often think, in merit, is the District Officer, "the Protector of the Poor, the Refuge of the World." He was, in his large aggregate, the most important, as he was the most familiar, *avatar* of Government. He still is, and, in my opinion, is likely to remain so for many long years. There was the Judge dispensing, often in an isolation only a degree less than that of his executive colleague, a justice to which still attached the novel peculiarity, at once reassuring and disturbing, of being impartial and incorrupt. There was the Political Officer, a rather resplendent personage, and, in his day, controlling the issues of peace and war, making or unmaking princes and potentates; or, in another manifestation, marching with armies and, in jirgas and durbars, imposing on border warriors the ways of peace.

There was the Secretary, already entrenched in files, innocent in those happier days of stenography, and already suspected of being the only begetter of the resolutions of Government that issued under his signature. There was even the expert, ready to expound the immutable and incomprehensible principles of land revenue, or to propound new ones.

There was the Member of Council, a more august figure, perhaps, than his later successors and certainly enjoying more opportunity for silence and meditation; and the Chief Commissioner, the precursor of the modern Governor, whom higher rank may

have compensated for some diminution of independent personal authority.

These men stood for a system which they had themselves no small share in creating and which, handled as it was by them and handed on, may well be a ground of legitimate pride and an exemplar in the essential things of the spirit to the service of today and tomorrow.

In saying this, it is very far from my intention to do any disparagement to the commanding part played by the men *who*, already eminent in public life in England, came, as Governors or Governors-General, to hold the superior control of the system in India; or by the Governments at home who had the final authority and responsibility. All this belongs to history and is not my present business to record; and it would be especially superfluous on this occasion, when we are honoured by the presidency of the latest of a long proconsular succession, who, in three memorable and momentous terms of office, has seen far more of India and borne more of the burden and heat of the day than any of his predecessors since the days of John Company. I cannot, however, forbear to say this much, that there is no single body of men more competent to testify to the greatness of Lord Willingdon's achievement than the generation of Indian civilians who served under his auspices.

THE BUREAUCRATIC RÉGIME

The work of the Indian Civil Service, from the assumption of direct authority by the Crown, continued to grow in scope, volume and complexity. Perhaps the most surprising fact is the extent to which it was possible, over so long a term of years, to come so near that ever-receding rainbow of the Civil Servant, Administration without Politics. As it has everywhere eluded him, so it was destined to elude anyone sanguine enough to nurse that unconquerable hope in India.

When the ideal of unperturbed, administrative efficiency reached its zenith in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, there were already ambiguous omens on the horizon of that golden age of the bureaucracy. It is easy now, when we have found ourselves constrained to enter upon a reassessment of nearly all old values, to

discover that the ideal of an honest, efficient and economical administration does not fulfil all even of the secular needs of human society. It never, indeed, made that pretension, but the ideal itself was not ignoble and it was never more nearly attained. There was no contemporary administration—and I speak now of the combined effort of all the public services in India—which set out to do so much and gave a better account of the resources in men and money which it could command.

I was an infant in the service when this phase was consummated, and may claim that my eulogy, if not entirely impartial, is entirely impersonal. And it is not an epitaph. It only marks an accomplished stage. It is the discernible end of a chapter; but much has since been written, and more is still to write, in the book.

I do not mean to imply that since those days there has been any decline in the fundamental standards of administration or in the capacity of the service to respond to the demands made upon it. It is not enough to say that there is of necessity a great deal that cannot be so minutely and meticulously finished. That might be no great loss, and the truth goes much beyond it. It would be as disingenuous to ignore as it would be fruitless to deplore that political and other distractions have occupied time and energy that could have been employed to much more direct and calculable profit. What, in fact, has happened is that fundamental changes have occurred in the framework within which the administrative machine has to work, and that the demands made upon it are not only enlarged but many of them in their nature unprecedented.

NEW CONDITIONS

Of these changes, some have been gradual and continuous and are the accumulated resultant of forces already long in motion; others are due to revolutionary changes in the world order, precipitated where they were not caused by the convulsion of the war, of which India has felt the full blast; others, again, to less catastrophic but deeply operative factors which may be grouped under the comfortable but flattering name of scientific progress.

In recent years we have seen maturing with startling rapidity

the fruits of our own political doctrines and of our own policy in India. What is more, the Indian social organism, or its aggregate of social organisms, has been more deeply penetrated by the Western impact as a whole than those who believe in an unchanging East will be willing to admit. These processes have been greatly accelerated by the advances made in mechanical invention and their introduction into India—by the motor-car, wireless telegraphy, the aeroplane, the cinema, and all the new means of production, transport and communication. And all this in the universal ferment which has dissolved everywhere in the world so much that seemed permanent and stable.

It is, in my judgment, idle to suppose that in India only a minority of the educated and the so-called politically-minded have been affected. There is hardly a village of which the immemorial routine has not been disturbed, its economy thrown into a higher gear and its ancient ways of thought side-tracked and diverted. It is, however, true, as it has been true of every country and every age, that it is the educated minority which is most directly in contact with and most receptive of new ideas; and it is equally true that it is they who come first into action in matters of politics and government, and are in the strongest position to influence the less sophisticated majority of their fellow-countrymen.

Since, therefore, the work of the Indian Civil Service has been almost coterminous with the life of India, it was inevitable that it should also change in a manner corresponding and proportionate to great alterations, not merely of environment and circumstance, but of the very substance in which it lives and moves and has its being. Changes of capital importance would have taken place even without the constitutional reforms. The Government of India Act is not in itself a primary and fundamental factor: it is rather the recognition and formulation of a new state of things which has an independent existence, like a treaty which recognizes and formulates the results of a campaign.

THEIR EFFECTS UPON THE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

Even if we could have had administration without politics, we should have had, unless the Indian Civil Service had proved un-

equal to its destiny, a transformed administration. New responses had to be found to new challenges. There is the problem, set out in an acuter form than ever before in the last census of India, of the vastly increased population and its means of subsistence. Scientific developments alone would have imposed new standards of administration, even if their application had not been part of the duty of Government. In spite of the pressure of population and economic disorders, a widely diffused heightening of the standard of living has created new demands.

These things, and the rapidly extending contacts and mutual reactions between India and the whole world, themselves necessitated a new orientation of ideas and action. The growing volume and complexity of public business had already created the need for a larger number of experts, whose business should be not government at large, but some particular branch of it or even some narrower category still. And this is a tendency which must continue and develop.

The part played in a modern state by its organized public services is an historical development of which the beginning is not very far out of living memory. India, as I have pointed out, anticipated the contemporary world in having a highly organized public service which had almost the whole national life for its province. Of the old traditions of public service, I do not think there are any that are obsolete and outworn. What has become necessary is not new principles but the extension of the old to new territory, their application and adaptation to new needs and the development wherever necessary of a new technique.

I cannot conceive a more honourable task, and I take pride in the thought that in it the Indian Civil Service will play a leading part. Nothing, therefore, in my opinion, could be further from the truth than that this is a time to talk of euthanasia and epitaphs. The truth is that this is certainly a turning-point in the history of the service, but that it has never had a more absorbing field for its activity nor opportunity for greater service to India and England.

If this is true apart from the political factors, it is immeasurably more so when they are taken into account. The Government of India Act has been described as not in itself a primary, originating

element in the new state of things, but rather as summing them up in the formula of a defined plan of action. I think that, on a general view of the Indian situation, that is true. But for the Indian Civil Service, its functions and its future, it is undoubtedly a fact of the first importance.

THE NEW RÉGIME

When the new régime comes fully into being, the constitutional theory and the legal provision are that, except in those spheres reserved to the Crown or to the discretionary powers of the Governor-General or Governors, the primary function of the Indian Civil Service will be to execute the policy of Indian parliamentary governments. In other words, the Indian civilian will take his orders, directly or indirectly, from a minister. That has, of course, already been the formal position for sixteen years in regard to certain spheres in the Provinces; it will now be extended to the whole sphere of government, subject to the reservations mentioned, with which the Indian civilian is normally concerned.

That is an important new fact, and it would be inadmissible to say anything that might appear to derogate from it. But it is sometimes suggested that the practical meaning of all this is that, whereas the Indian Civil Service was formerly responsible for framing as well as for executing policy, in future it will be restricted exclusively to the latter. This is not a quite accurate statement of the historical facts and does not appear a very convincing estimate of the future probabilities. It is perfectly true that in the past many Indian civilians had a large share, and, in some instances, the preponderating or sole part, in initiating policy. But at no time had they, or the service, any legal prerogative in the matter.

The constitutional and legal position, since India came directly under the Crown, was that His Majesty's Government, acting through the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council, had supreme control over and responsibility to Parliament for every act, great or small, done in India in the King's name. The initiation of policy by individual civilians was merely an incident of the convenience or exigencies of government in practice. I

take leave to doubt whether we are likely to witness any startling innovations in the practice in this respect as a consequence of the Act. An expert Civil Service, in any country which possesses one, has inevitably a great part in determining policy. In constitutional theory, the line is nowhere more strictly drawn than in England, but, in England, no minister would disown the debt he owes to the permanent official, not only in translating policy into action, but in assisting him to devise it.

Why should relations, which have been on the whole reasonably well established under provincial dyarchy, not be continued and confirmed in a wider field? The important thing is that the ministers on the one hand and the officials on the other should recognize clearly their several duties in these spheres and respect them. The most significant change in the functions of the service is likely to be simply this, that they will be even more various, more numerous and more indispensable to the national economy than ever before.

In one respect they will be at this juncture of especial importance. It is of the utmost importance that, through and beyond the transition to the new régime, normal and peaceful conditions should be preserved. In this, the District Officer and his colleague, the Police Officer, will be the key men. The district is, and is likely to remain, the cardinal unit in the whole structure of administration; assuredly not less will depend in the future than has depended in the past on the personality of its head. The courage, the energized common sense and the power of leadership, which were called for when famine and pestilence were more frequent incidents in the day's work, will yet have ample field in which to deploy. The District Officer will be, as he has usually been, in the front line of the service in discharging its principal mission in the immediate future, that of making straight and secure the ways for a new order of things in India.

SERVICE PERSONNEL

It is an obvious and ineluctable consequence of this view of the function of the service in the new régime, that any decline in the quality of its personnel would be most ominous for the success of

an enterprise which, in the most favourable circumstances, will not be smooth and easy. One important change, already far advanced, in the constitution of the service is that "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration," which is a legitimate Indian claim and has for many years been the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. It is implicit in the new conditions. The paramount necessity of obtaining recruits of the best possible quality obviously applies with not less force—some will consider that it applies with greater force—to the Indian half of the quota.

INDIAN RECRUITMENT

The difficulties of the problem of Indian recruitment differ in many respects from those of British recruitment.

The gravest defect of the system till recently in force was that it provided what was clearly a ridiculously small proportion of places for allotment in India. Again, one of India's major social and political problems is reflected in the necessity—which will be recognized by everyone who has had any practical experience of or responsibility for a most intricate and troublesome business—of providing against the undue predominance in the public service of any particular caste or community.

Under a scheme recently adopted, the competitive examination will continue to be the main source of recruitment both in England and in India, where there is dove-tailed into it special provision for minority communities. The under-recruitment of Indian and British officers which of late years has resulted from the defective system hitherto in force, and any future deficiencies in the recruitment of British officers by competition, will be remedied by selection. This was probably the only means of replenishing a serious temporary shortage in the cadre, but it may prove to have intrinsic merits of its own. The results will require the most vigilant observation. The Indian side of the problem is too complex and goes too deep to be capable of any simple, definitive solution.

Meantime, apart from and above these difficult technical points, there are two responsibilities which can only be discharged by

Indians themselves. The first is that the enlarged body of Indian officers should realize that the achievement of a legitimate ambition carries with it obligations to maintain the traditions of the service, which I am confident its senior Indian members will be the first to inculcate. The second rests on public men of all communities in India, to whom the new order brings a great increment of political power. It is difficult for people in this country to realize how largely this question of posts in the public service looms in the Indian perspective, but it must be understood that it is a major issue and one of the bitterest apples of discord. If Indian public men are unable or unwilling to keep it within bounds, if they join in seeking to make the public services a bone of political contention and a spoil for the victor to exploit, they will incur the responsibility of inflicting a grave injury on the national life and political future of their country.

BRITISH RECRUITMENT

Though the purpose of enlisting the best men is the same, British recruitment raises a different series of questions. Before any answer to them is sought, their own existence must be justified by an answer to the initial question, what special contribution is the British officer able, and alone able, to make to Indian administration? There is a sufficient answer to that question, both on the record of the past and on the present outlook.

The Indian Civil Service has been almost exclusively, and still is predominantly, British in composition. Its traditions are ultimately derived from the tradition of public service in the life of this country, though, like certain well-known vintages making the same voyage, they may even have gained something in the transit. The connection has been close and continuous, both in *moral* and men, throughout its history and many families have sent their sons to India in successive generations. I make bold to say that any severance of this connection would be an injury to both countries.

THE RÔLE OF THE BRITISH OFFICER

The basic political conception of the Government of India Act is that the next phase in India's political evolution should be a partnership between Britain and India; and it is a natural corollary of that conception that part of Britain's contribution should be in men. The British officer has authentic credentials as the interpreter of the political and administrative ideas which we and, I think, a large majority of Indians desire to see prevailing there. Apart from this, in dealing with domestic controversies of all kinds in India, particularly those of a racial, religious or social complexion, the British officer, like the Podesta in an Italian City State, has inherent advantages in his manifest detachment and disinterest, which the highest personal qualities in his Indian colleague cannot entirely replace. When religious or communal feelings run high, there is no commoner demand from Indians of all classes and creeds than for the presence of a British officer on the spot, if he is not already there.

We have all known Indian officers capable of subordinating what may, and, in the popular mind, will infallibly be supposed to, be his private sympathies to his public duties. It is not so much a question of personality as of intractable facts, and there must be a greater change in the disposition of internal forces and conditions in India than is yet in prospect before this will cease to be the case. Communal discord is perhaps the greatest obstacle and danger to a democratic form of government in India. It will not be resolved by the occasional intervention of a third party to prevent or suppress its more violent manifestations. It will be resolved only when a sense of their ultimate common responsibility brings the contending parties together to compose, on a basis of mutual interest and toleration, their own *modus vivendi*. In the interval—and it is likely to be a long interval—the British officer has an indispensable part to play, moderating, conciliating and endeavouring to promote settlements progressively more stable. And it is a part which he can play in wider and more fruitful fields than the gloomy and barren ground of racial or religious animosity.

But if considerations of this kind constitute the main justification for the recruitment of the British officer, it becomes all the more important that the best men should be attracted. I suppose that a young man making the momentous choice of his career will naturally consider the character of the work it entails, the security of his service, its emoluments and its amenities.

SECURITY

A great deal has already been said about the character of the work. Of the rest, I shall speak first of security, though I doubt if it would have that precedence in the mind of the type of young man we want. The Indian Civil Service never was a career for any man whose instinct in life and conduct was for safety first. I hope it never will be. But the more solicitous minds of parents and guardians have been not unnaturally agitated. Of course there are risks, but the sum total is not greater than would be entailed in any career of equal honour and opportunity. The Indian Civil Service has precise, specific, statutory guarantees, such as do not exist, so far as I am aware, for any other service in the Empire. I do not think, for example, that a man has much cause to complain if his salary is as secure as those of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. The statutory safeguards could hardly have gone further without the risk of falling by their own weight.

But apprehensions and suspicions have found expression that these statutory safeguards might be defeated. That, presumably, would occur, in the first instance, in India. Apart from the injustice, as I believe it to be, to the common sense and common honesty of the effective body of Indian public opinion, the Governors and Governors-General in India, who have special responsibilities in these matters, must be supposed accomplices in this conspiracy. Governments in this country must be supposed capable of joining in such a betrayal and capable of surviving it. The ultimate resort is to the people of this country. If public opinion here were ever of a temper to allow such a repudiation of public engagements, much more would be lost on that Mohacz field than the Indian Civil Service.

EMOLUMENTS AND AMENITIES

In the matter of emoluments, the average prospects are probably better than they were thirty years ago. The officer of British domicile starts at £540 a year and rises to £2,385 before he is fifty. Many go on, at an earlier age, to such posts as the Commissionership of a division, on £2,860 or a secretaryship to Government, ranging from £2,600 to £3,600. Eight out of eleven governorships are now held by Indian civilians. Considering the nature of his duties, the penalties of expatriation and the relatively higher scale of expenditure that service in India entails, I do not consider that the Indian civilian is overpaid. But if young men of today, who have to rely solely on their own ability, character and accomplishment, can easily find a more attractive offer, they are a more fortunate generation than, so far as I can discover, they believe themselves to be.

Of the amenities of service, I suppose the most important are connected with health and recreation. In health the vast improvement made in recent years is illustrated by the death rate per mille among British troops in India, which was 69 in 1859, 20 in 1875, 13 in 1900 and 2.44 in 1933. Insurance companies, which deal with average chances, no longer charge for Indian risk.

The likely candidate will probably be more interested in the choice open to him of pursuits outside his official work. It would be difficult to imagine anywhere in the world a greater variety of attraction. Sport, travel and adventure, or art, philosophy, history and science, in each India has to offer not merely a reasonable gratification, but something *in excelsis* for anyone who has in himself the necessary temperament and quality to pursue it.

These intrinsic attractions will have more effect on the quality of the new entry than any system of recruitment. My own impression is that those which will weigh most are not emoluments or security, but the character of the work to be done and the environment, the other interests of life, the background of duty in the field or at the desk. It would be no disparagement to a young man that he should have hopes of recognition and rewards for good service in a career which may quite likely entail danger and

hardship and will certainly demand strenuous effort during the best years of his life. But I believe the strongest inducement for the best men will be the work to be done. The question will be, not whether it is a soft job, nor whether it is safe, nor whether it pays, but whether it is worth while. In the disordered world we live in, two things, at any rate, are eminently worth while: with the defence services, to secure our liberties and our conceptions of a free and rational way of life; and with the Indian Civil Service, to vindicate their value.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Friday, December 8, 1936, when a paper entitled "The Future of the Indian Civil Service" was read by Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 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 James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Reginald Spence, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert Carr, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Hugh Stephenson, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., G.B.E., Sir Philip Buckland, Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Pearson, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir William and Lady Baker, Lady Kerr, Lady Pinhey, Lady Stokes, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr Stanley Rice, Mr F. J. P. Richter, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. and Mrs. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. S. N. Bakar, Mrs. Alan Izat, Miss Crerar, Mr. T. G. Evers, Mr. S. N. Biswas, Mr. J. C. Bagram, Dr. S. G. Vesey-FitzGerald, Mr. G. N. Dusvedi, Mr. B. D. Sanwal, Mrs. Damry, Mr. D. C. Oomrigar, Mr. S. T. Ali, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Miss F. Leatherdale, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mrs. O. Rothfield, Mr. G. F. K. Adams, Mr. H. Harris, Mrs. W. Lamb, Miss Gunter, Mr. Harold Dunning, Mrs. E. Hapsburg-Fothringen, Mr. Hilton Brown, Miss M. T. Drake, Mr. A. M. Trethewy, Mr. Ali Asgher, Mr. L. H. V. French, Mrs. Percy Brown, Mrs. Blake, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. B. Hay, Mr. R. G. C. Davison, Mr. K. G. Mehta, Mrs. Madelay, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, Mr. F. W. Robertson, Miss R. Harrison, Mr. G. B. N. Hartog, Miss N. H. Hill, Mr. M. Lal, Dr. J. F. Lydall, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami A. Mudalair, Mrs. R. D. Clinton-Thomas, Mr. J. Lambert Brown, Mr. Tarlok Singh, Miss Hill, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

LORD WILLINGDON said: I am sorry to have to inform you of certain casualties to gentlemen who were coming here, and very important gentlemen, who were going to follow the lecturer in the discussion on this important subject. Lord Hailey has telephoned that he is ill in bed and unable to come; Sir George Cunningham, who, as you all know, is going to be the new Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, and Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, are also unavoidably absent; and Mr. Hallett, who is to be the new Governor of Orissa, has another engagement. We all very much regret their absence from our meeting this evening.

You will not expect more than a very few words from me in introducing Sir James Crerar. Most of you are aware of the brilliant work he did in the Indian Civil Service. I have another particular reason for being

extremely brief this evening. It was only a few weeks ago that I had the privilege of taking the chair at the United Services Institution for a lecture that was being given by my old friend and colleague, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode. In my introductory remarks I said some rather nice things about my experiences of close association with the lecturer. When he spoke he made some rather nice remarks with regard to his association with me. At the end of Sir Philip's lecture a gentleman in the audience rose and made the observation that he had come to hear a lecture about the Army in India, and it seemed to be a matter of mutual admiration between Sir Philip Chetwode and Lord Willingdon. Now the position is somewhat the same this evening, so far as I am concerned. Sir James Crerar and I have been closely and intimately associated together at important periods in my administrative life in India. He was my Private Secretary in Bombay during the Great War and rendered me invaluable assistance and loyal help during those critical and arduous years. And when I went back to India as Viceroy I found him as Home Member at Delhi and Simla. He again rendered me invaluable assistance in the two first years of my Vice-regal life, which were the two most difficult and most trying years that I ever had during my long terms of public service overseas. But I am not going to say a word about the qualities of Sir James, because I do not want anyone to get up in the audience and make an observation similar to that I have mentioned. I will merely say that, knowing his qualities, knowing very well his intense loyalty and devotion to the great Service of which he has been such a distinguished member, I am sure that we shall all listen to his lecture with the greatest interest and that we shall receive a very sound and well-reasoned opinion of the future of the Civil Service.

SIR JAMES CRERAR: I should desire, in the first instance, my Lord, to acknowledge, however inadequately, the very kind words in which you have introduced me to this audience. And I would only say on that point—for I cannot fully express my gratitude—that, during those difficult and arduous days to which you refer, many of us had indeed responsibilities to discharge which would have been very nearly intolerable had we not had the fullest assurance of sympathetic counsel and the most unwavering support.

(Sir James then delivered his lecture.)

LORD WILLINGDON: I am told that I am to say a few words after the very interesting lecture to which we have listened. I have more than once since I returned home from India expressed my views, I hope very clearly, as to the value of the great work done by the Indian Civil Service and its prospects for the future; but perhaps after this most interesting lecture, and in the presence of so many distinguished Civil Servants here, I had better restate those views in a few considered words.

I have at least this advantage that I can speak of the Service and of its members, past and present, in terms which modesty forbids you to employ. And I have this further advantage that the position which I occupied in India enabled me, at any rate to some extent, to take the part of an observer rather than that of a protagonist. It is a truism that the actors themselves

are usually less able to appreciate the excellence of their performance than those who sit and watch the play; and while I hope that I was never merely a spectator, I may have been able at times to achieve a greater measure of detachment than was possible for you who, in your several rôles, had little opportunity to consider the part you were playing or whether you played it ill or well. There may have been times when you all felt that your efforts were in vain; that the changes which time and the spread of democratic principles have wrought in India were such as to undermine the prestige of your Service and to sully the labours of successive generations of Indian Civil Servants. But I am convinced that few of you held this opinion for long, and that even those who were most strongly opposed to the constitutional changes which have taken place must, on mature consideration, have appreciated the fact that in carrying out the policy of Parliament in regard to those changes, the Indian Civil Service has set the seal upon its reputation as being the finest Service in the world. In particular, I cannot speak too highly of the loyalty and devotion of those Indian Civil Servants who, while they felt that the constitutional changes of the past twenty years were, if not ill-conceived, at least premature and too rapid, and while they were in a position to retire from the Service on well-earned pension, have nevertheless, in their realization of the fact that as servants of the Crown it was their duty to carry out unquestioningly the declared policy of Parliament, remained faithfully at their posts and laboured to give this great constitutional experiment a fair trial. To them, and to all of you who are no longer in the Service, I appeal to continue the work which you have so well begun, and, realizing that the presence of an efficient and impartial Civil Service in India is essential if the experiment is to succeed, to assist the measures which are being taken to ensure a steady flow of recruits worthy to follow after the great Indian Civil Service administrators of the past. Far be it from me to suggest that any man should enter the Indian Civil Service at this time who does not appreciate fully the difficulties—and they are very real difficulties—with which he will have to contend. But I say emphatically that where these difficulties are clearly understood and where the candidate is conscious of a real desire to serve in India, no obstacle should be put in his way, no effort should be made to dissuade him.

Sir James Crerar has described very clearly the safeguards provided for the Services by the Government of India Act of 1935; I would not dwell upon the completeness of these safeguards, though they are as complete as forethought can make them, nor on the attractive status and emoluments which the Service affords, though no other Imperial Service offers better attractions. It is the opportunity of a career which allows a man to give the best that is in him in service of real value to India and the Empire that should, I submit, be stressed. The Act of 1935 has given, I believe, to a vast Continent a unique opportunity to work out its salvation as a willing partner in the Empire. But it is for the youth of Great Britain to see that it supplies an essential ingredient in the administration of the country. Whatever the prospective changes in the Indian policy, the great tradition of administration must be maintained, not only in regard to peace and order, but in the improvement of rural and urban conditions. The Indian Civil

Service of the future must continue to furnish its contribution towards sound and intelligent administration, without which no constitutional advance in India can promote the happiness of her people. These, ladies and gentlemen, are my considered views on the future of the Indian Civil Service. (Applause.)

Dr. VESEY-FITZGERALD said: When Mr. Brown invited me to take part in this discussion I did not realize that I would be placed in the extremely embarrassing position of speaking immediately after your Lordship. Sir James Crerar has expressed a hope that the enlarged body of Indian officers should realize that "the achievement of a legitimate ambition carries with it obligations to maintain the traditions of the Service." As a teacher I have had thirteen years' intimate experience of Indian probationers; and I can assure him that (though, of course, there have been a few disappointments) they do, as a body, fully realize the greatness of those traditions and are determined to uphold them.

Not long ago I was seated at a private luncheon next to a very distinguished member of the Home Civil Service who was sent out to India in an exalted position during the war. In the course of conversation he spoke of his experiences, as a war-time administrator, of his own Service and mine. Both in England and in India under the stress of war there was a constant demand for men to undertake previously unheard-of responsibilities. According to him (I have no authority to give his name) the Home Civil Servant, unrivalled though he might be in his own speciality, was usually unfitted (and conscious of his own unfitness) to undertake duties differing even slightly from his normal course. The Indian Civil Service, on the other hand, could always be relied upon to throw up a man ready to undertake the most unfamiliar duties at a moment's notice and to make good.

So far as this is a criticism of the Home Civil Service, I could not help thinking that its author's own career, at any rate, was one brilliant example to the contrary. As an appreciation of the I.C.S. I do not quote it in an audience which appears to consist mainly of members of the Service and their wives merely as something gratifying to our pride. Such adaptability has always been one of the ideals of the Service; and if as a Service we achieve it, it is worth while to ask on what that achievement rests. It rests, I think, on two grounds.

First, the training of the young civilian is largely legal and judicial. A large part of his time is spent in Court, construing enactments, hearing both sides, deciding issues. He has, in fact, something of the same training which makes the lawyer the man to undertake new responsibilities in England.

But more important is the fact that from an early stage in his Service an Indian Civil Servant is discharging in a less distinguished sphere the functions of a Governor or a Chief Justice. He is not merely a specialized administrator like a Home Civil Servant, nor "doing everything off his own bat," as he might be in the less developed African colonies: he is the captain of a team which includes, it may be, officers as able, as keen, and as expert as himself: and unless he can bring to his job not only expert

knowledge, but also breadth of vision, he cannot be their leader. Further, if he is to be a success as a District Officer, whether Collector or Judge, he must have something of that power of supporting his officers when they deserve support and of winning their personal loyalty, which you, my Lord, have so conspicuously exhibited on a larger stage.

It need hardly be pointed out that these two aspects of a civilian's life have a permanent value which politically-minded India is not likely to destroy. Even on the revenue side a large part of the work must always be judicial in character: and there must always be heads of districts to co-ordinate and lead the officers in the district.

MR. MUDALAIR: As I listened to the speech of Sir James Crerar there was one regret present in my mind: that in the days when I sat in the Legislative Assembly opposite Sir James I did not find myself as wholeheartedly in agreement with what he said as I find myself today. The fault was, of course, mine; and let me tell Sir James a fact, if he has not already heard it from my colleagues, that whatever we stated in debate, whatever views we expressed different from, and antagonistic to, those of the Home Member, there was one thought among the members in the lobbies and behind the official screen: that, so far as Sir James Crerar was concerned, in every speech he made, in every act he was responsible for, he was animated by the highest ideals of integrity, honesty, and strict devotion to duty as he conceived it in the best interests of the country he served.

Let me address myself to the speech delivered this evening. I find myself, as I have already said, so much in agreement with the sentiments he has expressed that I think it would be a work of supererogation if I were to refer to many of the aspects of the future of the Services to which he has adverted. I should like, however, to emphasize only one or two aspects of that future. There is an impression abroad that under the new Constitution the Civil Servant may not have the same opportunities of service, particularly in initiating or directing the policy of the administration, and that his share in the future governance of the country would not be anywhere near that of the past generation of Civil Servants. The generation of Sir James Crerar and those before him did great things for the country. Among political circles in India, when the acrimony of political and partisan controversy does not unduly obtrude, there is a very lively realization of this fact. But I venture to think that those who feel that the Indian Civil Service, that *corps d'élite*, will in the future be a purely ministerial service, carrying out blindly the orders of some mysterious superiors, adopting the slogan "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do" and pass on—I think that they are miscalculating the trend of future events in India.

We in India (and I believe I can speak for the overwhelming majority of my countrymen), perhaps owing to the connection we have had with the British Empire, have come to believe that democracy is the best form of government. And the history of recent events in various countries has only confirmed our belief and drawn us nearer the British system of democracy. If we are right in that belief, we must necessarily realize the part that a permanent Civil Service will play in such a democracy. What happens in

this country may happen in India under the new Constitution, and has been happening to a limited extent in the provinces during the last sixteen years.

The policy that a Ministry puts forward or takes credit for is often the policy that has been thrashed out by the Service. The Ministry have not had the special training which the Civil Servant has had, nor the accumulated experience often of a Civil Servant, and they must necessarily have the assistance of that Civil Service in choosing that policy, and frequently they will have this new policy placed before them by the Civil Servant. The ultimate decision is, of course, that of the Ministry, and in this limited sense the Civil Servant will not be responsible for policy. But it is obvious that in fact and virtually the Civil Servant will still lay down policy or alter it. Nor is that all. While in form the Civil Servant may appear to lose, in substance he is much the gainer, for he will no longer be liable to those attacks in the legislatures to which he has been subject owing to the notion that he was responsible for the policy of the administration.

If I may speak from my limited experience of provincial ministries in charge of transferred subjects, this has exactly been what has been happening under the Montford Reforms. I have noted that where a Civil Servant is serving under an executive councillor who was himself a member of the Service, he did not feel quite so free in giving advice as when he served under a non-official executive councillor or a Minister. And the reason is obvious. The civilian member of Government has all the experience of his secretary and a little more—or rather he is expected to have; whereas in the other case the knowledge and experience of the Service secretary are invaluable to a Minister or non-official member. I therefore look forward to the time when the power of the Civil Service to direct policy from behind the scenes will grow instead of diminishing, when Ministers will rely more and more on the Civil Service to enable them to formulate policy which will do them credit, and when, above all, that finest of traditions of the British democracy, continuity of policy, without sudden and cataclysmic changes, will be observed by Indian Ministers largely through the able assistance of Civil Servants.

One last word before I close. I referred to the past generation of Civil Servants who lived and worked in rural areas and did service to the unlettered masses. They were supposed to be not in sympathy with the educated classes, but were often described as the father and mother of that rural population. They have tried to look after the welfare of these masses of the people and to be their guides, philosophers, and friends. To the coming generation of Civil Servants a work not less but more complex and more fascinating will be entrusted: the task of guiding the very intelligentsia of the country, of interpreting correctly to them the limits and limitation of democracy as well as its rights and privileges, and of enabling the future administrators of India to so discharge their functions that what has been termed this great experiment of democracy for a fifth of the human race may be a glorious success redounding as much to the credit of Great Britain as of India.

Who that knows the traditions of the Indian Civil Service will doubt that it will rise equal to the new expectations, and that the new chapter of

its history will be even more glorious than those which have gone before?

Mr. C. A. KINCAID: Sir James Crerar is an old friend of mine, and he made a charming eulogy of the Service to which I have the honour to belong. But there was one most important department he left out, and that was the Judicial Department. For one reason or another, the Executive Department for many years in India refused to recognize that a knowledge of the law was in any way essential for the duties of a judge. I remember quite well a member of the Executive Department, afterwards a member of the Bombay Government, said in the Viceroy's Council that he wished that the Civil Procedure Code, the Evidence Act, and every other Act was thrown into the waste-paper basket and that every civil suit was tried by an assistant collector camped under a banyan tree. That was in the nineties. Every proposal to improve the training of the Judicial Department was set aside, and it was laid down that if a man became a barrister it must be at his own expense, and that he should not expect promotion if he became one. Any idea of assisting judges to become barristers was severely sat on, and it was not until 1910, when I happened to be eating my dinners for the Bar, that I learned how the Consular Service helped its members to become barristers, and I was able to go to Sir Steyning Edgerley and propose to him the system which was afterwards introduced. Many other improvements have been made, and I am very glad that under Sir Basil Scott and Sir Norman Macleod, Chief Justices of Bombay, a regular system of training has been introduced. But what I want to say is that all this should have come fifty years before, and the whole weight of criticism which has been laid against the Indian Civil Service has generally been on this point. Able Indian barristers and able judges against whose judgment appeals were heard by the members of the Civil Service could see that the gentlemen who heard their appeals were unequal to the task that they performed. I venture to say that one of the most important things for the future success of the reform scheme is that the Viceroy's Government in India should not neglect the fact that if they want to command respect for the Civil Service in India, they have got to see that the men who preside over their Courts are not only able men, honest men, and loyal men, but trained men, too. (Applause.)

Mr. K. K. LALAKA: I do hope the few words I have to say will not provoke any of you too much. There is much with which every one of us will be in agreement in what Sir James Crerar said in his able paper, and, my Lord, nobody could but be in entire agreement with what you said in your few considered words. Nevertheless, there are one or two facts, incontrovertible facts, explanation of which might assist us today. For the past two or three years there has been a particular disinclination on the part of the best men from the British universities to go into the Indian Civil Service. Why is it so? That question, I think, Sir James Crerar would do well to answer. The Indian Civil Service has not only done great good to India, but it has been the envy of the world. Yet nowadays it is considered that where brains and character ruled so efficiently, ballot-boxes can do the same.

Sir James Crerar suggested we should have some faith in the common-sense of the new electorate in India and the small section of its vast population which is politically-minded. In what I am going to say now I make one exception, that of Diwan Bahadur Mudalair, who is here with us, because I have always felt, following his public utterances and activities in India, that he does not speak the language or think the thoughts of most of the Indian politicians.

Now, the question arises as to what is going to be the position of the future Civil Servants. For that we have corroborative evidence provided by the Bengal Civil Service memorial of last year to the Secretary of State for India, as endorsed by the All-India Civil Service Association, in which words to the following effect appeared—and I am quoting from memory—that, while the position of the Indian Civil Service in India is at present very difficult, in the future it will become intolerable.

A question that has been agitating the minds of the Government here in England is how to secure the very best brains and how to have the continuity of the very best young men of families who have a tradition for service in India—I mean the Anglo-Indian of the old type, who felt that from father to son he had some connection with India and of which he was intensely proud—to serve in India under new conditions, because it must not be forgotten that the Indian Civil Servant of about twenty years ago was an administrator and not a mere bureaucrat, as he will be under the new dispensation. After all, his seat of office was not in a room with four walls, but in his saddle; that, alas! has changed. While some of us feel that the Government of India Act of 1919 was about twenty years ahead of the times, the present Act is at least fifty years ahead of the times. That is what is causing us the greatest misgivings, because it will be a sad day not only for Great Britain, not only for India, but for the Empire if this fine Service, which has taken so long to build up and which has given so many traditions to all other services, would gradually find itself deprived of the best that Great Britain can provide.

If the Indian Empire, and for that matter the whole of the British Empire, is not gradually to be disintegrated, it is very necessary that only the very best should go out to serve in India and other dependencies. I would, therefore, ask Sir James Crerar to shed some light on this matter and to tell us what should be done to attract the best type of young men to go into the Indian Civil Service. It has been said that in the past the Civil Servant served by ruling, and now he will have to rule by serving. But, let me ask, who is he going to serve: experienced men, men of equal ability both in intellect and character; or are we going to have any kind of material who will fish for office and will be pushed into office? There are people who say that their instinct tells them all will go well, but it is not a question of instincts. For instance, Lord Irwin's instinct told him that when Gandhi carried on the salt campaign he should let him go on with it, because soon the common-sense of the people would bring him into ridicule. Instead of that it nearly wrecked the Government of India. Moreover, I do wish to take this opportunity as a citizen and as one born in India to acknowledge the tremendous debt that every decent, right-thinking man owes to the Civil

Service, and particularly to the British element in the Civil Service, which has done so much for India; in fact, it might be said that to them it has been given to bequeath to another race the best that any one group of mankind could bequeath to others.

SIR HUGH STEPHENSON: I had not intended to make a speech this afternoon, but the last speaker has brought me to my feet. I am not likely to disagree in any way with what Sir James Crerar said as to the work done in the past by the Service or as to the absolute necessity of the continuance of the Service in the future. Nor am I in the least likely to wish to say anything to deter recruits from joining that Service. My own son comparatively recently elected to join the Service. He said to me, "It is no use your telling me that the life now of the Indian Civil Servant is not what it was forty years ago: all I want to know is whether it is a good enough life for me now," and he decided it was. I saw him six weeks ago, and I have it straight from him that he considered the life was good enough and he had no regrets whatever for joining. That, I think, is the opinion of his contemporaries.

But there are two dangers which may perhaps explain the doubts of the last speaker. Under the new Constitution one of the greatest dangers, to start with, as I see it, is that of the Legislature usurping executive functions. There have been instances of this already in the past, and in my last speech to my own Council in Burma I ventured to warn them of the prospect in the future. Unless that is definitely checked, it would do more to smash the Civil Service than anything else if the Legislature is allowed to usurp the functions of the Executive, instead of confining itself to seeing that the Executive carry out the policy approved by the Legislature. The second danger which I think is in the minds of a certain number of people has been touched on by one speaker—that is, the danger of specialization. This is the age of specialists and experts, but how far is specialization consistent with the continued existence of the present system of the Indian Civil Service? If we have specialists in all departments, we lose that general utility training to which the speaker referred. I think that there are some doubts in the minds of a great number of people as to whether the specialization that is likely to come in the near future does not contain the germs of a good deal of danger.

SIR JAMES CRERAR: I think that I should very ill requite the kind indulgence with which you have listened to me for so long a time if at this somewhat late hour I trespassed any further upon your patience. I should only like to acknowledge the very kindly terms in which Mr. Mudalair referred to the occasions when we sat on opposite benches in the Indian Legislature, and, for my own part, I can say, with the most complete truth and candour, that I cannot remember any single occasion on which Mr. Mudalair and I met in debate—I cannot remember any single occasion on which Mr. Mudalair used any language or embarked upon any course of action which could be regarded by his opponent as in any way derogating from the strictest rules of parliamentary chivalry and courtesy. (Applause.)

I was inclined to congratulate myself rather unexpectedly on the fact that, although I was conscious that I had some ground to tread upon beneath the ashes of which there were still some of the red smouldering remnants of acute controversy—I was inclined to congratulate myself that very little of that controversy has been reflected in the interesting and to me instructive discussion which has ensued. With regard to what fell from Mr. Lalkaka, I think I can sympathize with him to a very great extent. I can remember when I was a very young officer being in charge of a district which was almost entirely devoid of telegraphs, had very few railways, and in four days' march you could get not only from the possible inopportune interference of our Provincial Government, but even, from local headquarters, and I enjoyed that very much indeed. After six or seven hours in the saddle I have dispensed a little justice from which I am sure the judicial soul of Mr. Kincaid would have recoiled in horror. I hope that the people among whom I exercised these somewhat primitive arts of government were themselves not dissatisfied. But that, after all, was something more than thirty years ago. If we could all return to the arcadian simplicity of one's youth and stay there—well, perhaps dreams of that kind may be attractive, but are they practicable even in this country? I think Mr. Lalkaka will agree that there are many who would willingly go back to conditions which obtained in this country a generation ago. But the wheels of time move on, and we have got to deal with the situation as we have it.

That, I think, is all I shall have to say in reply, except one thing. I could not, of course, attempt to cover in the brief space of a little over half an hour the whole territory of so enormous a subject, but I am sure that the ladies and gentlemen present will weigh very carefully the very sagacious words which fell from Sir Hugh Stephenson, a man who speaks with the authority of one who has discharged the duties of a Governor in very recent times in India, and discharged them in such a manner as to add a new lustre to the Service to which he belonged. (Applause.) The words he used, the warnings he uttered are profoundly true, and I trust they will be weighed carefully in India, because, upon those two points on which he touched, very much for the future depends. I conclude by thanking you once more for the kindness and the patience with which you have heard me.

LORD LAMINGTON: It would be very unbecoming of us if we separated before expressing our thanks to Sir James Crerar for his carefully thought out paper, which ought to encourage the young men of this country to try and enter the Indian Civil Service in the future. He alluded to the efficiency of the old form of administration in the more autocratic days. I might emphasize that. I do not believe the world has ever known an administration conducted on such lines of honest administration as the old Indian Civil Service. It was marvellous in my opinion how high a standard of honour that Service had. There is no reason why those traditions should not be continued under the new form of government. As regards the new Constitution, we have it from Lord Willingdon's expression of satisfaction that every care has been taken to give encouragement to the young men of this country to elect for service in India, and his view that there is no good

reason why they should not enter the Indian Civil Service in future. I do think we should hearten our young men to take up work in India if they can possibly go.

We are very grateful to Sir James for this address, and also to Lord Willingdon, whose wonderful achievements in India have won the admiration of his countrymen over here. We have been honoured by his presence in the chair this afternoon, and his words should have the effect of stimulating young men to compete for the Indian Civil Service for the good of the Empire and the good of India generally. I beg you by acclamation to show your appreciation of the address given to us by Sir James Crerar, and also of Lord Willingdon's kindness in occupying the chair this afternoon.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

Mr. E. BATCHELOR, late I.C.S., writes :

The reasons adduced in the paper appear to me inadequate for concluding that a change of form of government is necessitated by the changes in Indian conditions in recent years. In Germany and Italy much the same changes have taken place as in India; but there the very reverse process has happened: parliamentary government has been abolished. As regards security of service, I am convinced that the safeguard which transcends all others is that of maintaining the number of British officers in the Indian Civil Service and Police. The decrease in the British element necessitates that the balance be redressed, so far as may be, by raising the quality of recruits in respect of physique. Qualifications needed for selection might well include those required in an officer in the Army and training in an O.T.C. I agree with the author that the district will continue as the cardinal unit of the whole structure of administration. It is, as he recognizes, essential to increase the annual wealth of India, especially the agricultural wealth. The district officer is in the best position to know the resources, actual and potential, of his district. And India naturally looks to him to take the initiative. But this necessitates relief from the burden of mere routine work and an increase in the number of districts.

THE HYDERABAD CIVIL SERVICE

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH

(Late Revenue and Police Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council)

EVERY system of civilized government in the world, whether autocratic or democratic, depends in the long run on the efficiency, ~~loyalty and integrity~~ of its permanent officials, more especially of those whose work brings them in close touch with the common people. Nowhere is this more true than in a country where the standard of general education is low. It is this consideration that invests the Civil and Police Services with the paramount importance attached to them in the future Constitution of India. If it is only of late that the Indian Police may be said to have come into its own, the Indian Civil Service has, for over a century, been recognized by most critics of British rule, however hostile, as the finest agency of government known to history. With the example of British India before them it is, therefore, no matter for surprise that some of the richer and larger Indian States should have built up Civil Services of their own on a regular and constitutional basis, but it may not be generally known how successful their efforts in this direction have been. If this article deals only with the Hyderabad Civil Service, it is not because it is claimed to be superior to that of Mysore and other States, but because it is the only one of which the writer has intimate knowledge.

The standard of any Service must in its turn depend to some extent on the size and revenues of the State it serves. For only a rich State can afford to pay its officers salaries sufficient to attract the best men, and only a large one requires the extensive cadres without which a reasonable flow of promotion cannot be maintained or transfers readily affected. In both respects Hyderabad is fortunate, since its income, area and population are on a Provincial scale. It is also fortunate, more so possibly than the majority of Indian States, in possessing a highly educated upper and upper middle class, in which the habit of rule, handed down from the Mogul era, has for generations been inherent. But though these advantages have long existed it was left to His Exalted Highness the present Nizam to make the fullest use of them and to invest the Hyderabad Civil Service with the prestige and respect that now attach to it.

It is unnecessary to follow the development of the Civil Service

through the vicissitudes of the last twenty years. Patronage everywhere dies hard, but, so far as the Service is concerned, it may for all intents and purposes be said to have been eliminated in the Nizam's Dominions. The first blow to it was struck when His Exalted Highness decreed that at least 50 per cent. of all vacancies in the gazetted ranks of the non-technical Departments should be filled from the Service, and when recruitment to the latter was made dependent on merit and on merit alone. The old bogies of "Rishwat Jung" and "Safarish Jung"* no longer survive to deter any ambitious young Hyderabadi who wishes to serve his country. Moreover, although in theory only 50 per cent. of gazetted vacancies must be earmarked for Civilians, it is becoming more and more the tendency to exceed this figure and to close the familiar "direct recruitment" back-door into the gazetted cadres by filling all the remaining vacancies by promotion from below. The system of recruitment is one of competition tempered by selection. Early every year the various Departments are asked to say how many vacancies for Civilians they expect to have thirty months or so ahead. The Revenue Department, whose requirements are usually the largest, including, as it does, the Customs and Excise Departments, may indent for three; the Judicial Department for two; the Finance and Police Departments for one apiece; while on occasion the Municipal, Commerce and Industry and Printing Departments may foresee a vacancy. Notices are then issued calling upon all eligible candidates to present themselves before a Selection Committee on an appointed day. The Committee, which is presided over by the Finance Member, includes two other Members of Council, the Chief Justice and the Director of Public Instruction. Candidates must be physically fit and be between the ages of twenty and twenty-three, but in the case of men with European qualifications the latter limit is extended to twenty-five. They must also be Hyderabadis, either by birth or by long residence in the State, and must produce evidence as to character. As regards academic qualifications, a University degree is essential. Many of the young men who appear before the Committee are LL.D.'s or have graduated with first-class Honours at the Bombay, Aligarh, Madras or Osmania Universities. They represent the pick of Hyderabad youth. Each of them is interviewed separately by the Committee, which selects from them a number equivalent to about five times the number of anticipated vacancies. In doing so it takes

* The Persian words "Rishwat" and "Safarish" signify respectively a bribe and a recommendation. In matters of appointments a recommendation is synonymous with influence. "Jung" is the suffix attached to the names of those on whom H.E.H. confers the title of Nawab. In the old days it was a standing joke to say that Rishwat Jung and Safarish Jung were the most powerful personages in the State.

into account every candidate's scholastic record, his family claims and his personality. Much weight is given to the personal asset. A good all-round athlete, or a man who has played football or cricket for his college, or who has distinguished himself as a monitor or Scout leader, even though he may only boast a Pass degree, stands as good a chance of selection as another candidate with first-class Honours but who has little else to commend him. The approved candidates are then sifted down to the required number by means of a competitive examination in Urdu, English and "present day" knowledge, the result of which is to get for the Civil Service the best men of a good bunch.

A year's residence in the Hyderabad Civil Service House follows. Here the successful candidates live, work and play under the charge of a senior official who is chosen principally for his tact and capacity for moulding the character of young men of their age, and who is usually a married Englishman from Oxford or Cambridge. While in residence they receive instruction in the general principles of administration, are taught to ride, and get any rough corners they may have rubbed off. Periodical reports as to their progress are submitted by the Superintendent to Government, and at the end of twelve months the use they have made of their time is tested by an examination in Economics, Jurisprudence, the Indian Penal and Civil Procedure Codes, the Contract and Evidence Acts, and, excluding Urdu, one of the three languages most widely spoken in the Dominions, viz. Telugu, Mahratta or Kanarese. Those who obtain the necessary percentage of marks in the various papers then reappear before the Selection Committee and are sounded regarding the Departments for which they have a preference. So far as the vacancies admit the Committee endeavours to meet their wishes, but is careful to see that round pegs are not put into square holes and to avoid allotting a man who is obviously cut out, let us say, for the Bench, to the Revenue Department. Occasionally a little heart-burning results, but all candidates are well aware, when they first appear before the Committee, that they have ultimately to abide by its decision in the above respect.

The chrysalis stage is now over and candidates leave the Civil Service House as Hyderabad Civilians in embryo. Before, however, they join up they are sent for a year to British India, where they receive, in their respective Departments, the same training and exercise the same powers as recruits to the Indian Civil Service. This training, needless to say, is of the greatest value, and the State is under a deep debt of gratitude to the local Governments for the thorough and careful grounding they give to young Hyderabad Civilians in all aspects of their future duties. By no one is it more appreciated than by the Civilians themselves, who

return from British India not only qualified to assume their responsibilities as gazetted officers, but imbued with ideals of service which they are eager to put into practice and which promise to remain with them through life. At the conclusion of their training they are required to pass in British India the same Departmental examinations as are prescribed for officers of their standing in the analogous all-India Services and often do so with distinction. It may incidentally be mentioned that they create a very good impression in the social circles they frequent there.

It is no exaggeration to say that outside British India no finer official career is open to the young Indian than the Hyderabad Civil Service. The scales of pay in the State are, not unnaturally, lower than those in British India, but all Civilians, whatever their Departments may be, are entitled on joining them to an initial salary of Rs. 300 p.m. Salaries of course are fixed and paid in Hali Sicca* currency. The difference, however, in the silver content of the British Government and the Hali Sicca rupee is compensated for more or less by the absence of any Income Tax in the State. As regard his future prospects a Civilian has an excellent chance of becoming before he retires a Subadar, or Commissioner of Division, on Rs. 1,500 p.m., a High Court Judge on Rs. 2,000 p.m., or a Secretary to Government with emoluments between these two figures. Other conditions of service relating to leave, pension, promotion, travelling allowance, etc., which are all laid down in the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations, are based on, and, taken all round, as liberal as, those obtaining in British India, while tenure of office is absolutely secure. Moreover, there is nothing parochial about service in the Nizam's Dominions, comprising, as they do, an area of 82,000 square miles. The sixteen Revenue Districts into which the State is divided, and the fourteen and a half million Mahrattas, Kanarese, Telegus and Muhammadans which they contain, offer a diversity of interests and problems sufficient to satisfy anyone.

The work of the Hyderabad Civilian is much the same as that of his opposite number in British India except that he has, if he belongs to the Revenue Department, more time to devote to his Revenue duties proper owing to the separation of the Judicial from the Executive. His administrative outlook is essentially modern and his keenness is such that he sometimes requires restraint rather than stimulation. "Mogulai"† is the last adjective to be applied to him save in his loyalty to the Ruler he serves. Visitors from British India, whether they come as temporary

* Rs. 100 B.G. is approximately the equivalent of Rs. 116 H.S.

† The term "Mogulai" signifies anything pertaining to the Mogul period. Nowadays it is generally employed in a derogatory sense as denoting something obsolete.

technical advisers to Government, or to investigate the possibilities of some rural industry, or to shoot tiger, or merely as tourists, carry away with them the highest opinion of the young sub-divisional Officer's competence, energy and helpfulness. A few days spent on tour in his company would convince the most confirmed die-hard that British Officers have no monopoly of sympathy with the ignorant and often helpless villager. For his whole heart is in his work, whether he is engaged on rural uplift, the development of newly irrigated areas, the creation of market centres, the opening of village communications, the inspection of crops, the championship of some depressed community, or any of his other multifarious duties. When he becomes a Taluqdar or District Officer and his responsibilities expand he rises to his opportunities. Though the immense improvement that has taken place of late years in several of the larger towns in the shape of electrification, pure water supply, drainage and even modern sanitation would not have been possible without the ready co-operation of the Finance and Public Works Departments, much of the credit is due to the Taluqdars concerned. The same spirit pervades other branches of the Civil Service, which has an *esprit de corps* second to that of no Service in India. The approach of Federation opens a vista of even wider usefulness. It is for His Exalted Highness's Government to see, by the careful recruitment of would-be Civilians, by their subsequent fair treatment, and by making merit the primary condition of advancement, that the high reputation of the Service is worthily maintained.

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN CHINA*

BY SIR FREDERICK LEITH-ROSS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

THOUGH China looks very different, she has very much the same troubles as we have. When I first went out to China there was an acute monetary and financial crisis. Owing to the rapid rise in the price of silver in 1934, China was faced with the same deflationary pressure as we were faced with before 1931, but in a much more severe degree. Prices fell sharply, credit had to be restricted, debts became difficult to collect, the Banks became illiquid, Government finances were more and more involved, the adverse balance of trade increased, and monetary reserves were being constantly exported. These problems are all connected, but one must begin somewhere and the central problem is that of the currency. In regard to the currency, China adopted the same remedy as we were forced to do. In November of last year she decided to abandon the metallic basis of her currency and to adopt a managed paper currency based on foreign exchange at a value of about 1s. 2½d. to the dollar. It was a bold step and many of the foreign officials and bankers with whom I discussed the decision were sceptical of its success. They thought that the Chinese people were so accustomed to the use of silver as currency that they would accept nothing else. The Chinese Ministers, however, were confident that the public would accept the change without difficulty. And indeed the currency reform introduced last November has worked with remarkable smoothness. The Government Bank notes have been accepted throughout the country. Silver has ceased to be used as currency and has flown into the reserves of the Central Bank, where a large part has been converted into foreign currency reserves. Despite several serious attacks, the exchange has been firmly maintained without any difficulty, and the three Government Banks have accumulated resources greatly in excess of those with which they started.

Much remains to be done, of course, to make the currency reform complete. In particular, the Central Bank requires to be reorganized as a proper Central Reserve Bank. The shares should be disposed of to the public, as and when possible, and the Board given as independent a status as possible. The Government announced their intention of doing this last November, and an Expert Committee, assisted by Mr. Rogers of the Bank of Eng-

* Extracts from a speech delivered by the author before the China Association on November 30.

land (to whose good work I should like to pay a tribute), has been engaged in working out the details of this reorganization. Their report is now before the Chinese Government, and I am glad to see that the Minister of Finance, in his Report for the 23rd Fiscal Year just published, refers to this Committee and expresses his strong desire that the new bank be organized as soon as possible. I am sure that the reorganization of the Bank on sound lines will do much to establish confidence in the currency solidly both in China and abroad.

Behind the question of the currency is the question of securing a balanced Budget. The Chinese Government have not been able to balance their revenue and expenditure during the recent years of depression. Last November they announced that steps would be taken to balance the Budget within eighteen months, but so far as can be ascertained no very substantial progress can yet be recorded. The net deficit is not large by European standards, but is very considerable in comparison with the fiscal resources of China. The Budget can only be balanced by decreasing expenditure or by increasing revenues. The bulk of the expenditure is for public debt and military expenses; and in present circumstances it is difficult to curtail the charges under either of these heads. In these circumstances the Ministry of Finance is trying to increase revenues; but there are great difficulties in introducing new taxes, and especially direct taxes, in China. British traders clearly cannot be expected to accept burdens from which their competitors are free; and before there is likely to be any general acceptance on the part of the foreign communities in China of direct taxation, the administration must be such as to ensure confidence in its fairness and competence. I can assure you that H.M. Government are fully alive to these points and will take them into account in any discussions with the Chinese authorities. But they hope that British traders, and foreign traders generally, will not content themselves with seeking merely to perpetuate indefinitely the immunities which they enjoy, but will consider China's fiscal needs in a constructive spirit. It is no use criticizing the Chinese Government for not balancing its Budget and at the same time refusing to accept the taxation necessary for that purpose. The prosperity of our trade and of our traders in China depends ultimately on the solvency and prosperity of China itself. This question will, however, take time to settle, and in the meanwhile China must rely mainly on indirect taxation.

On this side there are some promising signs. The improvement of business throughout the country should lead to an automatic expansion of the yield of existing taxes, without regard to new taxes. The Customs revenues already show distinct signs of such improvement. During the earlier months of this year the

yield was disappointing, no doubt partly due to the general depression and partly due to the extensive smuggling in North China. That smuggling has now been substantially reduced, owing to the measures taken by the Chinese Government to prevent the smuggled goods from penetrating into Central China, and each month since July the Customs revenues have shown a steady and strong recovery which I have no reason to think will not be maintained. This recovery would be still further assisted if the Chinese Government were to revise the present tariffs carefully so as to reduce excessive duties. I suggested this in the statement issued last June, and I am glad to hear that the Chinese Government are now engaged in a revision of their tariff on these lines.

The position of the Customs revenues is of great importance as the Budgetary problem would be eased if the Chinese Government could borrow on cheaper terms. They are at present engaged on a large programme of internal development and, in the absence of foreign lending, they have been forced to raise internal loans to an excessive extent and at correspondingly high rates of interest. If it were possible for the Chinese Government to finance part of this development programme by means of foreign loans, not only would they be able to raise the funds for this purpose much more cheaply, but by reducing the demands on the domestic market they could finance their Budget deficit proper out of real savings, and would be able to raise domestic loans generally at a lower rate of interest.

For this reason, one of the questions with which I occupied myself in China was the possibility of raising her credit. Happily the loans secured on the Customs have always been fully honoured and, except in the event of a general cataclysm, there is no reason to doubt that they will continue to be fully honoured. This gives a basis on which to build. Unfortunately, the unsecured loans, and particularly most of the Railway loans, fell into default during the period of civil wars and it seemed at first almost a hopeless task to tackle. But I urged the Chinese Government to do their best to arrive at settlements of these defaults on fair and reasonable terms, and I think that they deserve to be congratulated on the efforts which they have been making to meet their obligations. No doubt any settlement means sacrifices on the part of the creditors; when loans have been in default for ten or fifteen years, it is illusory to suppose that arrears of interest can be recovered in full. The sensible course is to write off what is irrecoverable and to get the service of the debt resumed in the future. The British creditors, under the wise guidance of Lord Alness, have taken a broad view of the situation, and I am glad to see that settlements have been reached, or are in prospect, of

practically all the existing foreign loans. I hope that this may open the way to fresh borrowing both here and elsewhere for sound schemes of development. Meanwhile, I would urge the Chinese Government not to be too much in a hurry and to defer all but the most necessary schemes of development until resources can be obtained to finance them on reasonable terms. I know how anxious the Chinese Government are to proceed with a hundred schemes required to promote the welfare of the country; but it is better to go slow and restore the credit of China first than to overstrain her resources.

In this connection I should like to refer to another problem—the improvement of the public administration. The National Government are doing their utmost to promote this, and I would like to pay a special tribute to the efforts which the Minister of Railways, Mr. Chang Kia-ngau, is making to put the railways on a business footing. Nothing could be more important for the future credit of China. But it will take time. While I met many individuals in China with a high sense of public duty, there is not the same tradition of public service in China as there is in this country. In fact, there is not the basis for such a tradition, as the officials are not paid adequately nor have they any security of tenure. I hope that the Chinese Government will pay attention to this question and take steps to organize a Civil Service system under which the Government officials can be assured both of security and of adequate pay. In the meanwhile, I think the Chinese Government should use to the full the services of foreign officials who are willing to come out and work for China. The Customs and Salt Administration have been built up by foreign, and particularly by British, administrators; and China has had no more devoted servants than they have been. I am sorry to hear that proposals are under consideration which would reduce the foreign personnel in the Salt Administration, and I hope that the Chinese Government will not give effect to them. I am sure that it will not profit China to do so. Indeed, I think that the Chinese Government would be wise to engage the services of more foreign experts in other branches of the administration. For example, the foreign communities in China would be more likely to accept additional taxation if the assessment and collection of such taxes were entrusted to foreign officials and fair treatment was thereby assured. Some of our Inland Revenue officials might be spared for this purpose, and the Chinese Government could be assured of their efficiency.

In this connection I would add a word also about the tendency in China to advocate the adoption of monopolies and other devices beloved by economic planners. I do not believe that these devices will be helpful to China. I doubt whether Government inter-

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vention in ordinary trade is very desirable in any country, but I am sure that it will not work well in China. Let the Government maintain stable conditions for trade and leave trade to look after itself.

I have dealt at some length with the financial and administrative problems of China because sound currency and sound credit and stable Government are the basis of trade activities. I have mentioned some points to which I attach importance, but in general I believe that the Chinese Government are working on the right lines, and I am convinced that the fundamental conditions for the development of trade are present in China today.

The currency reform had an immediately beneficial effect on the economic situation. The adverse balance of trade was immediately reduced, and I believe that China is now a creditor on current international account. The readjustment of the exchange encouraged exports and internal trade and discouraged imports. The figures for the first eight months of 1936 as compared with 1935 show a fall of imports by 62 million dollars or 9 per cent.; an increase of exports by 97 million dollars or 28 per cent.; and a reduction of the adverse balance of trade by 159 million dollars or just over 50 per cent. Moreover, the reduction in imports has been effected, almost entirely, by a large reduction in the imports of cereals and other foodstuffs which China should be in a position to produce for herself. During the first eight months of 1935 China imported cereals and wheat flour to a value of 126 million dollars; during the first eight months of 1936 the imports of these commodities were valued at rather less than 44 million dollars, or roughly one-third of what they had been in the preceding year. This has left all the more foreign exchange available for imports of manufactured goods, and, apart from cotton piece goods, the volume of imports of manufactures has, generally speaking, remained stable or increased. This is the right economic trend, for China should be self-supporting in staple agricultural products but needs to import manufactured goods. And this tendency should continue. The recent harvest has given China a bumper crop, fully 30 per cent. greater than last year's production, and this applies not only to cereals but to cotton and other products. As a result China should be able to dispense still further with imports of agricultural products which she can produce at home, and should be able to expand her exports of these commodities with beneficial effects to her purchasing power at home and to her imports of manufactures.

While the British Empire, taken as a whole, has a larger share of the trade with China than any other nation, I am sorry to say that the United Kingdom has no longer its old place as the most important exporter to China. In fact, according to the Chinese

Customs statistics at present we come fourth. The exports from the United States, Germany, and Japan all substantially exceed those of the United Kingdom. The Customs statistics, naturally, do not include smuggled goods; and if account is taken of this factor, it seems probable that Japan's position is even more favourable than the statistics show. In regard to cotton piece goods and other similar articles, the advantages which Japan enjoys are such that it is natural that she should obtain the bulk of the trade in such consumption goods.

But there is a change taking place in the nature of Chinese imports. Cotton goods in 1929 represented nearly 15 per cent. of total imports, but in 1935 represented only 3 per cent. Iron and steel and manufactures, including motor-cars and aeroplanes, amounted to 12 per cent. in 1929, but had risen to about 25 per cent. in 1935. This tendency is likely to continue. The Chinese demand for cotton piece goods is more and more being supplied by the Chinese themselves. On the other hand, Chinese imports of machinery and other capital goods are increasing, and for a long time ahead it seems improbable that China can supply her requirements in this field except by importation. There is an immense amount of railway construction and development of public utilities, electric power plants, etc., now going on in China. These are precisely the exports which the United Kingdom should be in a position to furnish. It is very discouraging, therefore, to find that even in these classes of goods we are losing ground, mainly to Germany, but to some extent also to Japan. During the first nine months of 1936 China imported no less than £12 million of iron and steel, machinery, vehicles, and other manufactures of iron and steel. Of this £12 million we supplied £2 million, Germany £2.4, U.S.A. £2.3, and Japan £1.9 million. But nearly half of the goods we supplied were due to special non-competitive orders from the Boxer Fund; and Germany and Japan are both increasing their shares substantially where the orders are competitive.

China is not in a position to purchase capital goods for cash, and credit facilities are required. As regards new railway construction, these credit facilities ought to take the form of long-term loans, as it is impossible for any railway, however well operated, to be able to repay its capital cost in ten or twelve years. I have already referred to the desirability of such long-term loans being raised when the credit of China enables it to be done on reasonable terms.

In the meanwhile there are many contracts, not only for railways and rolling stock, but for public utility equipment and machinery of all kinds both for Government Departments and municipal enterprises and private concerns, which can be financed by means

of middle-term credits. This is a point to which I drew attention in my Shanghai statement; and I am sure that you will have welcomed the action taken by His Majesty's Government in sending out Mr. Kirkpatrick to represent the Export Credits Guarantee Department in China. We have in our financial resources a means which should be used to assist our trade, and I can assure you that the Government is most anxious that these facilities should be available to help through sound schemes.

But the Government cannot undertake to create trade. It is for the traders themselves to get business. In this respect I think that we might well take a leaf out of the German book. I think that the success of the Germans in getting orders in China is not merely due to low prices or long credits; it is due also, and perhaps primarily, to the energy and thoroughness with which they establish contacts, work out proposals and follow them up. Their energy and enterprise in this respect is one we must imitate. I would like to see closer co-operation between all the British interests concerned—manufacturing, merchanting, and banking—to keep our position in the market. I should also like to see the closest possible co-operation with the Chinese. You must study the underlying conditions of the country and learn to understand them as a basis for business. And I should like to see our manufacturers strengthen their present organizations out in China by sending out more young and energetic men. It may seem to them that this is a waste of money today, when they are in many cases so busy with domestic orders. Our internal boom, however, will not last for ever, and the time will come again when we will want export orders. It is therefore very important to maintain our organizations and our connections in China, even at a time when competition is so severe that this may seem unprofitable. Trade today with every foreign country entails some risk, and I believe that the risks in China, for properly prepared schemes, are no greater than in many other countries.

In this connection I should like to say a few words about Japanese policy in relation to British interests in China. Doubtless you have been worried by signs and portents in North China. I think that there is a tendency in this country to exaggerate the risks that these involve. Japan is certainly interested in closer economic relations with China—and particularly with North China—but H.M. Government have received most positive assurances that the Japanese Government has no desire to prejudice British interests in China; that they will give no support to any attempts to break up the Chinese Maritime Customs; and that they have no desire to claim special tariff privileges in China. There is room in China for both of us. Japan can certainly beat us, in the supply of ordinary consumption goods, but there are

other aspects—particularly the supply of capital—in regard to which we can do more than Japan. I believe that there is a growing recognition in Japan that the stability and prosperity of China offers the best solution for Japan's own economic difficulties, and I hope that in the end we may find it possible to co-operate together with the Chinese Government in the reconstruction and the development of a united China.

CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST

By E. M. GULL

THE justification for the title of this article may, and it is to be hoped will, appear less obvious than it is at the time of writing—two days after the detention under duress of the head of the Chinese Government, Chiang Kai-shek. There is hope that he may be released, though the outlook is none too promising. If he is set free part of the reason for describing the situation as a crisis will have passed. Part of it, however, in some respects the more important part, will remain—all those elements, namely, which have been straining Sino-Japanese relations to breaking point. It is, of course, conceivable that Japan's policy might re-orientate itself over-night, but that is, to say the least, improbable. For her policy is governed not only by considerations relative to China, but by conceptions of what is necessary for the strengthening of her frontiers against Russia. It is these latter conceptions, as embodied in her policy in Chahar and Suiyüan, which are most nearly related to the seizure of Chiang Kai-shek.

Japanese officials have denied any complicity in the recent invasion of Suiyüan by Manchurian and Mongol troops. Unfortunately, such denials are almost invariably used in respect of situations not yet ripe for avowals. In this particular instance denials have to be appraised by the test of actual events, and unless recent travellers in Chahar and Suiyüan have grossly misinterpreted what they have seen and heard, there can be no doubt that Japan has for a long time past been seeking to establish control; that her agents have been active in the region of the Kalgan-Suiyüan railway, particularly at the railhead town of Pao-t'ou; that last July a party of them was encountered 400 miles north-west of Kweihwa on its way to Ninghsia, and that another party, equipped with wireless, has established itself as far west as Edsin Gol, on the borders of Turkistan.*

I was myself in Chahar and Suiyüan in the autumn of 1935,

* *The Times*, October 10, 1936.

and the circumstances just referred to are all in keeping with what I saw and learnt then.

The relationship of these circumstances to the seizure of Chiang Kai-shek by Chang Hsueh-liang is in part a matter of surmise which, by the time this is published, may have been proved incorrect. In the light of one's personal knowledge of Chang Hsueh-liang the surmise does not include the supposition that in seizing Chiang Kai-shek he was deliberately playing a pro-Japanese part. It seems more likely that his action was dictated by the belief that Chiang was prepared neither to use his own troops against the Communists nor at this stage to employ them against Japan, notwithstanding recent declarations made in Nanking that the Government would use all resources in resisting the invasion of Suiyüan. Chang Hsueh-liang's attitude—or that of the men behind him, for it may be doubted whether Chang himself is a big enough personality to assume a dominant rôle—appears to have been, "We are half-hearted in our campaign against the Reds, who would make good allies against Japan. But if we are to fight them, let us have more help from your own men." As an answer to such a plea, if in fact it was made, Chiang Kai-shek's dismissal of Chang would inevitably occasion hot-headed discontent which the "Young Marshal," as the latter is called, may have found himself unable to control. The Japanese affect to disbelieve that anybody in China is really prepared to resist them by force. Not less readily does their Press disclaim any desire for the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek—notwithstanding the Tada statement issued in the autumn of 1935 and all the embarrassments which the Kuantung Army have ceaselessly contrived for him since. It may be doubted whether confidence can be placed in either of these disclaimers. On the other hand, it is admittedly difficult to rationalize Chang Hsueh-liang's *coup*, as anybody who has discussed it with Chinese in London will have found.

Nevertheless, in stressing the desire for resistance to Japan, one is not surmising but relying upon facts. It is not the purpose of this article to recount events in detail, but to deal with some of the issues which lie behind them. In order to do this, however, it is necessary briefly to recapitulate.

Throughout 1935, but particularly during the second half of it, Japan was trying to detach North China from the rest of the country by fomenting an autonomy movement. I was at that time travelling in Manchuria, Central and North China and was in close touch with several of the leading personalities on both the Japanese and the Chinese side. The attempt failed except in respect of the eastern portion of Hopei province, over much of which the Chinese Government had already lost effective control through the institution two years before of a demilitarized zone,

a provision forced upon her in a truce which terminated hostilities caused by Japan's seizure of Jehol. This eastern portion declared itself independent under the leadership of a Chinese, Yin Ju-k'eng, in the autumn of 1935. To counter the Japanese pressure which had been exercised in respect of the province as a whole, and to limit its effectiveness to the eastern portion, the rest of Hopei and Chahar—that part of what is historically known as Inner Mongolia which marches with Jehol—were given a partially autonomous status under a specially constituted Council. This political expression of a very ancient Chinese tradition of pliability—a tradition associated with the Chinese word *Ju*, the original form of which composes part of the Anglicized Japanese word *Jujitsu* (whereof pliability and simulation of retreat are the essence)—has up to the time of writing been justified, at all events in so far as it has prevented North China from being severed from Nanking. But the manoeuvre has been well understood by the Japanese, who, if they did not borrow *Ju-tao*, or *Jujitsu*, from China many centuries ago, have called that highly scientific pastime by a name which expresses conceptions familiar to the Chinese in pre-Confucian days. Throughout the past year, accordingly, they have been trying to reach the goal which they failed to attain in 1935 by employing different methods, one being a flank attack upon China's fiscal and financial system through the substitution in Eastern Hopei of a tariff very much lower than the regular Customs tariff—a step which has resulted in large loss of revenue to the Chinese Government; another being the exercise of pressure upon Sung Che-yuan, the Governor of the rest of Hopei, through Chahar. An early account of the first method was given in *The Times* of March 18: an account of the second appeared on January 26, when the paper's Peking correspondent telegraphed:

"Travellers arriving here from Chahar report that three Mongol leaders, with the assistance of Manchukuo troops, have occupied nearly all the Province north of the Great Wall and have established an independent régime with headquarters at Chiangpei. The new régime is claiming the part of Suiyüan which belongs to the four western Banners of the Chahar Mongols."

The cable went on to describe the relationship of these facts to an Inner Mongolian autonomy movement—a matter to which I will return.

Presently there began a series of real and alleged anti-Japanese incidents followed by demonstrations. In June a piece of the railway line between Tangku and Tientsin, over which reinforcements for the Japanese garrison were being carried, was blown up, and almost immediately afterwards South China became vociferously anti-Japanese, in circumstances which bear some but in the main only a superficial resemblance to those which have just

occurred at Sianfu. On August 25 two Japanese journalists were murdered in Chêngtu; early in September a Japanese chemist was murdered in Pakhoi; and shortly afterwards a Japanese policeman was murdered at Hankow; three Japanese bluejackets, of whom one was killed, being attacked at Shanghai. These incidents and the general question of Sino-Japanese relations became the subject of negotiations marked by characteristic features. Thus on September 25 the Foreign Office spokesman declared that "Japan would continue trying to solve Sino-Japanese problems by negotiations, but unless the Chinese Government showed more 'sincerity' the latter would be futile. In that event Japan must take other measures with great determination." Three days later the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Arita, declared that "the present negotiations can end only in one way. Either our relations will be very much better or very much worse. China is now at the cross-roads and must decide whether or not she will shake hands with Japan." At the end of the month negotiations appeared to have reached a deadlock, notwithstanding the return of General Chiang Kai-shek to Nanking to handle them personally. "There is reason to believe," the Tokyo correspondent of *The Times* said on October 5, "that the settlement which Japan seeks turns entirely on an acknowledgment of her special interests in North China." He added:

"It is claimed that North China occupies a special position owing to its geographical situation in regard to Manchukuo and Mongolia, and that it has been the breeding place of intrigues against Manchukuo, inspired by diehards like General Feng Yü-hsiang and Chang Hsueh-liang and supported by the Soviet Government. The Japanese Army consider it an advance post in the defence of Manchukuo, and it plays a principal part in the co-operation against Communism which Japan proposes.

"If Nanking accepts the special position of North China, some flexibility can be allowed in the negotiation of details. Among these have been mentioned the establishment of Japanese military posts in Chahar and Suiyüan, the construction of railways, harbours, and aerodromes, the organization of an air service between Japan and North China, and the appointment of Japanese advisers in administration.

"On the economic side Japan desires, besides co-operation in the development of natural resources, a reduction of Chinese tariffs, and she would in return merge the East Hopei autonomous régime in the North China area. Smuggling would cease and the Tangku truce would give way to a treaty."

China on her side, however, also made demands—namely, an agreement to keep all Japanese landing parties from Chinese soil; the suppression of smuggling and other activities of Japanese origin; the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Fengtai, a railway junction near Peiping (Peking); and an agreement to give China a free hand in suppressing the Eastern Hopei autonomous régime.* Between these two sets of requirements there was—

* *Manchester Guardian*, October 1, 1936.

most people will agree—ground for compromise. But while they were still under discussion there began, on November 11, an invasion of Suiyüan—the district in so-called Inner Mongolia which lies to the west of Chahar. Mongol irregulars and Manchurian regulars, all from the Japanese-controlled part of Chahar or areas adjacent to it, moved up to the northern and eastern borders of Suiyüan, provided with Japanese aeroplanes, tanks, and motor transport. Skirmishes occurred all along the border "all covered by Japanese aeroplanes and assisted by Japanese tanks."* On November 15 the invaders attacked the district of Tao-lin, 75 miles north-east of Kwei-hwa. Three days later it was reported that Chiang Kai-shek had arrived at T'ai-yüan, the capital of Shansi Province, accompanied by 20 members of his staff, all travelling by air from Loyang. It was also reported that North Shansi was full of Central Government troops, and that many Shansi troops had been moved into Suiyüan to help General Fu Tso-yi, the Governor of the Province, who was conducting its defence from headquarters at P'ing-Ti-Ch'üan, a town on the Peiping-Suiyüan railway, which has increased considerably in size during recent years. (In the autumn of 1935 I had an interview with Fu Tso-yi, during which he acquainted me with his fears of Japanese invasion.) As a result of these events North China became violently anti-Japanese, nationalistic sentiment reaching fever pitch when, on November 24, news was received that the Suiyüan forces had captured Pai-ling Miao, the Temple of the Larks, one of the great lamaseries, which houses some 1,500 lamas and stands at an important junction of roads—the road to Urga (the capital of Outer Mongolia), the Uliassutai-Kobdo road, two roads to Chinese Turkistan, and the Kalgan road. In Nanking an attempt made by the Japanese Consul-General, Mr. Suma, to reinvigorate languishing negotiations was countered by the intimation that the Chinese Government were preparing a protest against Japanese assistance to the forces invading Suiyüan, and would refrain from resuming general negotiations until a satisfactory explanation had been obtained. Thereupon on December 4 the Tokyo correspondent of *The Times* cabled "the failure of the Nanking negotiations is not concealed here."

Thus, as far as Sino-Japanese relations are concerned, there is a clearly connected chain of events stretching back to the Tangku truce and the seizure of Jehol, which in turn was the outcome of the occupation of Manchuria in 1931. And to the extent that what has just happened at Sianfu is the outcome of China's anti-Japanese and therefore pro-Soviet feeling, the same chain of causation applies with equal clarity. But it is necessary to look behind events or, in other words, to examine the chain more closely.

* *The Times*, November 12.

Three questions present themselves. The first is, Do the events just narrated disclose a determining connection between Japan's policy and her national needs? The second is, What factors in the situation account for the part which Mongols have been playing in it? And the third is, Are any of the elements of pro-Soviet feeling in China explainable apart from, and without reference to, her obvious and natural disposition to be friends with any Power which is in a position to help her against Japan?

In answering the first question it is necessary to examine the term "national needs." Japan now claims that North China has become "essential" to Manchukuo, and when I was in Tokyo in 1935 her spokesmen justified her recent policy upon that ground, prompting the question, which I actually put to them, if that is so, when may we expect that south North China will become "essential" to north North China? If, in other words, a nation is justified in proclaiming as necessary, either for strategic or other purposes, territory which acquires desirability or importance because it renders more profitable, or more secure, some previous territorial expansion, there is clearly no limit to what she may claim except her capacity to take it. Everyone will admit that in the existing political and economic organization of the world there are a number of desiderata which are recognized as national needs. Everyone will admit also that many of the needs upon which Japan lays such emphasis come within this category—her need of raw materials and markets, for instance, or of up-to-date military and naval forces. Many would say, as I do myself, that some of the obstacles which have been erected against her satisfaction of these needs have helped to consolidate the influence of the army in her foreign affairs. There are, however, circumstances which make it quite impossible to aver that Japan's present-day need of markets and raw materials is the prime cause of her policy in China, one set of circumstances being that her determination to become a Continental Power was evinced many years before the need arose—that is to say, in 1894 at the time of her war with China—another being the nature of the demands which she made upon China in 1915. For while it might conceivably be argued that Japan foresaw at the latter date what her economic position was likely to be twenty years later, such foresight could certainly not be held to explain, much less justify, the demands of 1915 generally referred to as Group V. Incidentally, it should be noted that Group II. of these demands show clearly that she had determined 20 years ago to get a footing in Inner Mongolia.* Accordingly, the answer to the first question asked

* For the Sino-Japanese War, see Joseph, *Foreign Diplomacy in China*, p. 63. For Group V., see MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements With and Concerning China*, vol. ii., p. 1233.

above must be that while Japan's need of raw materials and markets is undoubtedly a factor in her China policy, its aggressiveness was displayed many years before any difficulties had arisen in satisfying this need. Moreover, it must be observed that to a man like Baron Shidehara the need appeared to call for a policy very different from the one which is now being pursued.

To turn to the second question, what factors account for the part which Mongols are playing? Even the best informed find some difficulty in describing precisely what that part is. The leading personality in the miscellaneous, irregular body of troops engaged in the invasion of Suiyüan is said to be a Chinese-speaking Mongol, Li Shou-hsin, whose troops were the best of the forces commanded by T'ang Yu-lin in the defence of Jehol against the Japanese. In that débâcle they were refused admission into China, whose interests as conceived by frontier officials have long differed considerably from those which others regard as important. Having fought stubbornly against the Japanese, they were not at first regarded as welcome *protégés* by them either, but ultimately they were given the territory in the neighbourhood of Dolonor to patrol. They became, in other words, frontier adventurers, and have doubtless attracted to themselves Mongols of the same kidney and other Mongols grown discontented and dispirited owing to conditions in Inner Mongolia and the ineffectiveness of its nationalist movement. This, during its recent phases, has been led by Tê Wang, whose Mongol name is Prince Demchukdongrob, of West Sunid, the westernmost of the Ten Banners of Silingol League in the north of Chahar. The tribes and territories that came within the scope of the movement were those of the Silingol and Chahar Mongols, both in Chahar Province, those of the Olanchab League, the Ordos Mongols, the Western Tumet Mongols, and the four westernmost Banners of the Chahar Mongols, all in Suiyüan.*

Basically the movement may be said to have been the outcome, on the one hand, of Chinese immigration which, beginning under the Manchus, was greatly accelerated after the Dynasty's collapse in 1911, and resulted in Mongol pasture land being used for agriculture, the Mongols being forced further and further back; on the other, of reaction and revolt against the participation of various Mongol Princes, some of them in receipt of Chinese subsidies originally instituted by the Manchus, who won control over China by Mongol help, in the money-making process of renting land to immigrants, or of parting with it to Chinese border officials for that purpose. Had the Chinese Government, having lost Manchuria, been wise, it would have backed the nationalists,

* "The Eclipse of Inner Mongolian Nationalism," lecture given by Mr. Owen Lattimore at the Royal Central Asian Society, July, 1936.

and, curbing the rapacity of Provincial officials and Princes alike, used the nationalist movement for the creation of an autonomous buffer state friendly to itself. Instead, in 1934, it granted a form of autonomy with dubious fiscal rights to an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Political Council, subsequently acquiescing in its virtual negation through the institution of a Suiyüan Autonomous Council, at the instance and under the control of Yen Hsi-shan, the Governor of Shansi Province, with whose interests in Suiyüan a unitedly autonomous Inner Mongolia, which was what Tê Wang was working for, would have conflicted. The result is that neither Tê Wang, nor any other Mongolian leader, is in a position to offer effective resistance to troops in receipt of Japanese help, though the sentimental requirements for such resistance have been created by Mongolian experience of Japanese administration in the portion of Manchukuo known as Hsingan. On the other hand, large numbers of Mongols who formerly lived happy lives in Chahar and Suiyüan hate both their own Princes and Chinese officials and colonists because they have lost their land through them.

Land questions constitute the most important element also in Chinese discontents, and it is to them that one must, in the first instance, refer in answering the third question asked above: Are any of the elements of pro-Soviet feeling in China explainable apart from, and without reference to, her obvious and natural disposition to be friends with any Power which is in a position to help her against Japan? The following quotation is taken from a Japanese study of the "Red Influence in China," prepared for the sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Yosemite, California, last summer.

"Generally speaking, that which induced the peasants to start embracing the ideas of communism and to approve the activities of both the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army was their adoption of the policy to liberate the peasants from debts and want of land. This emancipation gladdened the peasants more than any other economic policy, and won them over to welcome wholeheartedly the ideas of communism."

A manifesto issued at the first conference of representatives of the Soviet Area held in Shanghai in May, 1930, contained this passage:

"There are now in China two political systems which clearly oppose one another. First, there is the rule of the gentry, landowner compradors, capitalists and the Kuomintang. Secondly, we have the Soviet régime of the labourers, peasants, soldiers and the wage-earning masses. The final battle of the two opposing classes which are represented by the two régimes is that which will finally decide the fate of the liberation of China and the emancipation of the labourers and peasants."

A moment's reflection is sufficient to suggest that, with appropriate terminological changes, a similar differentiation of classes could be made in respect of most countries, our own included.

The idea that such differentiation necessarily implies, and can only be obliterated by, conflict derives, it is scarcely necessary to say, from Karl Marx. Relatively few people have adopted the idea as a working basis in our own country. What proportion of Chinese citizens have done so it is probably impossible to say. Nobody, however, who has studied China's agrarian situation will deny that it provides first-rate material for the propagation, and, indeed, genuine adoption of the idea. Moreover, the fact that China is still mainly an agricultural country makes economic and social inequities associated with land readily intelligible to the majority of the peasant population, amongst which the level of poverty and hardship is more uniform than it is in China's relatively small, or our relatively large, industrial population. Moreover, apart altogether from the pro-Soviet sentiment created by agrarian conditions, the influence of the "Leftists" among China's *intelligentsia* is greater than that of "Leftists" elsewhere—except where the latter are harried and vitalized by Fascists—because they form a considerable proportion of the men whose claim to be included in that class is based upon the possession of "Western" knowledge. Amongst ourselves there is no corresponding distinction between native and foreign wisdom. In China the distinction is marked—so much so that, in not a few cases, the more up-to-date a "young" Chinese is, the less he knows, or is expected to know, about his own intellectual and moral heritage.

In so far as Japanese fear of Red influence in China is based upon these facts, it is well founded—the more so because, while Japan's agrarian situation is in several respects similar to China's, there is a close correspondence between the unhappy conditions of her agricultural and of her industrial population. Knowing what she has to fear at home, she is the more alive to the significance of similar phenomena abroad. The more surprising is it that she should be so ready to assume abroad the military commitments which are patently worsening her own domestic situation. In China she has now contributed to the creation of a crisis which, if it results in the dissolution of the Nanking Government, will throw the country into chaos. On the other hand, if it results in demonstrating that China is at long last proof against War-Lordism, the crisis will bring China and Japan still nearer to hostilities. For increased self-confidence will dictate a firmer attitude on China's part, while Japan's frontier difficulties, and the obsessions which they have created, will bulk still larger in the minds of her militarists.

THE INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

BY BRIGADIER L. P. COLLINS, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E.

It may be said with some degree of truth though not of accuracy that the foundation-stone of the Academy was laid in 1917 with the declaration of His Majesty's Government that Indians were henceforward to be eligible to hold the King's Commission. Though they were, in due course, to be admitted to Sandhurst and to Woolwich for a number of years, increasing Indianization of the Indian Army and the gradual replacement of British by Indian officers made it clear that the establishment in India of its own military college was bound to come. A resolution to this effect was, indeed, passed in the Legislative Assembly as early as 1921. The Skeen Committee of 1925-26 followed and, in reply to the terms of reference affecting this particular question, recommended the establishment of a military college similar to Sandhurst in 1933. The details of the scheme were worked out by the Indian Military College Committee of 1931 under the chairmanship of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., and the Academy opened its doors on October 1, 1932. This would hardly have been possible had not the recently built Railway Staff College, most opportunely for the army, come into the market.

Situated a few miles out of Dehra Dun, on the motor road leading to the small hill station of Chakrata, the Railway Staff College with its residential quarters, class-rooms, offices and accommodation for fifty students and a small staff of instructors was admirably suited to the first needs of the Academy. Even with this good start and with the wholehearted assistance of the Public Works Department the building operations of the next two years were only just able to keep abreast of the expansional needs of the Academy. During this period were added quarters for the staff, drill sheds, a mess, science laboratories, a hospital, a riding-school, squash racket courts, a swimming bath and many other amenities, until today the Academy affords in the excellence of its buildings, appointments and playing-fields a wonderful tribute to the progressive and sympathetic attitude of the Government of India towards this great experiment. The fact that the scheme was carried out at a time of unexampled financial depression should also be borne in mind.

The natural beauty of the Dun with its rivers and forests and its background of hills is well known; its sub-tropical climate and ample rainfall favour the growth of trees and flowers and, in

particular, of flowering shrubs, and these, thanks to the labours of the staff and to the kindly and expert advice of the staff of the neighbouring Forest Research Institute, are quickly adding to the attractions of the Academy. In these circumstances and conditions the lot of the cadets may be accounted a happy one.

The summer of 1932, prior to the opening of the Academy, was a period of preparation, during which the staff was assembled and many alterations to the buildings and grounds were carried out; in retrospect it now appears as a kaleidoscope in which educational syllabuses, contracts, stores and equipment vie with one another whilst an exceptionally vigorous monsoon impedes building operations and engulfs a steam-roller in a prospective hockey ground!

The arrival of the first batch of cadets on October 1 and the realization that nothing of importance had been forgotten or was wanting brought a feeling of relief that even now can be recalled.

The Academy combines the functions of Sandhurst and Woolwich and trains cadets for all arms of the service. It has a maximum of 200, and the cadets are organized in 4 companies of 50 each. Five terms are in residence, each term consisting of 40 cadets, of whom 15 are selected from the Indian Army, 15 are admitted by open competition and 10 are nominated by Indian States. These State cadets return to the army of the State from which they come on the conclusion of the course. The maximum output for the Indian Army is 30 cadets per term, that is 60 per annum. The staff consists of 20 British officers, 2 Indian officers, one of whom teaches equitation, and 8 British warrant officers for drill and physical training. There are, as at Sandhurst and Woolwich, cadet under-officers, cadet sergeants, etc. The course lasts for two and a half years and there are two terms annually. Climatic conditions necessitate a long holiday, approximately two and a half months, during the hot and rainy season, and there is also a shorter holiday of five weeks in December and January. Compared with Sandhurst the course is a year longer, but as an offset to this a cadet on passing out receives an ante-date of one year, which places him on an equal footing with the young officer from England. The syllabus generally follows and is, naturally, much indebted to those of Sandhurst and Woolwich, but adapted and modified to meet the needs of India. The lack in India of a sound educational grounding, such as is afforded at the private and public schools of England, makes the teaching of mathematics, geography and English a necessity in the early stages of the course and is the main cause of its greater length. The varying educational standards of the cadets have from the first presented a problem of considerable complexity. At one end of the scale will be found graduates of Indian universities (themselves not always

above educational suspicion !); young men who have been educated in England or have spent 5 or 6 years under the care of English masters at that admirable institution the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. At the other end there will be cadets from the Indian Army and from the Indian States with very moderate educational attainments and an imperfect knowledge of English. The academic instruction given at the Academy, therefore, in the first year may be regarded as a torment or as a relaxation according to the educational barometer of the individual. A hopeful sign for the future is the establishment of an army class at the Government College, Lahore, and the recent opening of the first Indian public school at Dehra Dun.

It is probable that at the Academy rather more attention is paid than in England to instruction in the art of command and in leadership, and the endeavour is made to turn out a cadet capable generally of commanding a platoon. This, in India, is a matter of very great importance for a number of reasons: for example, the O.T.C. system is still in its infancy and is not available except at the more important universities; again, the Academy is open to the whole of India, of which the classes recruited to and having experience of the army form but a fraction; and, finally, a cadet from the Academy on reaching his Indianized unit as a Second-Lieutenant will have from the outset not only to command a platoon but to do this under the eyes and exposed to the criticism of the very man he is gradually eliminating from the Indian Army, the Viceroy commissioned officer who, as a class, has served the army well and faithfully over a number of years. The latter can hardly be expected to welcome the change, and, whilst he may be tolerant in his attitude towards the young officer of military family and tradition, is likely to be critical of the man who does not possess these advantages.

The Academy aims, therefore, at instilling in the cadet the confidence that comes from a knowledge of the elements of drill, command and leadership. The class-room, the parade ground and camp life all contribute to this end. The camps, one in the fourth and one in the fifth term of a cadet's career, have been popular from the beginning, forming as they do a complete change from the ordinary routine. Each camp lasts for about one week, instruction in normal warfare being given at the one and in hill warfare at the other. The latter has already, and admittedly, been of great practical value to a small number of ex-cadets who, during their year of attachment to a British regiment, took part in the operations against the Mohmands in 1935, for which a medal has since been sanctioned. The foothills of the Himalayas, which are within easy reach of the Academy, present special facilities for this form of training.

To recapitulate: in the first two terms of the five terms of the course general education, drill and physical training receive particular attention; in the third term the military education proper of the cadet begins, and this is continued in the fourth and fifth terms; in these last three terms also the cadet receives his riding instruction.

Life at the Academy, as at any other similar institution, is a strenuous affair. That it agrees with those who partake of it is evidenced by the mental and bodily fitness of the cadets, the high standard of drill, and especially of physical training and the keenness of the games and sports. Hockey takes pride of place and the standard is high; both cricket and football suffer somewhat from the lack of the early coaching that is as common in English schools as it is rare in Indian. Tennis and squash rackets are popular, and the tennis team can always be relied upon to give a very good account of itself. In a country where distances are great and men of leisure are few, it is not easy, unfortunately, to find teams capable of extending those of the Academy; the visits of hockey, cricket and tennis teams from the Government College, Lahore, and from the Muslim University of Aligarh, however, provide in particular all the opposition that is required, and have the further advantage of giving the members of these teams an insight into the life of the Academy of which little is known to the Indian public. Swimming has always been popular, and boxing has become increasingly and encouragingly so. Inter-company rivalry in games is naturally of the keenest, and the spirit in which all games are played could hardly be bettered; it is this and not technical skill, attractive though it be, that constitutes the importance of games in the training of the prospective officer.

At the Academy the cadet enjoys a standard of comfort that will often be denied him in later life, and which is sometimes regarded by visitors of diehard tendencies as excessive if not unnecessary; but a room to oneself, electric light, fans and modern sanitation cannot fail to exert an influence for good, especially on those who are experiencing these things for the first time; and this will be all the more true when applied to such buildings as the Chetwode hall and the mess. The former—lofty, spacious and well-proportioned—was the demonstration hall of the Railway Staff College and is now reserved for the reception of visitors on important occasions and for examinations; on its panelled walls hang two sets of old colours, the gift of regiments of the Indian Army and the forerunners, it is hoped, of many more. Above the platform at one end is blazoned the coat of arms of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, and beneath is an inscription, carved in oak, setting forth three principles which were impressed

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The Indian Military Academy

upon him on entering the Army and were handed on by him to the cadets in his inaugural speech of November, 1932:

"The safety, honour and welfare of your country come first, always and every time.

The honour, welfare and comfort of the men you command come next.

Your own ease, comfort and safety come last, always and every time."

The mess, built specially for the Academy, contains the dining-hall, an ante-room for the staff, a canteen and several shops; the dining-hall has a seating capacity of 250, with a raised dais at one end which serves as a "high table" on guest nights and as a stage for end-of-term concerts. A splendid collection of big game trophies, the gift of the Sikh pioneers, adorns the walls, and the Academy colours, the King's champion company banner (the gift of His late Majesty) and the Viceroy's banner (the gift of Lord Willingdon) are displayed at the far end in a cabinet designed and presented by a well-wisher of the Forest Research Institute. Surprise has not infrequently been expressed by visitors at finding cadets of all castes and creeds happily engaged in doing ample justice to meals which, but for the absence of pork and beef, are substantially the counterpart of those served in any military mess. This dietary has also been criticized by Indians on the score of its Western character. The answer, it is thought, lies in the fact that it is generally acceptable to and agrees with those who eat it; that the food and the corporate mess life serve as an admirable introduction to Western manners and customs with which all cadets when they become officers must be acquainted; and finally that, even were it desirable, an Indian dietary acceptable to all has yet to be found. The importance in after life to the cadet of good manners and of acquaintance with the habits and customs of polite society need hardly be stressed, and is certainly no reflection on the innate sense of politeness inherent in Indians themselves.

Whilst the mess with its wholesome discipline has been responsible for much, a more benign but certainly no less important influence for good has been exercised in the houses of the staff where, from the beginning, cadets have been made welcome and have been hospitably entertained. In this manner and by their kindly participation and interest in its social life the wives and daughters of members of the staff have made a notable contribution to the good relations which are a distinguishing feature of the Academy and which have not invariably their counterpart elsewhere in India. The reward of those who have worked to this end has lain in the generous and genuine appreciation of

their efforts by the parents of the cadets. The late W. B. Harris, in *East Again*, has written of India, "Cordial relations, or at least cordial contact, between human beings inhabiting the same country, of whatever race or colour, of whatever religion or intellectual standard, is a necessity of modern civilization. There need be no loss of dignity, there can only be a gain of respect, in the exhibition of sympathy and goodwill." These words sum up both the aim and the experience of those responsible for the administration of the Academy in its early years. The response of the cadets to such an atmosphere, to the disciplined life of the Academy and to the instruction given has been throughout most encouraging, and has led to a mutual trust and confidence between instructors and instructed which enable the many problems of Indianization, and indeed all controversial subjects, to be discussed without reserve on the one hand or suspicion on the other. It will come as a surprise to many to learn that the term "martial classes" has no significance at the Academy. All are Gentlemen Cadets with equal opportunities of proving themselves the possessors of the qualities that go to make an officer.

To anyone free of racial bias the Academy must present a scene that differs, essentially, but little from the military institutions of England. There will be the same pride in drill and turn out; possibly a greater application to academic study, to which the Indian student is by nature inclined; the same keenness on manly sports and games. The response to discipline, the recognition of the need for a high moral standard, the eagerness to acquire greater strength of character or to improve latent powers of command leave no doubt in the mind of the writer that the Indian cadet on passing out is fitted to hold an officer's commission. He may have begun his career at the Academy handicapped by political bias, undue conceit, a desire to blow his own trumpet, a mistrust or suspicion of all but his co-religionists and a belief that the qualities most required in an officer are inherent in one who has passed the prescribed examination and the scrutiny of the members of the Interview and Record Board. These are but the complexes and growing pains of youth, to be dissipated in a sane and friendly atmosphere and to be replaced by the desire to become a good citizen and a responsible officer.

The cadets admitted to the Academy in October, 1932, finished their course in December, 1934, and were posted to British regiments for their year's attachment early in 1935; they have now joined Indianized units of the Indian Army and have been succeeded by further batches of cadets passing out in June and December of each year. Information from various sources goes to show that they are getting on well and that the training given at the Academy is generally suitable.

The writer, more especially since leaving India, has frequently been asked for his views on the Academy and on the chances of the young Indians trained there to make good in the army. Of the Academy enough has already been written in this article. Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode has himself said publicly, "I am satisfied that the institution is a success and will prove to be one of the most important educational influences in India."

Of the success in the army of a fair proportion of its cadets the writer has high hopes, though he realizes only too clearly the many political, religious and racial dangers that will beset their path. Of these they are warned at the Academy, and the vital importance of identifying themselves with India first and their own community second is impressed upon them. The overcoming of these obstacles will demand a moral courage and a toughness of fibre that may well daunt all but the stoutest hearted and must inevitably, it is thought, lead to the elimination of the less strong. It should be the privilege of English men and English women of goodwill in India to extend a helping hand to these young men who are facing an ordeal unknown to the British officer with all the forces of loyalty, tradition, prestige and unity behind him. The continuation in a wider sphere of the cordial relations of the Academy would be of incalculable benefit to the Indian Army of the future. To re-quote and to add to the quotation already made: "There need be no loss of dignity, there can only be a gain of respect, in the exhibition of sympathy and goodwill. To hold India without these essentials may have been possible in the past. It is dangerous today and may be fatal tomorrow."

HAFIZ AND THE PLACE OF IRANIAN CULTURE IN THE WORLD*

By H.H. THE AGA KHAN

THE importance to the whole world of those spiritual forces that the ancient land of Iran has cherished in her modern history cannot be overstated. I do not use the term "spiritual forces" in any question-begging sense. I do not wish to limit it merely to religious or such ideas, or to give it any other-worldly interpretation, but I do mean anything that deals with man's life of the spirit here and now on this earth and in this life. Whatever may or may not be the soul's future, there is one impregnable central fact in existence: that here and now, in this world, we have a soul which has a life of its own in its appreciation of truth, beauty, harmony and good against evil. Has modern Iran greatly contributed to the perfectioning of the soul of man thus understood? Modern Iran I define as the ancient race of that high plateau, influenced by the faith of Islam and the imaginative poetry and declamation of Arabia, welded into one by a process of slow intermarriage and movement of many races from north, west, east and south. What has this Iran done for the satisfaction of man's highest aspirations?

Just as in ancient Egypt, so in ancient and pre-Islamic Persia, philosophical, spiritual, poetical thought and effort (or such parts as still remain) are singularly arid and (at least to us modern men) rather repetitions of vain-glorious titles or somewhat unconvincing and worldly-wise prayers. It may be that man at that stage had all the great powers of execution and enterprise, the fruits of which we see in the vast monuments of ancient Egypt, and the remains of similar monuments in Western Asia and Iran. But till the impact with Judaism, Christianity and Islam, man in Western Asia had not yet learned the full value of the greatest treasure in his possession—his own entity and being.

Whatever the cause, after Islam had for three or four centuries taken deep root in Iran the genius of the race blossomed out, and for all the centuries right down to our own times that garden, in spite of the terrible visitations that so often submerged it, has never ceased to bring forth roses of rare fragrance.

Anwari, Nizami, Maulana Rumi, Saadi, Qa'ani and a host of others—names that will be well-known to Oriental scholars, but which will perhaps convey little to the general public here—each

* This article, which is published by permission of the Iran Society, is based on an address which H.H. the Aga Khan gave at the inaugural meeting of the Society at Lancaster House on November 9.

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in his own way gave a message to mankind. But the fundamental point of each message if carefully studied is that man's greatest of all treasures, the greatest of all his possessions, was the inherent, ineffaceable, everlasting nobility of his own soul. In it there was for ever a spark of true divinity which could conquer all the antagonistic and debasing elements in nature. And let me once more stress that this faith in the soul of man expressed in a great variety of ways—in prose and verse, in art and architecture—was not simply a religious or mystic faith but an embracing and immediate contact with a fact which, in every human being, is the central fact of existence.

Then came Hafiz—by far the greatest singer of the soul of man. In him we can find all the strivings, all the sorrow, all the victories and joys, all the hopes and disappointments of each and every one of us. In him we find contact, direct and immediate, with the outer universe interpreted as an infinite reality of matter, as a mirror of an eternal spirit, or indeed (as Spinoza later said) an absolute existence of which matter and spirit alike are but two of infinite modes and facets. It is not for nothing that his "Divan" has become, throughout the East, the supreme *nama* (book of divination) of millions and millions far beyond the confines of Iran. In perplexity and sorrow, whatever the cause, whatever the standard of intellect or emotion, men throughout the Near East and India turn to Hafiz—from the Ganges to the Nile, from the Caspian to the Bay of Bengal—for comfort and solace. Incredible as it may seem to us, even in his lifetime his influence had reached Bengal, Central Asia, Kashmir, Arabia and Egypt.

Any attempt at translation of Hafiz has always led to immense disappointment. The explanation is simple: he was not merely the Hafiz of the Koran, but well acquainted with the whole field of philosophy, history, poetry and literature, with the highest thought then known to his countrymen. In each verse, with the intense concentration of thought and wisdom so singularly his own, he has produced in amazing variety facets of truth and beauty, of meaning and wisdom. I have myself tried my hand at seeing in how many ways, and with how many totally different meanings, verses of his could be translated into either English or French. I think it is no figure of speech to say that far too many versions and explanations of each word could be given, and that each verse could be interpreted according to the intelligence that one wished to reach.

This, perhaps, will explain why Hafiz has always been (as no other great poet can claim to be) the national poet, the national hero, of Iran. Pushkin, Goethe and Shakespeare in the West; Al Mutannabi, Abu Nawas and Firdausi in the East—all of

them great, indeed supreme, kings in the realm of poetry—could never reach their humblest subjects. The uncultured peasants of the West, or the equally humble intelligences of the East, could never absorb their full meaning or beauty. Hafiz is different. Not only in his own Persia but in India, in Afghanistan, in Central Asia and even amongst Turkish and Arabic-speaking peoples, the moment his verses are understood you will always find an interpretation of most of them that could appeal to the humblest as well as the highest of intelligences. No wonder the muleteers call him their friend and companion! No wonder the cobbler and the water-carrier find in him—as do the keenest intellects of Asia—solace and satisfaction!

One of the greatest of living Hindu statesmen, Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru, once told me that in all difficult moments of his life he turns to Hafiz. I think there is no one of Iranian race alive today who has not at some time or other—in difficulty, sorrow and misery, or in joy and triumph—turned to his national hero for comfort or further elation. Incredible as it may sound to English ears, it is a fact that there is hardly a Muslim bourgeois family in the whole of India in whose home a copy of Hafiz's "Divan" is not found. I think, too, that we can be fairly certain that the book is as popular in Afghanistan and Central Asia and over a great part of what I may call Western Muslim countries as it is in India.

Soon after the death of Hafiz the worst periods of political and social anarchy, of invasion and disruption, broke up the high civilization already reached in Iran. Bismarck and other statesmen and historians have said that Germany as the battle-ground of Europe could never bring about—except at a terrible sacrifice—the peace, civilization and unity characteristic of England and France. Persia was the battle-ground of Asia. But the genius of Hafiz was never submerged. Whenever peace came, in howsoever limited a form, the eternal tree bore fruit. Hafiz taught the appreciation of beauty, love, gentleness and kindness; the value of all human beings; the constant glory and splendour and joy of the universe in which we live; the wonder of communion with nature. These undying, eternal truths were so immortally impressed by him on his countrymen that whenever opportunity arose in any period of peace the striving after them and the expression of those eternal values became, in Iran at least, a motive force and power.

Critics of Iranian civilization and culture have said that after Hafiz the light was not only dimmed but burned out. Nothing could be more false and unjust. No doubt Hafiz was the supreme genius of his race, and in that sense if we try to measure his successors by his standard we will find an immediate and sudden

THE COMMERCIAL PROGRESS OF THE CROWN COLONY OF HONG-KONG

BY SIR WILLIAM SHENTON

THE great progress which the colony of Hong-Kong has made in the last ninety-four years is due largely to seven principal factors. First its geographical position, second its natural facilities as a port, thirdly the fact that it is a free port, fourthly that cargo can be handled there more cheaply than at any other port in the Far East, fifthly British enterprise, sixthly the appreciation of its facilities for trade by the Chinese, and seventhly that Hong-Kong, the Portuguese colony of Macao and Canton have for the purposes of the free movement of the population and quarantine been treated as if they were one area, with the result that few restrictions exist.

The colony might well be described as a monument to British enterprise and Chinese co-operation. It consists of the island of Hong-Kong, a number of small islands and a portion of the mainland. It is situated in latitude 22 and longitude 114. The total area is 390 square miles. It is situated at the mouth of the West River Delta and thus taps the bulk of the trade of South China. It is in the direct line of shipping moving either to the north or the south. The total population is little short of a million according to the latest census.

It was acquired in three separate stages. In 1841 the island of Hong-Kong and a small strip of the Kowloon peninsula was ceded by China to the British Crown; this was subsequently in 1842 confirmed by the Treaty of Nanking. In 1860 another strip of the peninsula was ceded, and in 1896 a lease for 99 years was obtained of what is now known as the New Territories.

It is interesting to note how time often vindicates and confirms the view of the man on the spot. Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China at the time of the cession of the island and responsible for the negotiations, was not only recalled, but received a strong reprimand from Lord Palmerston because he had accepted the island of Hong-Kong and not insisted on receiving the island of Tinghai in the Chusan group, whose facilities for shipping, at the present time, would have been quite useless.

The colony has, from time to time, gone through cycles of prosperity and periods of depression, but it has always emerged from the periods of depression stronger and more virile than

before; there is no reason to think that what has happened in the past will not be repeated. The port is a natural harbour for shipping, and is capable of accommodating the largest ships that the world has yet seen. It has, and can have, no real rival in South China, because for the big draft ships the Portuguese port of Macao is too shallow, and the port of Whampoa, which is a few miles down the river from Canton, however much dredging may be done there, will always have to contend with the mud flats at the mouth of the Pearl River which cover a very large area. At the time when the colony was ceded Her then Majesty's Government, through Sir Henry Pottinger, the first Governor of the colony, and who was vested with plenipotentiary powers, declared that the port should be a free port, that the flags of all nations were welcome, and an undertaking was given that Chinese family customs and usages would be observed. The amenities and the possibilities were quickly recognized by the inhabitants of the Hinterland, with the result that large numbers of hard-working Chinese flocked to the colony, and on a barren rock there arose a great commercial city and a port which, a few years ago, ranked second in the world for tonnage, and even today, after a period of depression, still takes fifth place. The annual revenue and expenditure of the colony from small beginnings has now risen to a figure in the neighbourhood of 30,000,000 Hong-Kong dollars. The taxation is moderate, consisting of a collection of 17 per cent. on the assessed rentals, a reasonable tax on wines, spirits, beer, tobacco, opium and petrol, with an Empire preference in respect of motor-cars, wines and tobacco. There are, of course, the usual duties on land and commercial transactions, also certain harbour and light dues which do not appear exacting when compared with other ports.

The harbour, seen from the air, presents a picture of great commercial activity. The eye at once discerns about 50 ocean-going ships taking in or discharging cargo, three large, fully equipped dockyards, also innumerable wharves and go-downs. The continuous in and out junk traffic would also be very apparent. Daily many ships arrive and depart from or to all parts of the world, and the colony is at all times in closest touch with the ports of China.

Owing to the joint British and Chinese enterprise, there is a railway running from the Kowloon Peninsula to Canton, from which city the recently completed Canton-Hankow Railway starts, thus bringing the colony into direct touch with the railway systems of China. The two railways are not yet linked up, but this can only be a question of time, because if Canton wished to get the full benefit of her enterprise, and prevent much traffic from being diverted north to the Yantsze River, this linking up

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decline. But that surely is not the right way to search for his influence. Did the Persian race after him strive for expression in art and literature, in poetry and prose—for the wealth and splendour inherent in the human soul? I have no hesitation in saying "yes." Take the art of the Safavi period—poor in literature, but so rich in architecture and in textiles, in beautiful metal and glass work, in its lovely brocades and carpets. Can we deny that there is here immense search for expression of the highest aspirations of man's soul?

Whenever Iran had any breathing space from war and invasion and misery, in one form or another a national character has formed and, by the spiritual influences of its poetry, immediately turned towards the expression of appreciation and enjoyment of the eternal light within us. And during the nineteenth century one of the very greatest poets that the Iranian race has ever produced, Qa'ani, interpreted nature with a wealth of variety, a strength and beauty, which I doubt can ever be surpassed. Let the admirers of Wordsworth and the French nature poets compare in beauty, simplicity or grandeur the finest verses of the Western masters with Qa'ani's constant descriptions and references to rain, thunder, the sky and earth, the flowers and mountains, night and day, the sun, moon and stars. If the odes had mercenary motives, if the human praise and blame which he bestowed as he went along were nearly always insincere—let us not forget the fundamental honesty of his outlook on life and the universe, the sincerity of his belief in the beauty and goodness of nature.

Modern Persian critics, unconsciously influenced, perhaps, by the puritanical standards of European literature during the last century, have taken Qa'ani to task for his praise of sexual perversities. But when all is said these are but drops in the ocean of his work and, compared with similar extravagancies of many great writers of the West, they are neither prominent nor obtrusive. No one need, unless he searches in the "Divan," come across these particular passages. The music and joy of his verses, the sincerity of his conviction that life is a great, noble and splendid experience—every minute of which is to be treasured as the greatest of God's gifts—these surely are the qualities we will find in page after page and verse after verse of his work.

But is this immense wealth of Iran to remain only a treasure of the Islamic East and its fringe in India? Is Europe, is America, is the West so rich in the joys of the spirit, in its immediate satisfaction with life, that it can afford to close its doors to what Iran has to offer in the highest spiritual satisfaction to mankind? In these days of intensive nationalism—nationalism of a kind that wishes to turn even art, beauty and goodness into national possessions—is

this immense lesson of Iran to be forgotten? Iran in its language, in its culture, in its highest soul expression, has taken to its bosom and freely accepted the contributions of Greece and India, the immense stream from Islam, Arabia and the Turkish race. It has assimilated the best of each in order better to express its yearning after truth and beauty. Is this fundamental influence not to be brought into the service of the highest culture of the West?

In the economic field we find today the ideal of one great source of wealth, the earth, to be enjoyed by humanity as a whole through free trade and competition, looked upon almost as an expression worthy only of a lunatic asylum. Peace, and the League of Nations co-operating to conquer disease, malnutrition and the vast waste areas of the world; to raise the poor and humble irrespective of race and religion to the standard of the highest; to feed the famine-stricken and the starving; a competition for construction between various races and countries—all this would today, as a practical suggestion, be considered only worthy of idiots and half-wits. The work of destruction has a totally different standard of appreciation applied to it. Yet, truly understood, and from the lowest material point of view, what good could come from efforts to conquer the waste areas of the world by co-operation, to bring about a standard of living in China and India that would enable people there to buy some of the luxuries of life from Europe and America, to apply the tropical lands that are impossible for European and American settlement for the benefit of the millions of the brown and yellow races and thus open up new and vast markets for the white races for healthy exchange and welcome competition. All these things would lead through prosperity to spiritual awakening and artistic creation. Such work today is not in the realm of practical politics.

Surely now there is room for us to turn to the spirit of Hafiz's teaching. For if ever there was a time when we needed the universality of Hafiz as a guiding light it is today when there are forces that threaten the roots of humanity. Class and race competition threaten to submerge the highest joy of life and living—namely, the search for, and conquest of, true beauty and goodness which, could we but know it, are ever within our grasp.

In that spirit I appeal to the intellectual classes in this country to study and understand Islamic, Hindu and Far Eastern philosophy, culture, literature and art. Thus the spiritual and emotional inheritance of Great Britain, Europe and America (North and South) should not be merely derived from Greece and Judaism, but from the world as a whole, for I am certain that Asiatic culture in its widest sense can bring as much to man's common heritage as either Greece or Palestine.

is essential. Canton will certainly be the chief gainer by the through communication. It might be suggested that the port of Whampoa, when completed, will cater for this traffic, but the probabilities are that the deep-draft ocean-going ships will always favour the port of Hong-Kong.

The completion of this railway now brings Hong-Kong into direct railway communication with Europe.

The colony for some time lagged behind in the matter of air services owing to difficulties in negotiations with China, but she has now offered her aviation facilities freely, and constituted herself a free port for air services in the same way that she is a free port for shipping. Imperial Airways from the south, the China American organization from the north, and Pan-America from the west have recently developed regular services, so that she is now in direct communication by air with the rest of the world. The Japanese appear to have negotiated some arrangement with the North China authorities whereby civil aviation privileges over parts of China have been obtained. Possibly the most-favoured-nation clauses of the various treaties will be brought into play in this respect and general facilities granted to other nations. China is progressing with great rapidity in the matter of roads, and the date cannot be far distant when cargo from the colony will be taken by lorries, and passengers carried by buses, to many parts of China.

A matter of first importance has recently taken place in China—viz., the stabilization of her currency together with a very real effort at unification. This new departure has synchronized with the recent visit of Sir Leith Ross, one of Britain's leading financial advisers, to China, and Mr. Norman Young, of the British Treasury, to Hong-Kong. For many years the economists have advised along these lines, but ancient custom and vested interests made this very desirable change more than difficult. Formerly, weight and quality of silver was the basis of exchange, together with currencies varying from Province to Province and largely dependent on the value of silver from time to time.

The new system is gaining ground with the extension of the influence of the Government at Nanking. A new currency is being put into circulation whose value is more or less in line with the Japanese yen and consequently with sterling. The effect is that exports from China are finding a ready market, and the result an increased buying power for imports by the masses of China. The policy of Hong-Kong has been, as far as possible, to keep her currency in line with that of China, and she is already benefiting from the increased trade of that country.

The difficulties of trading in the past can well be imagined when it is remembered that within the past few years the value

of both the China and the Hong-Kong dollar has fallen in rough figures from a sterling value of about 2s. to 11d., back again to over 2s. 6d. and down again to 1s. 3d. Circumstances such as these bring commerce to a standstill or a purely hand to mouth position, as no trader from day to day can take a view as to the future. Now all this is changed. The Hong-Kong Government have taken over the currency policy of the colony, stabilized the local dollar round 1s. 3d., and so it will remain subject to some worldwide currency arrangement or some very far-reaching catastrophe. The merchant today can gauge the future with reasonable certainty and enter into his transactions without fear that he will turn a profit into a loss because of the vagaries of exchange.

The visit of Sir Leith Ross has been followed by the appointment of Mr. Kirkpatrick, who formerly represented Preston in the House of Commons and who has had much previous experience of this kind of work, in control of a scheme for arranging export credits by the British Government similar to that which has been in force in respect of Russia for a considerable period to the great benefit of the trade with that country.

Too much importance cannot be attached to this appointment, which will undoubtedly substantially benefit and improve British trade with China. Hong-Kong itself offers great facilities for trade and commerce. Here, on the coast of China, with her teeming millions, exists a colony steeped in British tradition, with a labour population orderly and industrious in the highest degree, adequate facilities for all forms of commerce, together with a stable and certain Government providing all the amenities of modern life.

Within about 100 miles of Hong-Kong is the ancient Chinese city of Canton, ranking second in importance in the country, and whose progress along modern lines during the last 30 years has been most phenomenal. Here flows the West River, bringing with it the trade of South China; here roads and railways branch out in all directions; here have been built, in recent years, cotton, wool, silk, cement, sugar refining and many other factories on the most modern lines; here live the most active and certainly the most progressive people in the whole of China.

Taxation in China is, of course, of vital importance to the trade of Hong-Kong. From 1842 to 1925 the tariffs affecting foreign trade were almost entirely regulated by treaty, but in 1925 China obtained tariff autonomy, since when she has been going through a period of transition in this respect. Like many other countries, she did not escape the infection of nationalism, with the result that many of the tariffs, imposed from time to time, have met with a great deal of criticism; but it is to be hoped, and there are

already signs in this direction, that the position is largely a process of trial and error, and that in due course she will evolve a system both for imports and exports to which foreign trade will be able to attune itself.

This problem is, of course, also bound up with the question of internal taxation on the movement of goods from place to place, and here again there is much room for improvement, but as the influence of Nanking spreads over the country so are the many obstructions gradually disappearing.

As a centre of commerce Hong-Kong will probably become more and more attractive to the foreign trader; there the arm of the law is sure and certain, a contract made can be enforced and the facilities for arbitration are adequate in all respects. As extraterritoriality disappears and as China brings into force increased or new commercial taxes and other impositions on trade, bringing in their train the inspection of books and other impediments, so will the foreign merchant find his harbour of refuge in the colony and direct his operation from that centre. Merchandise can there be stored for unlimited periods to await a propitious market at a cost cheaper than anywhere else in the Far East.

A matter which is of great interest to the port of Hong-Kong is the smuggling problem. The high tariffs imposed by China have made smuggling a most lucrative occupation, and the system has become so organized as to have developed into a highly technical profession with ramifications in all directions. No British colony desires its trade to be built up as the result of illegal traffic. Consequently the authorities at Hong-Kong for a number of years past have tried to come to an arrangement with the Chinese Government agreeable to all concerned, but until recently what suited Nanking did not necessarily suit Canton. Now that Nanking is today exercising a more direct control over Canton, the time seems ripe for some new move in that direction.

The smuggling into China has developed into three categories. There is first the smuggling up and down the whole length of the China coast brought about by the high tariffs. This consists merely of running the gauntlet of the Chinese Maritime Customs. It is almost entirely confined to the Chinese merchants who, having taken delivery of their goods, pay an organization a certain percentage considerably less than the Customs levy and the organization in question then delivers the goods to their destination, making their own arrangements on the way. The island of Formosa is also a convenient centre from which to carry on operations. It will be easy to realize the difficulty of the Chinese Maritime Customs when the coastline of China and the numerous adjacent islands are visualized. The second form is confined largely to South China and was brought about by the Southern

authorities having adopted a policy of industrialization for which purpose they have built various factories. The materials have in many cases been brought in duty free, and where a factory, such as the sugar refining mills, finds insufficient raw material to work on internally, sugar has been imported from outside without paying the duty others would have to pay. This procedure might be considered as legitimate save that it robs the Customs of revenue on which much of the Central Government loans are secured. The third form has been taking place in North China and consists in running goods into North China without paying the regular duties, accompanied by armed guards of Koreans and persons claiming Japanese status from Manchukuo, who compel admission at the point of the bayonet and claim immunity by reason of the extraterritorial rights and privileges claimed under the Tangku arrangement. This form of smuggling has been carried out on a large scale, but the position appears to have now improved having regard possibly to the strong protests of the foreign powers.

The question might well be asked what evidence is there that Hong-Kong has a more prosperous future in front of her. The answer is not difficult to give, with the reasons therefor.

1. The Government is now building new and much larger hospitals and schools. It is about to finish a vast water scheme, largely increasing the supply for the colony.
2. The Hankow-Canton Railway has just been completed, which must bring much new trade to the port.
3. Air traffic is just becoming a reality in the colony.
4. The Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, one of the most powerful if not the most powerful banking institution in the Far East, has recently rebuilt its head office at Hong-Kong at a cost of something in the neighbourhood of 10,000,000 Hong-Kong dollars. The building now compares favourably with any other buildings of its kind in any part of the world.
5. The principal wharf and go-down company has recently increased its pier accommodation for large ships and deepened the approaches.
6. House building generally is largely on the increase.
7. The currency position both in China and Hong-Kong has recently been stabilized and put on a level where China can compete in the world markets.
8. The British Government will with the export credit policy substantially increase the trade between Great Britain and China.
9. The great improvement in the good relations and general commercial co-operation between the British and the Chinese in the colony, brought about by a much better understanding of each other's point of view and fostered by the liberal policy of the

secondary schools and Hong-Kong University, point in the same direction. There have also been goodwill visits exchanged between the commercial communities of Hong-Kong and Canton, which is quite a new departure. Perhaps the most important event in this category is the recent meeting of Generalissimo Chan Kai Shek and H.E. Sir Andrew Caldecott, the present Governor of Hong-Kong.

These facts cannot be controverted, and show the confidence not only of the Government but the commercial men also in the future prosperity of the colony of Hong-Kong.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES FROM 1928 TO 1935

By DR. CECILE ROTHE
(Colonial Institute, Amsterdam.)

II

N.B.—The statistics quoted in the article are those available up to May 1, 1936.

IMPORTS

As to imports a remarkable change in the composition may be noticed, a change which has a direct connection with the general economic conditions. On one side the decline in value received for export products has led to a decrease both in the quantity and the value of the imports, on the other side structural changes in the country have had an influence on the imports.

In dividing the import goods into a number of groups according to their final destination, one can gather a more or less correct impression of the influence of depression on the economic life. The table below represents an attempt at such a division; the groups I. and II. are chiefly consumed by the natives; a part of group III. is intended for the non-native inhabitants; group IV. has to do chiefly with the Europeans; group V. embraces the needs of transport; and groups VI. and VII. those of industry. The figures have been published in the official weekly of the Department of Economic Affairs in Batavia; we have no similar figures for the year 1935 at our disposal.

Though no exact data can be derived from these figures because the groups comprise articles with quite different import quantities so that one article has much more influence on the value of the group than another, they still demonstrate some remarkable features. As a whole the import value has decreased more than the quantity.

The decrease in weight of foodstuffs for the natives is to be explained by the decrease of rice and soya beans imports in consequence of the Government measures to limit imports and of the increase in home production. Other articles have remained steady or—like dried and salted fish which is a very important foodstuff—show an increase. One must not set too great a value upon the import of foodstuffs, as the main native foodstuffs are produced at home and in this respect the Netherlands Indies are nearly self-supporting.

INDEX FIGURES OF TOTAL IMPORTS, THE YEAR 1928 BEING TAKEN AT 100.

	Weight.				Value.			
	1929.	1931.	1933.	1934.	1929.	1931.	1933.	1934.
I. Foodstuffs and consumption : luxuries for natives	121	103	62	51	118	68	29	22
II. Articles of daily use and clothes for natives	103	99	73	74	107	55	38	40
III. Piece goods and yarns	105	82	106	100	101	56	41	37
IV. Butter, beer, wine, etc.	104	74	65	39	106	68	44	31
V. Motor-cars and tyres	117	45	28	20	116	42	20	16
VI. Machinery	80	18	6	9	104	25	6	8
VII. Other industrial goods	114	59	39	35	107	46	20	19
VIII. Other articles	124	74	66	72	117	65	37	35

	Weight in Metric Tons. (1928 = 100)				Value in 1,000 Guilders. (1928 = 100)			
	1928.	1934.	1935.	1935.	1928.	1934.	1935.	1935.
I. Foodstuffs and consumption : luxuries for natives	787.074	399,573	292,523	292,523	56,323	35,154	21,979	21,979
II. Articles of daily use and clothes for natives	57,060	42,120	12,805	12,805	41,004	16,237	6,412	6,412
III. Piece goods and yarns	85,117	85,057	34,639	34,639	221,927	81,395	33,611	33,611
IV. Butter, beer, wine, etc.	55,004	21,360	10,706	10,706	25,186	7,884	3,940	3,940
V. Motor-cars and tyres	30,852	8,993	5,298	5,298	44,527	7,252	4,101	4,101
VI. Machinery	80,758	6,921	4,345	4,345	52,200	4,225	2,701	2,701
VII. Other industrial goods	785,082	272,802	158,959	158,959	119,565	22,663	14,044	14,044
VIII. Other articles	1,044,637	753,648	333,387	333,387	321,130	11,353	48,502	48,502
Total	2,925,584	1,590,744	852,662	852,662	981,863	286,163	135,290	135,290

The group of articles of consumption which are chiefly intended for the natives include things which do not belong to the first necessities of life; in view of the low level of prosperity at present, it is a remarkable fact that the imports of some articles—e.g., bicycles—have steadily grown in the last few years. The great fall in the import value is partly due to the cheapness of the large Japanese imports.

The group of textiles shows that the supplying countries have succeeded in adjusting their prices to the heavy decline in the purchasing power of the natives, and it gives an impression of the degree to which the imports of Japan have been forced up. It is hardly credible that the needs in bad years should have risen above those in good years, but the reason of the higher consumption can obviously be sought in the lower price and possibly the lesser wearing quality of Japanese textiles.

The decline of the groups butter, beer, etc., and that of motor-cars needs no explanation.

The tremendous fall in the imports of machinery leaves a sad impression of the position of large industries; the sugar industry was in former years the greatest consumer. But in 1934 some greater activity was shown by the foundation of new industries, and this continued in 1935.

In the lower imports of other industrial goods is incorporated the decrease in cement, the import of which was limited for the benefit of the home industry. Other articles such as manures and unmanufactured iron, intended for new industries, show a considerable increase.

In general it may be said that the supply of necessities to the population has been satisfactory, but—as has already been remarked—these are no more than a supplement, and, especially in difficult times, the natives show admirable power of adjustment and fall more and more back to a domestic household based on their own production. Money in native society became scarcer as a consequence of the decrease of the amounts received for export products and for wages. This decline was only partly compensated by the decrease in import prices and must for the other part be found in strict economies and by the use of cheaper quality of goods.

However, since 1934 European industrial life, especially in the matter of rubber and tea, has somewhat improved and from that year import figures show a tendency to rise, though only slightly. Import figures show the influence of quota measures, and it is not too much to say that they already show some results in the development of industrialization.

The distributive system in the Netherlands Indies has also adjusted itself to the changed conditions, so that it may be assumed

that the decline in value of imported goods has been of full benefit to the consumer.

In discussing exports we have already pointed to a change in destination which is leading to modifications in commercial policy. The change in foreign trade during the period 1928-1935 is still more remarkable as regards the origin of imports, as appears from the following table showing the values of imports from the various countries and their percentage of the total.

VALUE OF IMPORTS IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS AND PERCENTAGES IN THE TOTAL IMPORT OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

Countries of Origin.	1928.	%	1932.	%	1933.	%	1934.	%	1935.	%
Netherlands	197	20.0	58	15.8	39	12.4	37	13.0	35	12.8
Great Britain	120	12.2	36	9.6	31	9.7	29	9.9	24	8.6
Germany	105	10.7	28	7.7	24	7.6	21	7.3	21	7.8
Belgium and Luxembourg	19	1.9	6	1.6	6	1.7	4	1.4	3	1.1
France	11	1.1	4	1.0	3	1.0	3	0.9	5	1.9
Others	44	4.5	13	3.6	10	3.0	8	2.6	9	3.2
Total Europe	496	50.5	145	39.3	113	35.4	102	35.1	97	35.4
America	101	10.2	26	6.9	17	5.5	19	6.7	22	7.9
Japan	94	9.5	28	21.3	99	31.0	93	31.9	83	30.3
Singapore and Penang	128	13.1	54	14.5	39	12.3	37	12.6	34	12.5
British India	48	4.9	17	4.7	11	3.5	8	2.7	10	3.7
China	19	1.9	6	1.6	7	2.1	7	2.4	5	1.7
Others	61	6.3	28	7.5	19	6.1	12	4.1	12	4.4
Total Asia	350	35.7	183	49.6	175	55.0	157	53.6	144	52.5
Australia	26	2.7	12	3.3	10	3.2	10	3.3	8	3.1
Africa	5	0.5	2	0.6	2	0.7	2	0.8	2	0.7

By summarizing the import figures of the table above with those of the export mentioned in my previous article, the following trade balances appear.

The figures of these tables show clearly in the first place that the share of Europe in the exports is increasing whereas that of Asiatic countries is decreasing. On the other hand, however, they show the shifting of the centre of interest of the Netherlands Indies imports from European and American suppliers to those in Asia, especially Japan. The process of adaptation to a lower economic level involved a demand for cheap articles, a demand which the European and American purveyors could not meet, but the Asiatic ones were able to satisfy. The fact that Japan and other Asiatic countries left the gold standard, and that the production capacity of their industries was undergoing a considerable extension, helped to influence the shifting of the Netherlands

TRADE BALANCE OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES WITH THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS.

	Europe.			Asia.			America.			Australia.			Africa.		
	Exp.	Imp.	Bal.	Exp.	Imp.	Bal.	Exp.	Imp.	Bal.	Exp.	Imp.	Bal.	Exp.	Imp.	Bal.
1928	575.6	495.7	+79.9	702.0	350.2	+351.8	203.9	100.5	+103.4	50.8	26.1	+24.7	36.0	5.0	+31.0
1930	379.1	393.9	-14.8	572.4	342.6	+229.8	143.5	94.1	+49.4	28.8	25.4	+3.4	8.4	5.6	+2.8
1932	215.8	144.8	+71.0	209.7	182.8	+26.9	66.8	25.6	+41.2	18.0	12.1	+5.9	11.7	2.3	+9.4
1934	205.9	102.3	+103.3	170.5	156.4	+14.1	57.2	19.4	+37.8	23.8	9.6	+14.2	13.1	2.4	+10.7
1935	195.0	97.0	+98.0	143.0	144.0	-1.0	65.0	22.0	+43.0	21.0	8.0	+13.0	14.0	2.0	+12.0

Indies import trade. Whereas the export to European countries declined from 1928-1934 by about 66 per cent., the active balance was still 103.3 millions, against 79.9 millions in 1928. On the other hand the active balance with Asia was no more than 14.1 millions in 1934, in 1935 it was even passive; this figure is much influenced by the passive balance with Japan as may be seen from the following figures.

TRADE OF JAPAN WITH THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN THOUSANDS OF GUILDERS.

	Imports from Japan.	Exports to Japan.	Balance.
1928	93,682	57,178	36,504
1930	100,125	46,232	53,893
1932	78,337	23,658	54,679
1933	98,718	22,769	75,949
1934	92,935	19,462	73,473
1935	82,092	24,148	57,944

The flood of cheap Japanese goods has supplanted imports from elsewhere and thus dislocated the Netherlands Indies market. It is apparent that in a time which aims at reciprocity in trade such a course could not be persisted in and would have to lead to commercial and political consequences.

The country could not be reconciled to the position that more and more imports came from countries which had only an unimportant share in its exports. On the other hand it was advisable that countries which took a larger part of Netherlands Indies exports than before should not lose their position in the import. One of the countries which has suffered most severely from Japanese competition is the mother country, the percentage of which in the Netherlands Indies imports has strongly declined in the years immediately before 1934. It was at any rate necessary to protect the position of Holland on the Netherlands Indies import market from a further decline, and in the end the desirability of reciprocal help was felt.

The principle that Holland and the Netherlands Indies should support one another mutually in economic matters is rather novel. For many years the mother country and the colonies have stood in this respect entirely independent of one another, but when the foreign markets were more and more closed by tariff walls and import limitations they were continuously thrown together.

There was an important reason for defending Dutch imports against the competition of Japan, seeing that the Netherlands Indies in regard to some import articles was threatened with becoming entirely dependent on one single country and thus eventually being delivered to the price policies of a virtual monopolist.

In the various crisis measures taken in the Netherlands Indies the interest of the mother country has been kept in view; on the

other hand in entering into commercial treaties Holland has involved Netherlands Indies interests. We have already mentioned the help given by Holland in guaranteeing Netherlands Indies loans which were due for conversion; further, a reduction in the crisis taxes on Netherlands Indies maize and rice imported into Holland has been granted.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

There was another factor which brought a new trend in economic policy; as a consequence of the difficulties met with in exporting agrarian products, a number of industries have arisen in the Netherlands Indies which include manufacturing goods which have been imported up to the present. Seeing that it was quite uncertain whether agrarian production would be restored to the former level, the Government has paid attention to maintaining these new European industries. Previously there existed various European enterprises such as cigarette factories, but at present industrialization is being taken up on a larger scale.

The impetus in the direction of industrialization in the Netherlands Indies, which is becoming more and more apparent, is mostly the result of economic conditions. The question shows various aspects and is relatively new to the country. The Netherlands Indies produce chiefly raw materials and are therefore extremely susceptible to periodic changes. In a period of depression like the present one, when the prices of raw materials on which the prosperity of the country depends show a tremendous decline, it has once more become apparent that it is not profitable for a country to be based on one-sided sources of economic development. This was one of the reasons that influenced the Government to support private enterprise for establishing various industries during the last few years.

Some examples of important European factories recently established are one for motor-cars at Tandjong Priok, the factory of cheap iron barrels at Tandjong Priok, the factory of rubber tyres at Batavia; chemical industries for manufacturing paints, ink, polishes; factories for bicycles, shoes, etc. Cigarette and cigar factories occupy already an important place; in 1929 the importation of cigarettes still amounted to 1,700 net tons, that of cigars to 270 tons, whereas in 1935 it was respectively only 105 tons and 35 tons; the quantity of cigarettes and cigars manufactured in the Netherlands Indies amounted in 1935 to 8 milliards and 1 milliard respectively. Large breweries and a cement industry have already been established some years ago. The establishment of a large-scale textile industry is being planned by Dutch industrialists.

A country with a population of 60 millions offers a possibility

of existence to suitable industries producing for the home market. In particular, industries which use raw materials present in abundance in the country, such as the coconut oil industry, or which rely on mass-production, such as the cigarette industry, have proved their ability to survive. But on the other hand the purchasing power of the native inhabitants is extremely limited and closely linked up with their prosperity in agriculture.

There is, moreover, a danger in industrialization for a country like the Netherlands Indies which must in the first place do everything possible to promote its export of agricultural and mining products, and which, on the other hand, has to keep an equilibrium in its trade balance and thus has to import a large quantity. By producing itself articles which formerly were imported, it may raise difficulties for its exports, especially at the present time when more and more the system is followed that countries buy in the countries which provide a large market for their own products.

Therefore the Government has been very careful in encouraging industries. It will by no means stimulate industrialization too far, because this would endanger the export possibilities, but it has considered that a moderate development of industries might in some way offer compensation for the unfavourable effects of the depression, and that in so far some protection was justified.

There was, moreover, the necessity of providing new avenues for employment. In some districts, especially in the sugar areas in Java, native unemployment has been assuming alarming proportions, as has been shown in previous pages. It was hoped that in establishing European factories some new scope for native employment would be found. Especially with a view to enlarging the possibilities for native employment and providing the inhabitants of certain districts with an income, the Government has taken up the extension of native industries.

There exist a number of native industries some of which are of vital importance to the population, such as weaving and batik industries, the metal industry and oil factories. In the present conditions the weaving industry can be considered as the most interesting; it is especially this industry which has been enlarged considerably in various regions with the support of the Government. There are only a very few weaving industries on a rather large scale, but most of them are small workshops which manufacture for the greater part coloured woven piece goods with hand looms; the number of hand looms is at present estimated at over 6,000, which means eight times more than in 1931; besides some 700 machine looms have been at work lately. The home production of textiles is, however, still a small percentage of the consumption, but it already gives employment to some 12,000.

In general the Government supports the home industries by supplying them with orders and asking local governments to do likewise.

As a rule the tariff policy has not been made subservient to the protection of home industries. The only special measures which are an exception in this respect were the following: in 1933 the import duty levied on cotton and rayon yarn for the weaving industry was withdrawn; in 1934 an ordinance empowered the Governor-General to exempt machinery and apparatus for the establishment of new industrial concerns from paying import duty and to extend this exemption to raw materials to be manufactured there for a period not exceeding two years, where such exemption was considered in the interest of the country.

Only in special cases protective measures against destructive foreign competition have been taken on behalf of home industries, when the Government has been of opinion that the advantages to be derived for the population are more valuable than the tendency to a higher cost price, which might result from such protection. We shall mention these when dealing with crisis measures, in connection with commercial policy.

In order to prevent destructive competition of new industries with those now in existence the Industry Regulating Ordinance of 1934 opens the possibility of making the establishment of certain industries conditional on a Government permit. In this way the establishment of new industries in the Netherlands Indies, domestic as well as foreign, can be prohibited in cases where the existent industries are able amply to supply the need.

The ordinance, which has provisionally been enacted for a period of three years, has been brought into effect in regard to printing-offices, warehouse companies, cigarette factories, metal foundries, weaving industries and ice factories.

TRADE POLICY

Various reasons have thus brought it about that in the years after 1931 the rather passive character of Dutch economic policy has gradually been changed into a more active one. The Netherlands Indies have as long as possible attempted to hold aloof from the policy of protection which has become more and more acute over the whole world. When, however, as a consequence of the high tariff walls and other protective measures everywhere, free trade had become a complete illusion, the Netherlands Indies Government was compelled to provide for a temporary protection of its market and of its home industries, which are in process of development.

The purposes kept in view by the Netherlands Indies Govern-

ment, in modifying its commercial policy, may be summarized as follows: to protect the Netherlands Indies industry against extraordinary imports, to protect imports from the mother country, to favour the imports from those countries which are important purchasers of Netherlands Indies produce, and finally to regulate equally the importers' interests. Measures relating to commerce had to be adopted in such a way that the price level of import goods was maintained as low as possible.

TARIFFS

In planning measures to face the consequences of the changes in world economics the Netherlands Indies Government has not allowed the tariff policy to undergo a fundamental change. The tariff system has a fiscal character and it has maintained this character during the years of depression. Besides, the system is not preferential in so far that no discrimination whatever is made between imports from the mother country and from foreign countries.

Since 1934 the import duties have been considerably raised because the revenue from this source was diminished as a consequence of the depression and because a rise was indispensable in view of the depleted state of the national finances.

As a rule raw material and semi-manufactured articles are taxed 6 per cent., those out of which luxury articles are to be made 12 per cent.; a general duty of 12 per cent. is levied on goods for consumption, one of 20 per cent. on all goods having some character of luxury. All duties are temporarily raised by an additional 50 per cent.

The increase of import tariffs has not had any concealed intention of limiting competition from foreign countries in favour of the home industries. There are only two special tariff prescriptions which have been enacted with a view to protecting home industry and which have already been mentioned above.

As the Government would not make the tariff system subservient to commercial policy a system of quotas seemed for the time being to be most suitable to serve its objects. Afterwards some other emergency measures of a commercial political character had to be taken.

As it was foreseen that for various articles crisis measures would become indispensable in order to resist trade difficulties, a general ordinance, the Crisis Import Ordinance, which made it possible to limit the import of certain articles during a certain period by virtue of Government decrees, was brought into effect in September, 1933.

However, already in June, 1933, a limitation of cement import was considered urgent and therefore promulgated as a separate decree, which was afterwards included in the general import ordinance; we shall revert to it later.

RICE IMPORT

Another measure, which is, however, of another character, referring to rice imports, was considered to be of immediate urgency. Large quantities of rice have always been imported, though home production is considerable and has been extended during the last few years.

In 1933 a sharp fall in rice prices in consequence of the large surplus in the neighbouring producing countries Burma, Siam and Indochina, which import rice to the Netherlands Indies, occurred together with the extension of rice cultivation in Java, following from the shrinkage in the area of sugar estates. This fact threatened to cause a dislocation of the Netherlands Indies rice market and therefore made a regulation on short term necessary.

For this purpose a provisional prohibition of imports was issued, which was afterwards replaced by a more definite system of limited import on licences, to be allowed on the basis of imports in previous years, whilst some districts were closed for imports. In order to promote the inter-insular traffic of rice, premiums were granted for the transport of rice from districts with a rice surplus to other parts where there was a shortage. This measure resulted in a better distribution of rice from Java to the other islands. Afterwards a rice transport prohibition was issued to prevent inter-insular shipments of rice from districts left open for import to others where this was not the case.

The measures for restricting the importation of rice into the Outer Islands were of great value for maintaining the price of the product. But at the end of 1934 it became obvious that the Java production would not be sufficient to cover home consumption. To avoid disturbance in the price the Government decided to buy rice in foreign countries and to sell it at a fixed rate. Besides, it was necessary to open various territories in the Outer Islands for import from abroad, because the excesses of other districts, especially Lombok and Southern Celebes, proved to be insufficient to cover the shortage.

The rice policy of the Netherlands Indies Government aims at protecting the native agriculturist by limiting imports and thus preventing a fall in prices. It protects the rice-consuming population by regulating distribution and by guarding against prices being forced up by speculators by opening districts for imports

when necessary. It may be said that the measures have been quite successful. Rice imports into Java decreased from 346,000 tons in 1928 to 62,000 tons in 1934; in those years the Java production rose from 3,245,000 tons to 3,543,000 tons; in 1935 imports had again to be raised to 108,000 tons. For the other islands the imports decreased from 584,000 tons in 1928 to 279,000 in 1934 and 247,000 in 1935.

In addition to this regulation an agreement was made with Holland as to the import of a quantity of high quality Netherlands Indies rice with exemption from payment of the special crisis duty. A similar agreement has been entered into with regard to the import of a quantity of Netherlands Indies maize into Holland, because there was a surplus which it was difficult to dispose of at reasonable prices. However, soon after the agreement became effective the market in the East recovered.

The cultivation of another native foodcrop, soya beans, has been quickly extended during the last few years, especially in consequence of large sugar areas having become free for native crops. As the home supply of soya beans has so far been insufficient, a rather large quantity had to be imported from Manchoukuo. Now the sale of the home product was hampered as a consequence of the Manchoukuo product being imported at extraordinarily low prices. In order to protect the interests of native agriculturists a regulation of the same kind as the rice regulation was promulgated, with the result that prices rose. With regard to rice as well as soya beans it was in this way assured that the whole supply could find an outlet at reasonable prices.

CRISIS IMPORT ORDINANCE

In the Crisis Import Ordinance the general lines of a quota system have been drawn up to be worked out in decrees relating to the articles concerned.

As a rule it has been considered sufficient to follow a system of free quotas according to which only the total quantity to be imported is stipulated, and not a system of quotas by countries in which the share allowed to each country is fixed. The possibility to reserve a quota for certain countries has been left open in cases where such a country is willing to promote the import of Netherlands Indies products; this method has, however, not been applied up to 1936. An exception to the free quota system has been made as regards the mother country in so far that in various quota decrees, which have chiefly been enacted with a view to protecting the import from Holland, a certain percentage has been allotted to that country. Under a free quota system the price of the import articles which are limited is mostly guaranteed to remain low,

because importers reserve the freedom to buy goods in the cheapest market.

Though in such a free quota system the various import countries are treated on an equal basis, still the imports from Japan suffer most from the limitation, as in the last few years the imports from Japan have risen very much, and as in most quota decrees the period immediately before these years has been chosen to serve as a basis for the quantity to be imported.

Import is only allowed through the intermediary of importers in the Netherlands Indies who have been registered as such. This regulation has been inserted to protect the existing distribution apparatus. Quota decrees contain the provision that importers can obtain licences in proportion to their imports in a certain basic period or—as has been prescribed in the later decrees—in a reasonable proportion to their interest. The system first adopted in some decrees according to which a certain percentage of the quota had to be allotted to importers who are members of a number of European trade associations, with a view to protecting the import apparatus, has been abandoned. In May, 1935, an addition was inserted in the quota decrees which makes it possible to stipulate that a percentage of goods has to be imported under the Dutch flag, in cases where the existence of Dutch navigation between the Netherlands Indies and a foreign country would be threatened as a consequence of a measure against it. This ordinance is intended as a preventive measure to protect Dutch shipping in exceptional circumstances.

The quota decrees can only be in force during a period of ten months; when after that time the measures have to be extended the matter must be regulated by ordinance.

Apart from the quota decrees import licence decrees have been issued; they are not intended to limit imports but only to regulate distribution among the importers. The abundant Japanese imports led to another danger—viz., to a possible dislocation of the existing distribution apparatus—because the Japanese exporters were inclined to eliminate altogether the established import firms and to develop a new import apparatus both in wholesale and retail trade. In order to prevent excessive changes in the distribution process the Government has accepted a system of licensing of importers, by which the import of a number of articles including glassware, enamelware, bicycles, earthenware, various kinds of metal ware, soap, etc., has been licensed and thus equally distributed over the vested importers.

Some of the most important quota decrees may be dealt with briefly.

CEMENT

The import of cement was limited with a view to protecting the cement industry in Padang (Sumatra) which suffered from the abundant imports of Japanese cement. At the end of 1931 the Padang industry supplied the Netherlands Indies market with 66 per cent. of its cement consumption, at the beginning of 1933 its share was only 20 per cent. The existence of this industry was felt to be of vital importance, because it provides employment, uses much coal and employs considerable transportation space. The import quota which was first fixed for the period of four months, but which on the basis of the Crisis Import Ordinance has been extended several times up to the present, has been fixed at about one-third of the estimated consumption.

The Government has fixed the prices in order to prevent them from being upset. As a result of the quota measure the import of cement decreased from 132,200 tons in 1932 to 52,300 tons in 1934.

BEER

Another Netherlands Indies industry which was hampered by the import of cheap products is the brewing industry, which has been in existence since 1931. The imports of beer, which came for the greater part from Germany and Holland, and which in 1929 amounted to 130,000 hl., decreased in 1932 by one-half, because consumption could partly be satisfied by the home product.

In 1933 import showed again a considerable rise, because of the big import of Japanese beer which was sold at such a low price that the very existence of the Netherlands Indies breweries was threatened. Accordingly a decree was enacted in December, 1933, which limited the import to such an amount that 60 per cent. of the consumption would be covered by home production, and which at the same time protected Dutch imports by allowing a certain percentage to Holland.

TEXTILES

A series of important quota decrees refers to the imports of various textiles, coloured woven, bleached, unbleached and other piece goods. The necessity of these measures was in the first place due to the excessive rise of the imports from Japan. It cannot be denied that the import of various kinds of textiles at very low prices has stood the native population in good stead, but on the other hand the import of sarongs threatened to affect the native weaving industry seriously. The Japanese imports of bleached and other textiles has, moreover, had a fatal influence

on the imports from Holland and also on those from Great Britain.

A lowering of the prices of the European piece goods has not had any effect in checking the flood of Japanese imports.

In former years the imports from Japan consisted for the greater part of unbleached textiles, but gradually she has taken a great deal of the import of all piece goods in hand. She has considerably raised the total imports of coloured woven goods, the greater part of which were formerly imported from Holland and Great Britain, and she has started to manufacture bleached textiles at a lower price than those which have during a series of years constituted a big export product from Holland.

The enormous advance of the Japanese share in the imports of piece goods as a whole is shown in the figures below.

PERCENTAGE IN TEXTILE IMPORTS IN YARDS.

	1928.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.
Netherlands	25.6	22.7	14.0	4.4	7.3	11.3
Great Britain	27.1	9.7	9.1	4.0	2.8	2.2
Japan	30.8	54.1	66.4	82.8	83.1	83.2
Other countries	16.5	13.5	10.5	8.7	6.8	3.3

In 1933 it was considered indispensable to stay the flood of colour woven goods which before 1932 were imported by Holland and Great Britain, but which came afterwards from Japan to such an extent that the Netherlands Indies industry could no longer sell their own products.

IMPORTS OF COLOUR WOVEN SARONGS, ETC., IN "CORGES" (20 PIECES).

	Holland.	Great Britain.	Japan.	Singapore.	Total.
1930	190,103	69,665	7,716	132,519	447,953
1933	19,698	984	713,034	133,393	909,056
1934	5,953	—	314,244	30,611	375,992
1935	27,450	—	351,340	8,700	400,100

A certain percentage in the import quota of the various kinds of colour woven goods, except in the case of the cheap qualities, has been reserved to Holland. The quota measure has been modified on several occasions and has been continued up to the present.

The limitation of imports has had a favourable effect on the development of the home weaving industry; it has already been mentioned that the number of looms has been considerably extended with the help of the Government.

The figures in the table above show, however, that the Dutch imports have not immediately experienced a rise; in 1935, however, they have improved.

The quota decree of March, 1934, concerning bleached textiles

crêpe de Chine, and satin of beautiful pattern and shades are now being manufactured. Many of the leading Princes and landed nobility are among the regular customers of the Mysore silk factory. Another recent step which the Government have sponsored in order to better the outlook for sericulture is the opening of a spun silk mill, which will shortly start manufacturing an enduring type of material for suitings from waste silk for which, up to the present, there has been no market at all.

Mining for gold is one of the oldest of Mysore's industries, and the mining leases of the companies operating at the Kolar Gold Fields have recently been renewed on improved terms. These mines are electrically operated on power from the State hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram, 93 miles away. So far over 80 million pounds worth of gold has been obtained on the field, and one of the shafts, which is 7,500 feet in vertical depth, is probably the deepest shaft in the world.

Though not so spectacular as some of the other industrial concerns, the work of the industrial engineers deserves special mention, since it affects the cultivating ryot. The industrial engineer, by introducing improvements in the elementary plant used by the cultivator, is assisting vast numbers of people to economic prosperity and social progress. They have introduced a better type of water lift pump, also improvements to the ordinary country bullock carts, and an improved oil mill. They have also brought about improvements in hand-loom weaving, coir-making, mat weaving, etc. Any improvement in such cottage industries in which hundreds of thousands of people are engaged can only be appreciated by those who know the hard fight the ordinary Indian villager has to earn a living.

Technical schools and manual training centres are also doing much to improve rural conditions. The outstanding institution of this class is the Chamarajendra Technical Institute in Mysore. At this centre pupils are trained in different industrial occupations such as carpentry, joinery, smithery, etc. The furniture and carved and inlaid art-ware prepared at this institution are much in demand. Toy making and lacquer work are also turned out at profitable prices.

will become uniform, and in connection herewith the distinction between the ports will be modified. Ports will be divided into "seaports," open to traffic from abroad (all ports of some importance will be indicated as such), and "coastal ports." In general navigation under a foreign flag will be limited to the "seaports." Exception may be made on behalf of native trade and industry in so far that by Government decree navigation from abroad into a coastal port may be allowed equally to the Dutch and to foreign flags under special conditions. The principle that coastal traffic is only allowed to the Dutch flag will be maintained and even somewhat extended so that it will in general be prohibited to foreign flags in all ports including the "seaports." This proscription has been made because of the vital importance of coastal shipping in the Netherlands Indies. In connection with the regulation concerning navigation, new rules as to nationality papers of ships will become effective.

PROTECTION OF EMPLOYMENT

As an outcome of the present circumstances and especially to prevent an increase of unemployment, foreigners cannot be admitted unreservedly into the Netherlands Indies. Accordingly, in order to protect the labour market of the Netherlands Indies, a regulation was drawn up at the end of 1933 to prevent excessive immigration of foreigners. By virtue of a Government decree the maximum number of immigrants is laid down annually; for 1934 and 1935 the number has been fixed at 12,000, to be equally divided over fifteen groups of nationalities.

A stronger measure was enforced in August, 1935—viz., the Crisis Ordinance on Foreign Labour—which limits the labour of foreigners in such a way that in the absence of a permit issued by the Director of Justice it is forbidden to employ any alien of European descent who is admitted to the colony for the first time after the promulgation of the ordinance or readmitted after an absence of over one year. The provision is an emergency measure and will only remain in operation until January, 1938. Before the depression, when there was work for everybody, foreign labour met with no obstacles, and in the last few years about 900 foreigners yearly entered the Netherlands Indies; but now that the situation is wholly changed this limitation has become necessary.

From this short survey it can be seen what changes have taken place in the Netherlands Indies during the period of depression, and in what manner the Government has tried to overcome the difficulties and to reconcile conflicting interests. In closing this chapter stress may be once more laid on the fact that the change

has been enacted specially with a view to the Dutch imports which have tremendously suffered from the Japanese rush. The measure includes various kinds of bleached textiles and has with some modifications been continued to the present day. It has, moreover, been considered quite undesirable that the Netherlands Indies batik industry should become dependent on the monopoly of Japanese imports.

The course of imports of the various cambries into Java may be seen from the following figures:

	<i>Holland.</i>		<i>Great Britain.</i>		<i>Japan.</i>		<i>Total.</i>
	<i>1,000 yards.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1,000 yards.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1,000 yards.</i>	<i>%</i>	
1930 ...	89,212	87	9,271	6	7,440	7	103,119
1933 ...	16,773	17	1,394	1	82,327	82	100,549
1934 ...	30,523	36	592	1	54,251	63	85,549
1935 ...	41,937	61	314	0.5	26,363	38	68,614

During the first period of the quota decree the imports from Holland were considerably raised, but not to such a degree that the percentage reserved for the various goods could be attained; the share for cambries amounted to no more than 36 per cent., whereas the quota allowed was 61 per cent. One of the causes was that the price level of those groups of goods, which for the greater part had been reserved for Holland, had risen; that of the other goods, which were chiefly imported from Japan, however, had not done so. Another cause was that a part of the import of bleached goods was replaced by unbleached, or rather by piece goods which were first bleached and afterwards somewhat coloured, the so-called greys, which were suitable for the batik industry. That led to the necessity of a limitation of unbleached textiles, the import of which had suddenly assumed very large proportions during the year 1934; as to the country of origin, this import has been left entirely free. The measure has been continued up to now.

In 1935 the imports of bleached textiles from Holland has improved; during the first half-year its percentage in the cambric import rose to 53 per cent. In particular the quota measure with regard to bleached piece goods has resulted in a rise of prices, which was unprofitable to the batik industry. Therefore in the supplementary budget for 1936 a sum was voted to indemnify the batik industries in such a way that in future they will pay a lower price and that the difference will be refunded to the importers.

At the end of 1935 a decree was promulgated with a view to limiting the import of a large number of piece goods which had not yet been brought under the other decrees; for a part of them

a percentage for Dutch imports has been reserved. For 1936 it has been modified in such a way that as to some fancy articles which are of importance for Great Britain it has been made possible to allot a percentage to that country, and that afterwards likewise a certain quota could be allowed to Italy. This allowance of a share of the quota to countries other than the mother country is a new trend, which has been made possible in the Crisis Import Ordinance but not used so far, and which endeavours to promote in that way reciprocity of trade between the Netherlands Indies and European countries, which are important markets for Netherlands Indies products.

Another decree enacted in February, 1936, concerns the import of various kinds of clothing, the rising Japanese import of which has become harmful to native tailors in the Netherlands Indies.

OTHER QUOTA DECREES

In the course of 1934 and 1935 a number of articles have been brought under quota decrees. We shall not deal with these measures in detail, but only mention them here in passing; all of them have been enacted because a sudden rise of imports from Japan either threatened the home industry, as was the case with iron frying-pans, an article used to a large extent by the natives and up to now manufactured at home, and tyres, which have recently been made in the Netherlands Indies, or because it diverted imports from the mother country as in the case of artificial manures, electric incandescent lamps, cotton blankets and bath towels, sanitary earthenware, paper, cotton sewing thread and other articles.

GENERAL TRADE PROTECTION

Some general measures have been adopted with a view to emergency circumstances and with the object of meeting the growing requirements of reciprocity in trade.

Such a measure is the Trade Control Ordinance of August, 1935, which contains a regulation to combat difficulties which may possibly arise from a dependence on one country for the import of goods which are necessities. In the event of the import of such goods being stopped or considerably decreased, the Governor-General can appoint a commission which will be empowered to prevent stocks from being held or sold only at extraordinarily high prices to the detriment of consumers. In this way the inhabitants will be protected till it has been found possible to obtain such goods from another country of origin. The

economic policy is of a purely temporary character.
The Netherlands Indies may be considered to be still in a position
to profit immediately from a revival in international conditions.

COLONIAL INSTITUTE,
AMSTERDAM.

N.B.—In the first part of this article (October, 1936, pages 785-803)
following corrections should be noted:

Page 788, line 7, for 700,000 read 400,000.

Page 794, line 9 from bottom, after the word tobacco insert the following
footnote: Leaf tobacco is not included, not being a native product.

Page 796, in the title of the first table omit the word agricultural.

Page 801, line 25, the price in London per lb. is quoted in pence.

Page 802, line 7 from bottom, for 7½ read 71½.

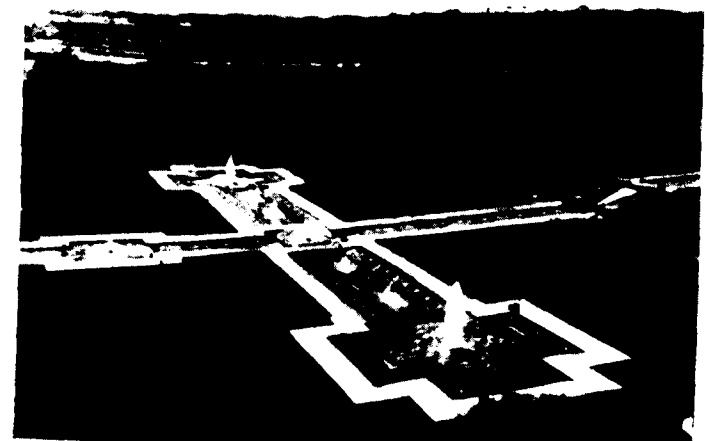
Page 803, line 29, for 15·5 to 84·5 read 84·5 to 15·5.



ANOTHER VIEW OF TEMPLE AT BELUR.



TEMPLE AT BELUR.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE "BRINDAVAN" GARDENS.

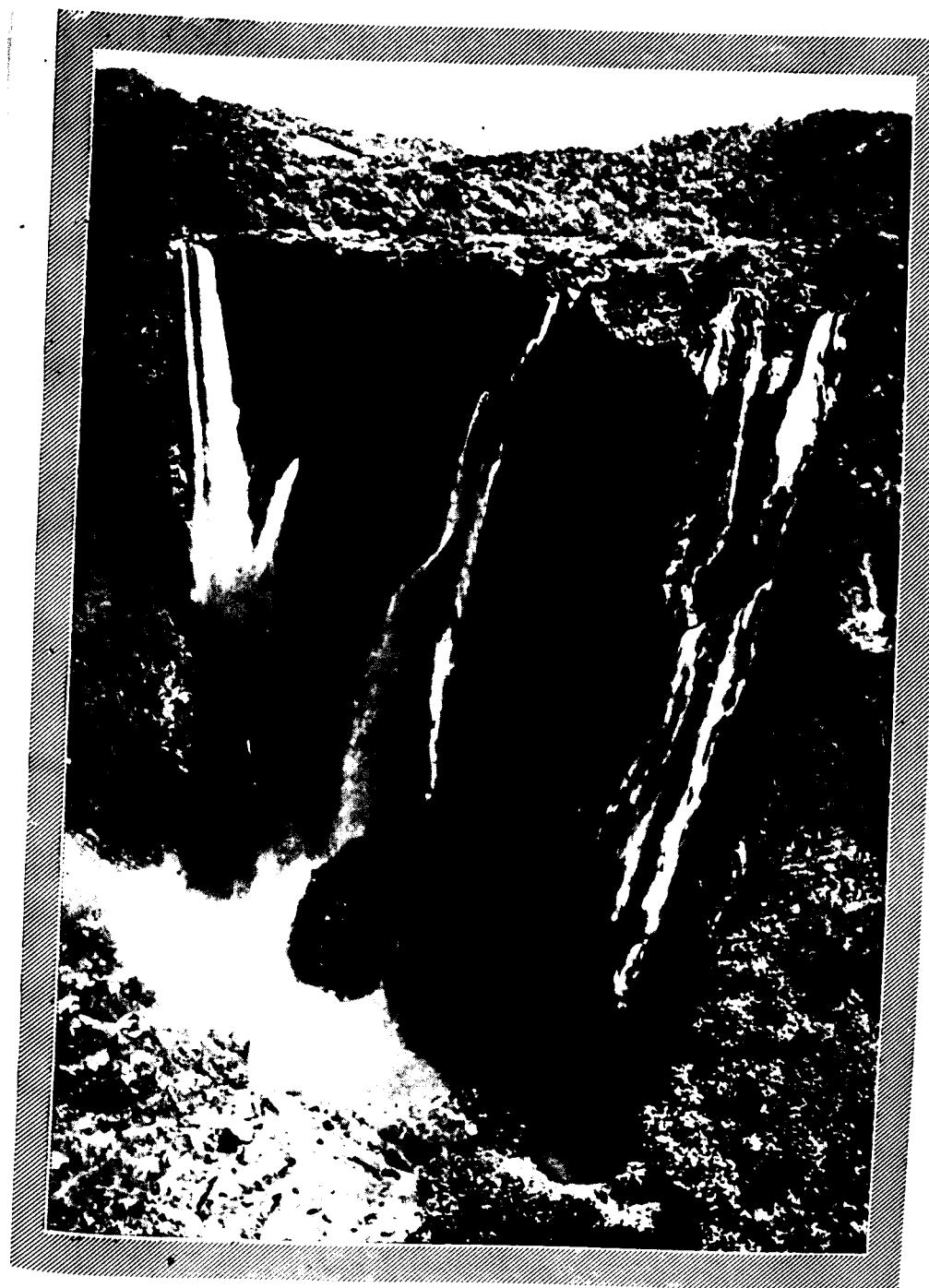
MYSORE STATE AS A TOURIST RESORT

By T. V. A. ISVARAN

INTRODUCTION

Of all places in India few are more attractive, fruitful or rewarding to the tourist than the picturesque State of Mysore. Situated in the south with a general elevation of 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea-level, it enjoys a mild and equable climate. The State covers an area of 29,483 square miles and has a population of nearly seven millions. It offers unending interest to every taste. It is a land of lofty mountains, primeval forests and lovely waterfalls; it is the special haunt of the tiger, the bison and the wild elephant; the peculiar home of sandal and teak; the chief garden in India for coffee cultivation, and it yields by far the largest quantity of gold of any country in the East. In relation to humanity again, it has been the home of two of the greatest philosophers of India—Shankara and Ramunaja—whose tenets are to this day followed by millions of Hindus. Many forms of faith have been established here and left their deep impression on the country. The State has some of the largest pioneer industrial undertakings in India, such as the gold mines of Kolar, the iron and steel works at Bhadravati, the Mysore sugar factory at Mandya and the sandal oil factory at Mysore. It is one of the largest producers of silk, soap and sandal oil. The tourist who wishes to see an up-to-date Indian State situated amidst wonderful scenery and setting cannot do better than visit Mysore.

The history of the land is as varied as it is interesting. Tradition connects it with many a legend, teeming with romance, of the great Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Coming down to more historic times, the country formed part of the empire of Asoka, whose famous edicts and pillars are to be found in the extreme north of the State. Later, it was the birth-place of three great royal races dominant in the south—the Kadambas, the Hoysalas and the Kings of Vijayanagar. In the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries Mysore was ruled by a succession of Kings of the Hoysala dynasty, whose religious devotion and piety expressed itself in building ornate shrines, the like of which it would be hard to find anywhere else in India. These shrines are unrivalled for their delicacy of carving and mastery of design. Thanks to the impetus given by the Kings of this dynasty, Hindu architecture and sculpture received their fullest develop-



GERSOFFA FALLS.

ment and perfection in Mysore in the thirteenth century, which witnessed the Gothic renaissance in Europe. The temples at Somanathpur, Belur and Halebid, which were built then, stand to witness the marvellous powers of invention and skill of India's master-builders of seven centuries ago. Their beauty was so well known, even in the early days, that it attracted a Turkish traveller, Abdur Razzack, in 1430 A.D. On seeing them he was so charmed that he dared not attempt any description of their wonder and beauty, fearing he would be accused of exaggeration.

Mysore came under the present reigning dynasty in the fourteenth century. Since then it has been governed by a succession of distinguished Rulers. For a few years towards the close of the eighteenth century, the real power in the State passed into the hands of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. In 1799, however, Tipu was defeated by the British in the famous battle of Seringapatam and the Hindu reigning dynasty was restored to its former power in the person of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III.

The present Ruler, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV, ascended the throne in 1894 and assumed the administration of the country in 1902. The ultimate authority in the State is His Highness the Maharaja, who is assisted in the administration of the country by an Executive Council consisting of the Dewan, President and two Members. The present Dewan of the State is Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E. There are two constitutional bodies to help in the administration—namely, the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, composed mostly of elected representatives of the people.

DASARA FESTIVITIES

The best time to visit Mysore is on the occasion of Dasara festivities, when the visitor may combine a tour of the State with the unique Dasara sight-seeing in the city of Mysore. These festivities, which generally fall in September-October every year, are observed in Mysore City with true oriental pomp and pageantry. They extend over ten days, and every evening the Maharaja sits on his jewelled throne (Simhasan), which, according to Hindu jurisprudence, is an emblem of sovereignty, and receives the obeisance of his subjects. The scene in the courtyard of the palace is thrilling to a degree. The throne originally belonged to the Kings of Vijayanagar, and on the disruption of their kingdom in the sixteenth century it passed into the hands of Raja Wadiyar of the present dynasty in 1610. Since then his descendants have been sitting on this throne following the tradition laid down by him three centuries ago. The throne is of fig-wood, overlaid with gold. Its surface is covered with gold and

silver figures and arabesques. From its arms hang tassels of pearls. Overhead is a pearl-fringed umbrella, surmounted by a mythical jewelled bird, of which legend asserts that "The head on which its shadow falls will wear a crown." On the tenth day of Dasara the Maharaja goes in a procession through the principal streets of the city, seated in a golden howdah on an elephant. The procession, which is headed by camels, and accompanied by elephants, horses richly caparisoned, palanquins and silver coaches, the standard-bearers with silken banners, slowly winds its way with a splendour and magnificence which is unsurpassed in the whole of India. The city of Mysore presents during the Dasara the appearance of a veritable fairyland.

BANGALORE

Few places in India have a greater wealth of beauty spots than Mysore, or are so rich in picturesque scenery and places of historic interest and legendary glamour. It is not possible here to do more than briefly refer to some of the attractions which Mysore has to offer to the visitor. A tour of the State may conveniently begin from the principal city of Bangalore, which is connected by rail with Madras and Bombay. The old town of Bangalore, the possession of which was fiercely coveted by the powers in South India in the seventeenth century, has gradually extended so that it now covers an area of nearly 25 square miles, and with its population of 306,000 ranks as the ninth city in India. It consists of two separate but adjacent blocks, Bangalore City proper and the Civil and Military Station. The administration of the latter has been made over to the British Government for purposes of a cantonment, and the station is the headquarters of the Madras District area of the Indian Army. The city proper is the seat of the Government of Mysore. Bangalore is replete with modern comforts, and it has, with its mild climate, lured many from British India who have made it their permanent home. It is a city of parks and public gardens, of large public offices, colleges, hospitals and other institutions. It is fast developing into a great industrial centre. The Mysore sandal soap, which commands such a wide popularity, is manufactured here. The soap factory may be visited, as also the Government electric factory, porcelain factory and industrial laboratory. Other places of interest are the Maharaja's palace, the public gardens, called the Lalbagh, and the Indian Institute of Science.

The large artificial lake, called Chamarajasagar, which supplies drinking water to Bangalore, is well worth a visit. It is situated 22 miles from Bangalore and may be reached by car or bus.

Close to Bangalore (35 miles) and connected with it by a light

railway lies the hill station of Nandi (4,851 feet above sea-level), which has a salubrious climate all the year round. With its fortifications, the ruins of which may still be seen, it was a formidable stronghold in the eighteenth century, and was captured by the British Army under Lord Cornwallis in 1791. It now serves the purpose of a popular summer resort with fine furnished bungalows provided with electric lights and has excellent catering arrangements—vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian.

KOLAR GOLD FIELD

Those who wish to have the thrill of going down 6,000 or 7,000 feet into the bowels of the earth may make a short trip of 60 miles from Bangalore by car, or railway on the Bangalore-Madras line, to the Kolar Gold Field, which contains some of the deepest mines in the world. There are four companies, formed and financed in England, working on the Kolar Gold Field under mining leases granted by the Government of Mysore. These mines have reached very great depths, and the lowest working level in the Champion Reef mine is now 7,600 feet vertically below the surface. Over 20,000 men are employed in the mines, and nearly 13,000 of them work underground. Machinery worked by electricity is used on an extensive scale, the power being supplied by the Government of Mysore from the generating station at Sivasamudram, 92 miles away. All the mines are in quite a flourishing condition, the total output of gold from 1882 to 1934 being 17,909,070 ounces, valued at £79,512,815. The leases of these companies were recently renewed by the Government of Mysore for a further period of 30 years from 1940. For permission to see the mines, application should be made to the superintendent of the mines concerned or to the Chief Inspector of Mines, Oorgaum, Kolar Gold Field.

SIVASAMUDRAM AND MANDYA

The tourist may next proceed from Bangalore to Mysore, the capital of the State, after seeing the famous waterfalls at Sivasamudram (Siva's Ocean) and the sugar factory at Mandya on the way. Sivasamudram is reached by a good crossroad, 30 miles in length, from Maddur, an intermediate railway station on the Bangalore-Mysore line. The River Cauvery branches here into two streams, each of which makes a descent of about 200 feet in a succession of picturesque rapids and cascades. The northern one is known as Gagana Chukki (heavenly spray) and the one on the south as Bar Chukki (heavy spray). At the northern cataract the stream rushes precipitously over the edge of a tremendous

abyss, and, dashing over vast boulders of rock in a cloud of foam, hurls itself into a deep pool below. The southern cataract is perhaps even finer than the northern one. During the rainy season the river pours over the hillside in an unbroken volume, a quarter of a mile across, but in the dry months it is divided into several distinct falls of great splendour, which the tourist can contemplate at his ease as he discusses his lunch on the opposite side of the stream. The surrounding scenery is extremely grand, the hills being clothed in dense forest, and the whole locality leaves an indelible impression on the mind of the visitor.

Sivasamudram is also noted for its large electric generating station. The possibility of harnessing the falls for generating electricity was visualised by the administrators of Mysore even in the very early days of electrical engineering before the close of the nineteenth century, and the development of electric energy was first established in Mysore as early as 1902 by the installation of generating units in the power house at Sivasamudram. The initial plant had a capacity of 3,600 kilowatts. With the growing demands of the State, the plant was gradually increased in capacity until it now comprises a total effective capacity of 34,500 kilowatts. It is proposed to increase it further to 40,000 kilowatts. The transmission system has kept pace with generation, and it now embraces a high-tension route mileage of about 550 miles, traversing the greater part of the State and having further ramifications for supplying no less than 130 towns and villages.

The sugar factory at Mandya, which lies on the trunk road from Bangalore to Mysore and on the Bangalore-Mysore Railway line, is the largest of its kind in India. It produces well over 20,000 tons of sugar a year. It is proposed to extend the capacity of the factory so as to make it possible to produce 40,000 tons a year.

MYSORE CITY

The city of Mysore, with its lovely pleasantries and delightful parks, is acknowledged to be "a garden city" and "the cleanest city in India." It lies by the side of a rocky hill named after the Goddess Chamundi, which lends the city a pleasing picturesqueness. The city has been so greatly improved that persons who had seen Mysore two decades ago would hardly recognize the present handsome and growing city, with its magnificent wide roads and imposing buildings. Mysore has been the capital of the State ever since 1799. The Maharaja's Palace, which stands in the old fort, is admittedly one of the most beautiful buildings in India. It is an imposing structure, 145 feet high, and took 14 years to complete. It is built of many varieties of stones, and "is

unsurpassed," says Sir George Watt, "by any other stone work in India." The general appearance and the outline of the palace are Indo-Saracenic, but the details are distinctly Hoysala in character. From the basement to the top, the surface is adorned with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art.

The Mysore specialities of silk and sandal oil are produced in the city of Mysore. The Government silk weaving factory is equipped with Swiss and French looms, and manufactures high-grade fabrics, such as georgette, crêpe-de-chine and satins, and also silk handkerchiefs and ties. The sandal oil produced by the Government sandal oil factory at Mysore is noted for its purity and its essential aromatic properties. It is largely exported to Europe, America and Japan. Other notable places in the city are the Mysore University buildings, the Curzon Park, Lalitha Mahal, the zoological gardens and the Chamundi Hills.

EXCURSIONS FROM MYSORE CITY

Mysore City is the most convenient centre from which to visit the following places: Krishnaraja Sagar, 10 miles; Somanathapur, 33 miles; Seringapatam, 11 miles; Melkote, 31 miles (20 miles from Seringapatam).

At Krishnaraja Sagar there is the second largest reservoir in India, named in honour of His Highness the present Maharaja, in whose reign it was constructed. The dam is $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, and is intended to store 124 feet of depth of water. The reservoir has a water spread of 50 square miles, and has helped to bring under cultivation 120,000 acres of land situated in some of the most arid tracts of the State. By the side of the dam are laid out in exquisite taste the terrace gardens, known as the Brindavan, which rise in a series of ascending terraces on both banks of the river-bed, and contain beautiful lawns and colourful beds, sweet-scented bushes and shady walks, and cascades and fountains always reflecting changing hues from morning till night. The panorama from any given point is superb and enchanting. Each fountain has an individuality of its own, and one feels as though all the beautiful elements in the fountain world had gathered here for merry-making and enjoyment. With the coming on of night, a battery of multi-coloured searchlights is made to illuminate the fountain sprays, and then each fountain throws up into the air its own shower of jewels. The engineer, the gardener, and, more than all, the artistic mind behind the whole scheme, have combined to make the Brindavan a living realization of the gardens so vividly pictured by Persian poets in their lyrics. It recalls to one's remembrance the couplet, "If there is a paradise on earth, it is this. it is this."

The shrine at Somanathpur is another marvel of grace and beauty which one should not fail to visit. Its elegance of outline and the marvellous elaboration of detail that characterize it have been admired by all who have seen the temple. It was built, according to an inscription at the entrance, in 1269 A.D. by Soma, a member of the royal family and a high dignitary under King Narasimha III. of the Hoysala dynasty. The temple stands in the middle of an open courtyard, which encloses it as if it were in a frame, and is surmounted by three elegantly carved towers, which in their symmetry and proportions are gems of architecture. The towers are pyramidal in shape and are decorated with lace-like ornaments from top to bottom. Around the exterior base of the temple are sculptured the incidents of the epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and above it are portrayed the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon with various kinds of ornamental canopies above them. The number of large images on the outer walls is 194, and every one of them bespeaks the supreme talent of the Mysore artists of the thirteenth century. The temple is in itself a veritable museum of Indian art.

The greatest interest, however, attaches to Seringapatam as the scene of combats glorious in Indian history. Seringapatam is a small island formed by the River Cauvery, about 3 miles long and a mile broad. It was for long the capital of the Mysore Maharajas, and it was from this island, which its triple fortifications had rendered impregnable, that Tippu carried on his incessant warfare against the British towards the close of the eighteenth century. He was defeated and killed by the British in the battle of Seringapatam in 1799. The historic breach through which the British Army was successfully led into the fort by General Sir David Baird is marked by a simple and plain monument at the south-west angle of the fort. Standing beside it and looking across the river one may very well picture to oneself the difficulties that the besieging army had to surmount. On the historic May 4, 1799, the British troops, entrenched on the other side of the river, crossed its rugged bed at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. They were exposed to a heavy fire from the fort, but they ascended the breach in spite of all opposition from the enemy, and within a short time planted the British flag on the fort. Other places of interest on the island are the Darya Dowlat Bagh (Garden of the Wealth of the Sea), which was the favourite retreat of Tippu, the water-gate in which he died fighting and the Gumbaz or mausoleum in which he and his parents lie entombed.

The peaceful and orderly town of Melkote is a place of pilgrimage for all Hindus. The great philosopher Ramanuja settled here in the eleventh century and renovated the temple of Narayana at Melkote. It was while living here that he wrote his

commentary on the Vedanta Sutras, which in its broad features anticipated the philosophy of Hegel. The temple has many valuable jewels, and one of them, a diamond crown known as the Vayira Mudi (Sanskrit Vajra majuta), is almost priceless. It is believed to have been presented to the temple by Krishna; the hero of the Mahabharata. The crown is always kept in safe custody in the Mysore Palace, and is exposed to the gaze of the people only once a year during a festival which is generally held in March-April, when it is placed on the head of the image for a night. This festival is attended by thousands of people from all over India.

The traveller may next proceed from Mysore to Hassan either by car or by the Mysore-Arsikers Railway, according to his convenience. Hassan is the best place from which to visit the colossal statue of Gomateswara and the famous temples at Belur and Halebid. The distances from Hassan to these places are: Sravanabelagola, 30 miles; Belur, 25 miles; Halebid, 35 miles (10 miles from Belur).

Buses run daily to these places from Hassan and cars can also be hired at Hassan.

Sravanabelagola lies in the middle of two small hills, and in the whole of the beautiful State of Mysore it would be hard to find a spot where the historic and the picturesque are so infinitely blended. Every inch of it is paved with history and romance. As far back as the third century B.C., Chandragupta Maurya, who built up one of the biggest empires of ancient India, took a vow of absolute renunciation towards the close of his life, like the Indian kings and emperors of yore, and leaving his capital, Pataliputra, in the north, migrated south and finally settled here at Sravanabelagola. The rocky cave in one of the hills in which the emperor spent his last days as an ascetic is still in existence, and is visited by many to whom the historic has a fascinating appeal. Later, in 983 A.D., was erected on the bigger of the two hills the largest known statue in the world. It was set up, as the inscriptions around it tell us, by one Chamundaraya, a powerful local potentate, and represents a Jain saint by name Gomataswara. The statue, which is held in great reverence and worshipped by millions of Jains throughout India, stands 60 feet high and is bigger than any known statue of Rameses in Egypt. The image is cut out of a huge boulder, and its rough surface has been made to yield, by the hand of an unknown artist, an exquisite statue with the calm and beatific smile of a saint. The visitor would be astonished at the amount of labour such a prodigious work must have entailed, and would be puzzled to know whether the statue was a part of the hill itself or had been moved to the spot where it now stands, whether the rock was found *in situ* or was

moved. "Nothing grander," says Fergusson (the eminent authority on modern architecture and sculpture), "or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height or excels it in the perfection of art it exhibits."

The temple at Belur is one of the most exquisite specimens of Hoysala architecture, and rivals in richness of design and perfection of finish that of the Somanathpur temple. It was built more than nine hundred years ago by the munificence of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, who was a great patron of the liberal arts and enriched and enhanced the beauty of his country by raising several exquisite monuments, which, for centuries, have been admired by men of all faiths. He was a Jain by religion and was converted to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja. In commemoration of his change of faith he had this beautiful temple at Belur constructed and dedicated in 1117 to the god Vijaya Narayana, whose image is still worshipped in the temple. Fergusson, writing of this temple, observes: "There are many buildings in India which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temple of Belur surpasses even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy."

The name of the architect who designed and executed the temple is surrounded with many legends. It is said that he was one Jakanachari by name and that he began and completed each of the three great temples at Somanathpur, Belur and Halebid in a single night. Whoever the architect or architects may have been, there can be no doubt that they have left at Belur, as a gift to posterity, a wonderful shrine, of which "every part is so complicated, so lavishly and yet so harmoniously ornate."

The village of Halebid marks the site on which stood the city of Dvarasamudra, the wealthy capital of the Hoysala kings. The splendour of this ancient city is attested by its architectural monuments, which rank among the masterpieces of Hindu art. The most remarkable of these are the Hoysaleswara and Kedareshwara temples. The former is a unique work of art. It was, however, never finished. "Had but this temple been completed, it is," says Fergusson, "one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand." He waxes eloquent over its beauty, and says: "A person here sees a greater amount of skilled labour than was ever exhibited in a like space in any other building in the whole world: and the style of workmanship is of a very high order. . . . Every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on its walls."

From Hassan the traveller may pass on by train to Tarikere, wherefrom a short excursion can easily be made by bus to Sringeri, a place of pilgrimage rendered picturesque by the River Tunga. The great Saiva reformer and philosopher Shankara settled here in the eighth century and founded the spiritual throne, which has been occupied down to the present day by as apostolical a succession as the papal chair. The Matha (religious institution) which he founded is perhaps the richest in India and possesses a valuable collection of jewels given by generations of kings and emperors of mediæval India. The head of the Matha is styled the Jagad-guru, or "guru of the world," and is possessed of extensive authority and influence. He wears on ceremonial occasions a tiara like the Pope's, covered with pearls and precious stones given by one of the Peshwas (Prime Ministers) of the Mahratta Empire, and a handsome necklace of pearls, with an emerald centre-piece. The jewels of the Goddess Sarada (goddess of learning), which he worships, are of great value, being made of solid gold and set in diamonds, emeralds, rubies and other precious stones. Besides these, there are many figures of gods and goddesses carved out of single pieces of precious stones. Those interested in Sanskrit may visit the library of the Matha, which contains a large number of unpublished manuscripts. The collection as a whole awaits closer examination at the hands of specialists.

GERSOPPA FALLS

The tourist may finally proceed to the magnificent Falls of Gersoppa. He may take the train at Tarikere for Shimoga, which is the most convenient place from which to visit the falls. On the way to Shimoga lies Bhadravati, where the Mysore iron and steel works are located. The factory is the second largest of its kind in the British Empire and contains the only charcoal blast furnace and wood distillation plant in the East. Bhadravati is the growing industrial centre of the State. A cement factory and a paper mill will, it is proposed, be established there shortly.

The Gersoppa Falls are situated at a distance of 62 miles from Shimoga, and may be reached by car or bus. They eclipse every other fall in the East and have few rivals in any part of the world. The River Sharavati (arrow-born), flowing over a rocky bed of about 250 yards wide, reaches here a tremendous chasm, 960 feet in depth, and takes a stupendous leap in four distinct cascades, presenting a scene of transcendent grandeur and sublimity. The general effect is greatly heightened by the wild and beautiful country around, covered with a wealth of luxuriant vegetation. The largest of the cascades is called the Raja, the next the Roarer, the third the Rocket and the last the Rani. The scene that bursts

into one's view on peering down the gulf at the head of the falls can hardly be described in words. As one visitor puts it, "one might almost gaze for ever on the abyss, in which a mighty mass of water appears eternally burying itself in a mist-shrouded grave. The clouds of spray which continually ascend heavenwards in slow and majestic wreaths appear to typify the shadowy ghosts of the entombed waters."

Past train connections make travelling in Mysore easy and pleasant, while plenty of good accommodation is available in modern hotels. The main railway routes pass through exquisite scenery, while those who wish to go into the interior will find good roads, motor-bus lines and a hospitable people at their service.

The following itineraries are suggested for the convenience of tourists:

FROM BOMBAY

I

First Day.—Leave Bombay in the evening by the *Deccan Queen*.

Third Day.—Arrive Shimoga at 6 hours. Visit Jog Falls and back and leave Shimoga at night.

Fourth Day.—Arrive Hassan in the morning. Visit Belur and Halebid and back to Hassan.

Fifth Day.—Sravanbelagola and back to Hassan and leave for Mysore at 16 hours, arrive Mysore at 19 hours.

Sixth and Seventh Days.—Mysore halt. Visit local places, Krishnaraja Sagar and Seringapatam and Somanathpur and leave for Bangalore at 22 hours.

Eighth Day.—Bangalore. Visit Kolar Gold Field and back. Leave at night for Madras.

Ninth Day.—Arrive Madras in the morning.

II

Same as No. I for first seven days.

Eighth Day.—By road to Ootacamund and leave Ootacamund at 15.10 hours.

Ninth Day.—Arrive Cochin at 8.31 hours.

III

First Day.—Leave Bombay 13.55 hours by Madras Express.

Second Day.—Arrive Bangalore 18.10 hours by Guntakel Passenger and leave for Mysore at 22.15 hours.

Third Day.—Arrive Mysore at 6 hours. Visit local places, Seringapatam and Krishnaraja Sagar.

Fourth Day.—Leave at 15 hours for Hassan and arrive there at 21 hours.

Fifth Day.—Hassan to Halebid and Belur and back.

Sixth Day.—Sravanabelagola and back and leave for Shimoga at night.

Seventh Day.—Arrive Shimoga at 6 hours. Visit Gersoppa Falls and back and leave at night for Bangalore.

Eighth Day.—Arrive Bangalore in the morning and leave for Bombay immediately by Guntakal Passenger.

Ninth Day.—Arrive Bombay at 11.35 hours.

N.B.—The duration of the itineraries can be reduced by reducing the halts at Hassan and Mysore to one day each, but this does not give sufficient time to see all the places of interest.

THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENTS

By H. J. VAN PUTTEN

(Joint Manager of the Java Bank at Amsterdam)

To write an article on the financial policy pursued by the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies during the years immediately after 1929 is hardly possible without first giving some space to the financial and economic position which the Netherlands occupied in the year the world crisis set in.

About that time the Netherlands assumed the position which, in an economic sense, can be regarded as ideal for a creditor nation. Opposed to the credit items of the balance of payments, principally consisting of the receipts from foreign investments, shipping freight and transit trade, there were considerable debit items culminating in a large adverse balance of trade of quite fl. 700,000,000 in 1929, whereas the current items further left a sufficient balance for investments in foreign countries. It is estimated that the foreign issues in the Netherlands before 1929 amounted on an average to fl. 250,000,000 a year. These substantial investments abroad could only lead to untoward consequences for the Dutch balance of payments when after 1929 it appeared that a part of these investments had been placed in countries that either depreciated their currency or introduced currency restrictions or even had recourse to the proclamation of a moratorium. Only by liquidating these foreign—short as well as long term—investments was it possible to prevent a disturbance in the balance of payments and at the same time considerably to increase the gold reserve of the Netherlands Bank. It goes without saying that this liquidation was accompanied by heavy losses. During the years, however, in which the pressure on the balance of payments of the Netherlands on account of a reduction of the current credit items and stability of the current debit items was very critical, the above-mentioned repatriation of money invested in foreign countries brought welcome support.

The first years of the depression saw the adverse balance of trade maintained at the very high level of fl. 700,000,000, which later on gradually declined to the present figure of fl. 260,000,000 a year, a decrease therefore of nearly 70 per cent. It is true that the percentage to which imports are covered by exports has changed but little as compared with 1929, but the favourable effect on the balance of payments actually has been very great.

In the later years of the depression the aforementioned increase of the gold reserve often rendered yeoman service at moments when in the Netherlands, and more particularly abroad, the possibility of maintenance of the gold standard in the Netherlands was considered doubtful. The gold reserve appeared to be the decisive factor in offering resistance in times of great anxiety, such as were experienced during 1934 and again in 1935 and 1936. We should like to mention that the loyal attitude adopted by the Dutch banks in not participating in forward exchange transactions, which did not bear a real character, worked very favourably, as it defeated the objective of the speculators.

The following table shows the development of the gold reserve of the Netherlands Bank since 1929.

GOLD RESERVE, NETHERLANDS BANK.
(In guilders.)

January 1, 1929	...	...	456,300,000
" 1, 1930	...	...	471,800,000
" 1, 1931	...	...	450,300,000
September 14, 1931	...	...	698,100,000
January 1, 1932	...	...	905,900,000
" 1, 1933	...	...	1,055,800,000
" 1, 1934	...	...	949,400,000
" 1, 1935	...	...	842,000,000
September 28, 1936	...	...	669,800,000

It appears from this table that the largest influx took place in the year 1931, when England left the gold standard. It amounted to fl. 450,000,000. In 1932 the gold influx continued, but on a more moderate scale. After 1934 a reaction sets in, the gold reserve of the Dutch Central Bank then showing a decrease as a result of the repeated attacks on the guilder which came to a standstill only a few months ago.

The gold efflux which took place after 1933 and which reduced the gold reserve of the Netherlands Bank to a level which is almost identical with that of 1929—taking into consideration the fl. 200,000,000 balances abroad in the year 1929—must not be regarded as a result of deficits on the current items of the balance of payments, but exclusively as shiftings from the capital items to the balance of payments. This gold efflux is, in so far as it was not based on foreign speculation and domestic flight from the guilder, for the greater part a result of the renewed interest of the Dutch investing public in foreign, chiefly American and English, stocks and bonds. This gold efflux must therefore not be viewed as evidence that the balance of payments of the Netherlands was not balanced, because as regards its current items it has always been balanced and is so now.

With all this drain of gold the gold cover of the Netherlands Bank did not reach dangerous levels for the simple reason that the

private banking system now reaped the benefit of the sane banking policy of former years. With the exception of the German and Austrian standstill credits, which in relation to the total investments of the banks only form a small percentage thereof, this policy can be regarded as sound. As a result, the banks could create in the years of depression liquid cash which in 1933 finally led to an increase of the deposit accounts at the Netherlands Bank to about fl. 300,000,000.

In the times of panic which repeatedly followed each other this great liquid reserve enabled the banks to finance calls for gold at the Netherlands Bank with their own resources without being compelled to have recourse to the credit of the Bank of Issue on a large scale. In so far as this latter form of financing was resorted to, the Netherlands Bank was able to prevent such a development immediately by raising its discount rate. The repeated increases in the discount rate during the years 1929-1936 could under these circumstances generally be quickly cancelled.

The increase of the gold reserve also had the favourable tendency to ease the money market, which in its turn made the financing of the ever-growing needs of the Treasury possible. These increasing needs were caused by:

1. The considerable decline of revenue in conjunction with almost stationary expenditure. Before 1931 the ordinary service of the Budget continually produced a surplus, but since that time has shown ever-increasing deficits, so that the total deficits during the years 1931-1936 rose to fl. 359,000,000, as appears from the following table:

ORDINARY SERVICE.
(In million guilders.)

1930. Surplus	...	...	27.9	1931. Deficit	...	...	45.6
				1932. "	...	...	76.0
				1933. "	...	...	55.9
				1934. "	...	...	37.2
				1935. "	...	...	71.6
				1936. "	...	...	73.0
				Total	...	...	359.3

It is true that these deficits have finally been consolidated to some extent, but in the years in which this was not possible they were financed by means of public issues of Treasury bills.

2. The financing by the mother country of the deficits of the Budgets of the Netherlands Indies during the years 1929-1936, which required in the course of these years some hundreds of millions; the maximum was reached in November, 1934, with an amount of fl. 270,000,000. The Netherlands Indies Government then succeeded in consolidating an amount of fl. 150,000,000 by

means of a public issue which was guaranteed by the Government of the mother country.

It stands to reason that both factors exerted a pressure on the money market as the capital market did not lend itself to the rapid consolidation of large amounts. The easier tendency on the money market under the influences of the gold influx and at the same time the decreasing demand for credit on the part of business, however, reduced money rates to a very low level despite the considerable demands of the Treasury. The course of the rate of interest on Treasury bills since 1929 shows very clearly that the terms at which the Treasury could borrow gradually became more favourable. This process received a fresh impetus when Holland as the last surviving member of the gold-bloc was compelled to leave the gold standard on September 26; and certainly the easy tendency on the money-market would be still more pronounced if the operations of the Dutch Equalization Fund would take place on a larger scale than is the case for the present. As the Netherlands Government, however, does not aim at an undervaluation of the Dutch guilder, one may assume that those operations will never bear a forced character. At the last issue of Treasury bills the rate did not rise above 1.4 per cent.

It goes without saying that these low money-rates have greatly influenced the rates of long-term investments, in consequence of which nearly all 4 per cent. municipal loans have risen to par, whereas the Dutch Government has raised a loan of fl. 100,000,000 at 3 per cent, which became an overwhelming success. As this loan serves to redeem a part of the Treasury bills outstanding, the money-rates were not affected by this operation.

Lately the position of the Dutch Government has shown a steady improvement, which, among other things, is evidenced by the considerable balance of the Treasury with the Netherlands Bank of fl. 30,000,000, as well as its important loans to the call market. It is clear that if the Treasury were to place the first-mentioned amount on the market the influence of the plethora of money would become still more accentuated.

Apart from a special technical cause the considerably improved position of the Treasury must be explained by the stream of remittances from the Government of the Dutch East Indies to the home country during 1935 and 1936 in settlement of the aforementioned debit. In order to understand the cause of these increased "redemptions" it should first be explained how this debt arose.

The Budget of the Dutch East Indies comprises a so-called Dutch part and a so-called Indian part. The expenditure on the Dutch part always used to be financed in the Netherlands, with

the understanding, however, that as the so-called Indian part always left a considerable surplus of revenue, the surplus of expenditure of the Dutch part in the course of the year was paid off out of the first surplus. After 1929, when the depression made itself strongly felt in the Dutch East Indies, there finally came a moment when it seemed that the revenue of the so-called Indian part would not even be sufficient to cover Indian expenditure, in which case the home country would have had to finance not only the aforementioned Dutch part but, besides, would have been obliged to make remittances to the Government of the Netherlands East Indies. Fortunately, this never occurred, and now we are in the position that the Dutch East Indies do not only "cover" the so-called Dutch expenditure but at the same time greatly decrease the advances made by the Dutch Government. Thus the advances amount at the present moment only to fl. 88,000,000 against fl. 130,000,000 in 1935, and according to present prospects this process should continue for some time to come.

These redemptions to the home country give some indication of the increased elasticity of the Netherlands East Indies. That these remittances are being achieved without influencing unduly the rate of exchange of the Netherlands Indies guilder affords sufficient evidence that the balance of payments of the Dutch East Indies is fully in equilibrium. Besides, the Dutch guilder since October, 1933, continually showed a discount of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in comparison with the Netherlands Indies guilder, which is the clearest indication of the strength of that currency. This thesis still holds good despite the fact that in 1935 and 1936 the Netherlands Indies Bank of issue—the Java Bank—was forced to release some ten million guilders of gold. This is the logical result of the Netherlands Indies private banks, in consequence of the smaller demand for money caused by the depression, reducing their sellings of foreign bills to the Java Bank to a minimum.

In answer to the question what is the direct cause of the improved cash position of the Netherlands East Indies Government, it may be stated that various factors have made their influence felt.

1. The real improvement of the Budget.

The drastic manner in which since 1929 the Government has curtailed its expenditure is apparent from the fact that from that moment this has been about halved.

(In million guilders.)

Ordinary expenditure, 1930	524	Ordinary revenue, 1930	439
" " 1931	482	" " 1931	380
" " 1932	425	" " 1932	283
" " 1933	379	" " 1933	257
" " 1934	337	" " 1934	255
" " 1935	302	" " 1935	250
" " 1936	293	" " 1936	247

This retrenchment was a logical corollary of the heavy fall in resources which could not but have strong repercussions on a country like the Netherlands East Indies, whose Budget is for a considerable part dependant on indirect taxation. This adaptation of expenditure to the greatly reduced income has finally had the favourable result that the Budget for the year 1937 is almost balanced; the national debt will not be increased in any event.

2. The extraordinarily ample flow of the incidental income from the special export duty on rubber, which was introduced in 1934.

This is a duty levied on a sliding scale on rubber produced by the native population as a means to restrict its production. As the improvement of rubber prices, as well as the apparent inadequacy of this levy in its effect on the restriction of the native production, led to a further increase of this tax, the latter gradually became a source of very ample revenue. As these means are only partly included in the ordinary service of the Budget it is evident that in so far as they exceed this amount they cannot but strengthen the position of the Treasury.

3. Since 1934 the Government has, in consequence of the existing currency union between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, availed itself of its right to use the silver token money in the traffic of payments between the two countries.

Article 2 of the Dutch and of the Netherlands East Indies Monetary Law provides that the "ryksdaalder" ($2\frac{1}{2}$ guilders), the guilder and half-guilder are legal tender to any amount, whereas Article 5 of the Monetary Law of the Netherlands East Indies further provides that the "ryksdaalder," the guilder and half-guilder are the same coins as those enacted by the Dutch Monetary Law.

The pressure to resort to these remittances arose from the large quantities of silver which, as a result of the continued deflation, had been piled up in the Government's vaults and which had an unfavourable influence on the position of the Treasury. The Netherlands Indies Government, realizing that the circulation would not be capable of absorbing this surplus of silver for many years to come, remitted large amounts of silver token money to the home country in order to reduce its debit balance. These amounts are shown in the following table:

In 1934	...	...	...	fl. 28,700,000
In 1935	...	...	...	fl. 10,900,000
In 1936	...	...	...	fl. 10,500,000
Total	...	...	...	fl. 50,100,000

For the moment this incidental source is scarcely operative. Nevertheless, the position of the Government's Treasury has im-

proved to such an extent that it is still possible further to reduce the advance made by the Dutch Government.

In the above-mentioned process we have a direct point of contact between the financial and the monetary policy pursued by the Government, for these silver remittances could never have been carried out if the Government had responded to the wish which was repeatedly expressed some time ago to take the Dutch East Indies guilder off gold as an independent action without paying regard to the Dutch guilder. Such a measure would have immediately shattered the currency union, and the mutual token money could not have been applied at par as remittance for the aforementioned purpose.

Whether the Dutch East Indies will benefit to an extent as frequently assumed from the situation created by the gold embargo it is yet too early to predict. It should be borne in mind that conditions in a country like the Dutch East Indies are entirely different from those in Western countries, where depreciation of the currency may, under certain circumstances, restore the industries' profit-earning capacity which was lost, or nearly lost, chiefly owing to the large discrepancy between wholesale and retail indices. For the Dutch East Indies this factor was of less importance because—even before the crisis—the discrepancy between wholesale and retail indices was much smaller than that in the majority of Western countries. Moreover, during the years immediately following 1929 a further adaptation took place with remarkable rapidity in the Dutch East Indies, although it must be admitted that, in this respect, conditions were considerably more favourable than those in Europe, as the cost of living in the former is based more upon the wholesale index than is the case with Western countries. One of the favourable consequences of this is that in the Dutch East Indies wages, which show such a

INDEX FIGURES.

	Export Products. (Weighted.)		Import Goods. (Unweighted.)		Retail Prices.		Cost of Food, European Families.		Cost of Food, Native Families.	
	%		%		%		%		%	
End of 1929	46	-54	88	-31	97	-22	101	-20	86	-48
" 1931	21	-14	61	-16	76	-16	81	-15	45	-22
" 1932	18	+ 3	51	-14	64	-11	69	-12	35	-17
" 1933	18.5	+ 8	44*	- 2	57	- 7	61	-11	29	+17
" 1934	20	unchanged	43	- 2	53	- 2	54	unchanged	34	- 3
March, 1935	19		42		53		53.5		35	
June, "	19.5		41.5		52.5		53		32	
Sept., "	19		42		52		52.5		31.5	
Dec., "	20		42		52		54		33	
March, 1936	20.5		41.5		51		53		32	

* The composition of the import index underwent a slight change in 1933.

close relationship to the retail (cost of living) index, form a far more flexible element in the process of adjustment than in European countries. The table on page 163, taken from the Annual Report of the President of the Java Bank for the years 1935-36, shows clearly the development of the wholesale and retail indices from 1929 onwards.

But this same favourable factor, i.e. the close relationship of wholesale to retail index, which is the secret of the rapid adaptation of the cost of living, has the tendency to reduce the benefits of the depreciation of the guilder, because the rise in prices of imported goods affects the cost of living unfavourably to the full extent, which in its turn may lead to a raising of wages.

EDUCATION IN IRAN

By S. F. SHADMAN

It is difficult to give a satisfactory definition of what is really meant by education, and it is still more difficult, if not quite impossible, to decide upon the subtle point as to whether a nation creates its own education or whether it is education which makes the nation.

I believe that education is nothing but the way in which the inner national tendencies and moral sources of a community are developed, and good or bad education is only the result of how these are put into use. Of course, the racial aptitude of every nation unconsciously shows the road to be followed, but there are different external factors which should necessarily be considered. Therefore it is idle to judge the educational capacity of a nation without studying its history and everything appertaining to it.

Truly fascinating is the review of events which change educational systems, and as it is a very delicate problem it is hard to discover all the causes and the effects of such changes. A mere reading of history books is not a sufficient guide to the educational capacity of a nation. I think that perhaps stories, tales and legends may be of greater value to the student who wants to have a correct idea of the real education of a country.

I will not pursue this matter further, as I am going to write a few words on Iranian education, but before so doing I should like to state that it is impossible to have the least idea about it without reverting to the long and eventful history of Iran, and it is worth studying because of its great interest. Few of the world's nations, if any, could withstand, as Iranians have done, so many foreign invasions and yet retain their own civilization. Greeks, Arabs, Mongols, all came, and today Iran still exists with her own language, her own culture and even her own religion.

It is all due to the Iranian genius and to the strong Iranian education, of which "Cyropædia" by Xenophon is only an appreciation, that a country such as mine was able to escape the overwhelming foreign influences, and if there still remain, as it is quite natural, signs of those invasions they are only what we have adopted and in some way Iranized, as one might say.

Iran today is on the highroad to progress, and those who have seen her lately will tell you how a nation stirred by national ideals can do wonders in a few years. But what I have to emphasize

here is the fact that Iran was, at all times, the cradle of learning and free-thinking. If tales and stories which are written in their own natural way could be a true mirror of the social life of any country, then there are many which depict how Iranians were taught sports, good manners, different branches of science and art, love of justice and truth. Every story tells of travels, hardships, discussions and controversies between learned men of the land, and all this comes so naturally that there remains no doubt of their being part of the daily life of the people.

These stories narrate either the adventures of those who were sent by the Shah of Iran to find a rare manuscript in remote lands, or tell of titles and moneys given freely to scientists, poets and writers who came to the Iranian court.

Although Xenophon, in what he wrote about the education of Cyrus the Great, tried to show his compatriots how they should educate themselves in order to withstand their enemies, there must necessarily be some basis for his writings.

It is impossible that a nation such as the Iranians with so long a history should maintain the same level of education throughout their activities, but there are some characteristics which show to what extent the capacity of a nation can resist foreign influence. Taking into consideration all the vicissitudes of Iran, one may safely say that perhaps she is the only country where words about 1,000 years old are still understood by the bulk of the people today. Our children read and easily comprehend lines of poetry written ten centuries ago by our greatest national poet Ferdosi. What the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to French literature, such is the tenth century to us. It is in this century that the standard Persian reached its zenith, and is not a standard language one of the best signs of a standard education?

Those who have travelled in Iran know that in almost every great town of this country there are many colleges, some extremely ancient. College life, in many respects similar to that of Oxford or Cambridge, was entirely devoted to learning. It is pleasing to imagine these colleges, jewels of architecture with their coloured tiles, full of students studying decorated manuscripts, such as Aristotle's philosophy or the medicine and logic of Avicenna, this great Iranian genius.

From different expressions used in poetry as well as in prose and from frequent quotations and simile, there will remain no doubt that Iranians, since their intercourses with their neighbours and even through their unquenchable desire for knowledge, had adapted the essentials of many different branches of Greek, Indian and Chinese philosophy, Assyrian, Chaldean and Egyptian science, and they were always ready to accept good ideas wherever they were to be found.

It is a well-known fact that Iranians in some ways were the real organizers of Muhammadan institutions, and there are books written by them which are second to none, compiled in Arabic.

Reading is so essential that even in a mosque, where people come to pray, they find there numbers of books dealing with different branches of science and literature, and it is interesting to watch book-worms among these silent tomes which say so much. As a child it delighted me to see students and others turning the pages of books which seemed somewhat mysterious to me.

There is no need to speak much about the pre-Muhammadan education of Iran, as it is known to a certain extent to those who are acquainted with the earliest Iranian history.

It is almost inconceivable to European people that most of the intellectual progress of the first centuries of the Islamic Empire was due to Iranians. Although there are thousands of Arabic words in the Persian language which have given some facility for expression, terms and words which are to be found in Arabic and are of Iranian origin are by no means scarce, and that shows the influence of Iranian culture on Arabic institutions.

Under different dynasties some part of Iran was more prosperous from the educational point of view, but never was that country left without a centre where people could get light even in the darkest days of her history.

I think it is impossible to know a nation thoroughly without studying its entire literature just in order to have an idea of what people really thought and did and would do, because it is in literature alone that the standard of thought is to be found, and it is beyond all question that one cannot understand the literature of a certain nation unless one knows every detail concerning it. Now may I ask who, among ordinary readers in Europe, can be sure that, because he has read a few travel books or some fiction, he has a correct idea of Iranian education?

* * * * *

To try to give a full report of today's education with all its sources, plans and programmes is not my intention, but I can safely say that perhaps no country has seen such a vast educational movement as there prevails in Iran today.

It is interesting to know that since the sixteenth century there was intellectual intercourse between Iran and some European countries, and it was Mohammed Reza Bey, the first Ambassador of Iran to the Court of France under Louis XIV., who engaged French engineers to work in Iran.

In the early nineteenth century Iran had further dealings with Europe; new military forces were created on European lines, Iranians were sent to England, books were translated into Persian,

and there began a modern scientific movement. Since the middle of the last century that movement gained more importance and adherents. Schools of medicine, engineering, music and other branches of art and literature were at the disposal of young Iranians who were burning to understand what modern European science and art have given to humanity.

Meanwhile many rich people sent their children to Europe, and a few to America, and European professors were engaged to teach in Iran.

Nearly a century ago, under the auspices of Mirza Taghi Khan Amire Kabir, the brilliant Prime Minister of Iran, a school called Darol-Fonoon was built in Teheran. This school was organized after the French system and it was divided into seven branches: Infantry, artillery, military engineering, cavalry, medicine, surgery, pharmacy and mines. Later English, French, Russian, art and music were added.

Professors and graduates began to translate and compile scientific books, contribute articles to reviews, and side by side with this scientific movement a kind of literary renaissance developed which freed the decadent post-Mongol Persian style from its prosiness.

Later a School of Political Science was inaugurated in Teheran, where most of our diplomats and other eminent Government officials are educated. This School is now incorporated with the Faculty of Law. Meanwhile feminine education was promoted, and in different places throughout Iran girls' schools were instituted and the feminist movement, already inflamed, became more and more enthusiastic.

During a quarter of a century every year has seen important advances in education from many points of view: primary and secondary schools have been multiplied, high schools created, students sent abroad, and this desire for knowledge has influenced Iranians so much that now practically for every branch of science, applied or theoretic, and art there are institutes and schools of different types from military to agricultural colleges.

I cannot describe here, for lack of space, what the new régime has done for Iran. Apart from guidance in every social form particular attention has been paid to education.

In ten years about 1,000 schools have been added, the number of students has doubled, the budget of the Ministry of Public Education has increased sixfold, and I think that this will tell its own story.

One of the greatest services ever rendered to Iran under the new régime was the sending by the Ministry of Public Education of 100 students each year to complete their studies abroad, and that was to be continued for a period of five years. These students,

who had passed very complete competitive examinations, were chosen from among Iranian subjects irrespective of creed, and have proved themselves to be hard working and intelligent. English, French, German and American universities have received them, and it is to be hoped that my fellow-countrymen who have profited by the excellent scientific methods of Europe will in future be able to bring about mutual understanding based on intellectual intercourse, which is most essential.

Except those chosen by the Ministry of Public Education, nearly every other Ministry and Governmental Department have sent students to Europe to attend courses at universities and academies, and thus since the beginning of the new régime hundreds have been educated at military, aviation, naval, agricultural, commercial and engineering colleges, and experienced officials of different ministries have gone abroad so as to study the most recent methods and to report on how they should be applied.

It should be clear that, apart from the students whose expenses are provided by the Government, there are many others in various universities in different countries who supply their own needs, and, of course, they also will be of great value to their country.

I shall be neglectful if I do not mention one of the useful efforts to propagate knowledge in Iran. I state with confidence that books for both elementary and secondary schools, prepared by the Ministry of Public Education, are among the best which any civilized country can claim. Compiled by competent teachers, written in standard Persian, containing essential subjects requisite to everyone nowadays, printed and illustrated in the best way possible, these books are of great importance. I emphasize this fact because I think that it is of real interest to study books read in schools from every point of view in order to have an idea how the youth of a country is initiated into knowledge.

One of the outstanding features of present education in Iran is the great attention paid to physical education, which is now compulsory in all schools by an Act of Parliament. Girl Guides and Boy Scouts movements are in full swing everywhere throughout the land. A training school is especially instituted to prepare sports instructors. It should be borne in mind that Iran has always been the land of sport and chivalry. Polo, our national game, has been played for centuries. Each district in every town in Iran has its Zur-Khaneh (gymnasium) where people, listening to the charming voice of a singer who recites "Shah-Nameh," this greatest national heritage of ours, drill and prepare themselves to defend the soil where they are born and for the defence of which they would gladly die.

It is important to mention that for centuries different branches of art, literature and science (not only theology) were taught in

old colleges, and it is also to be remembered that previous to an Act of Parliament two years ago which established the regulations of a modern university, colleges working on European lines were already in existence as stated above, but this new Act and the foundation of a new building near Teheran, the foundation-stone of which was laid by H.M. Reza Shah himself, opens up a new era in our national education.

The University of Teheran is composed of six faculties: (1) Faculty of Medicine. (2) Faculty of Law, Economics and Political Science. (3) Faculty of Philosophy and Theology. (4) Faculty of Science. (5) Faculty of Literature. (6) Faculty of Technology.

Iranian professors, most of whom have completed their studies abroad, and European professors also teach in these faculties.

I cannot here give in detail the subjects which are taught in the University of Teheran. But it may be stated that the programme of courses has been arranged after having taken into consideration both the important universities of the world and the needs of the country. One of the interesting reforms is the creation of a faculty where the students of religious questions are obliged to attend regular courses, and the programme is so arranged that they should have a thorough knowledge of everything which is essential to those whose duty is the guidance of man.

This faculty prepares clergy who, besides foreign languages, psychology and philosophy, have to study branches in connection with their future calling, and must pass difficult examinations in order to obtain their degrees. It is obvious that under such conditions a broad-minded class of clergymen, well read and well educated, can render great services to international religious understanding.

Municipalities contribute largely towards the public education by founding numerous orphanages and public libraries and in giving lectures.

Besides daily newspapers and literary magazines there are different special reviews, such as the *Agricultural Magazine*, the *Bank Bulletin*, the *Police Review*, the *Military Review*, the *Medical Review*, etc. One of the best periodicals, published by the Ministry of Public Education, is of great help to teachers and parents and gives the current happenings and events concerning education.

I cannot refrain from mentioning the great attention given during the last few years to feminine education. Although for centuries women in Iran did not miss their opportunity of education, and in our literary history the names of many women are to be found, the whole credit of a real feminist movement is entirely due to the personal interest of H.M. Reza Shah Pahlavi, who has

given his patronage to this important problem which has greatly changed the aspects of social life.

Iranian girls are drilled and educated on the most modern lines; there are special courses for the training of instructors for Girl Guides, and at the end of last year the number of Girl Guides and officers in Teheran alone was 943.

Apart from feminine elementary education, which is spread throughout the country, there are many girl students who study at different colleges in Teheran and elsewhere, and many of them have completed their courses in Europe and America, and there are still quite a number who attend classes at universities here in England and in France, Belgium and Germany.

The entire abolition of the veil and the mingling of women in social life with men have already produced great results, and the emancipation of women, which is the outcome of recent laws, its encouragement by the Government and their independent legal status, which has long been acknowledged by Muhammadan laws (contrary to what is thought by most Europeans), have brought about this movement which has far-reaching consequences.

Iranian physical education in general is conducted by two institutions—Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and the Institute of Physical Education—each having a central committee in Teheran with branches in the provinces and towns. There is a summer camp every year in a vast area near Teheran, where they go for open-air drill and training, and instructors from all parts come to study camp-life generally.

As mentioned above, by an Act of Parliament games and drill are compulsory; matches and educational travel are encouraged, and different games such as football, volley-ball, basket-ball, tennis, cycling, running and jumping, etc., are the most popular. In Teheran a vast stadium is erected for matches and in other parts of Iran playing-fields have been laid out.

The budget of the Ministry of Public Education for the last financial year was 56,648,250 rials, to which 1,031,820 rials granted by municipalities and 324,000 rials granted by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company must be added, and thus the total budget of public education is 58,004,070 rials.

According to the recent concession to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, £10,000 each year are to be spent in England on the education of Iranian students who study subjects connected with oil, the supervision of which is entrusted to a committee in London under the presidency of the Iranian Delegate, who now is His Excellency A. A. Zarrinkafsh.

The officials of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company have spared no pains to assist Iranian students, and their guidance has been of great value and help.

There are many Iranians who are now apprenticed in factories and works and others who study in the university.

The number of schools in Iran reaches 5,339, and there are 168 public libraries where books of every type are at the disposal of readers.

In debating societies scientific and literary questions are discussed. The Collège de France in Paris has kindly placed one of its halls at the disposal of the supervising committee of Iranian students in Paris, where speeches and addresses are delivered both by students and eminent Iranian and foreign scholars.

There are now 15 scientific and literary societies in Iran, each contributing to some special branch of science and literature.

Adult education is not neglected, and although the number of the illiterate has enormously diminished, according to a new regulation by the Council of Ministers special courses are to be held throughout the land, and everywhere these courses are instituted, apart from the general public, the minor employees of the Government and local authorities are obliged to attend them. There are to be 3,000 of these special courses.

Heads of educational departments and faculties are chosen from among persons who are acquainted both with Iranian and foreign educational systems, of whom a fine example is Dr. Sadigh, the present Director of the Training College for Teachers. He first studied in Teheran and then in France and England. After returning to his country he held various important posts connected with education, but not content with his vast experience he also visited America to study the educational systems of that part of the world.

This educational movement has changed the social outlook, and a certain thirst for knowledge and reality has produced books, written or translated in a style which is simpler than the florid one which was a sign of literary decadence. A society composed of distinguished people has arranged for the translation of a whole series of general history of the world and many other books of general interest. These books, which are translated by qualified writers, are printed and illustrated in the best way possible, and are sold at cost price.

Most of Anatole France's writings are translated by Dr. Ghani, who is now a Member of Parliament, and who has done for Persian literature what Aylmer Maude has performed in translating Tolstoy.

Let us hope that this intellectual movement in a land where the bodies of Avicenna, Ferdosi, Saadi, Hafiz and Khayyam are buried will produce men and women who may be able to give to the restless world something worthy of a country whose people sincerely believe that it is only by the efforts of humanity that the

Darkness of Ignorance can be overcome by the Light of Knowledge.

Since the beginning of his career, His Excellency A. A. Hekmat, our present Minister of Public Education, has been an active official of that ministry. As a scholar, writer and lover of science and art, with the experience of many years behind him, he is the right man in the right place at the right time. His personal observances during his long period of service, and his minute comparison of our educational methods with European ones studied on the spot, have made his decisions concerning the affairs of this vital department of much value.

In her adoption of modern culture, which is the heritage of many centuries of human effort developed and strengthened by the West, it is my greatest desire that my country may contribute, as she has already done, to the further advancement of science and art.

WOMEN IN INDIA*

BY SIR HARI SINGH GOUR

THE subject of women in India is one of perennial interest both to the women of this country as well as to women generally all over the world, because the disabilities that the women of India suffer at present are the disabilities from which women in all countries have suffered at one time or another in their history.

When you consider the position of women generally and the disability to which they have been subjected since ages past, we are reminded of one of the fables of Æsop, in which we are told that a traveller, meeting a lion in his wanderings through the forest, entered into a dispute with him as to the superiority of each over the other. The lion claimed to be the King of the Forest and he pointed to his magnificent mane as the embodiment of his strength. Turning to him, the man pointed to a carving close by, in which a happy hunter was shown as putting his foot down upon the throat of a dead lion. "Look at that," said the man. "Doesn't that prove that man is superior to your kind?" "Yes," said the lion. "But that is a product of man, and if lions could carve they would carve the other way about."

Now, the position of women all over the world is due to the fact that they are subject to man-made laws. Man, being the stronger sex, has provided himself with all the amenities of life.

* Summary of a Lecture delivered by Sir Hari Singh Gour at the Central Hall of the Y.W.C.A. in Tottenham Court Road on July 20.

and relegated the weaker sex to the abject position of dependence upon him for its very existence. It is only since the passing of the Women's Property Act that women in this country have become entitled to possess property of their own. The Suffragette Movement is fresh in the minds of all, and it owes its existence to the political disabilities that the women of this country have been subjected to for several centuries.

The women of England are not yet fully emancipated in respect of the removal of several features which law and custom had imposed upon their movements. For example, they are not yet as free in the matrimonial field as their sisters across the Channel, where women are entitled to the right of divorce on the same terms as men. Some years back a Commission was appointed to bring the English law into line with that prevailing on the Continent and elsewhere. With the exception of the clerics who sat thereupon, the Committee was unanimous in recommending an immediate amendment of the law dispensing with the proof of adultery as the *sine qua non*, as required by the Ecclesiastical Law, administered by the Court to secure divorce: and this is only one illustration of the backwardness of the women of this country.

But I am not dealing with them here. Tonight I am only pointing out how the problem of women in this country and elsewhere has been at one time or another identical. So far as women in India are concerned, they fall into two definite groups, the Hindu and the Moslem. The Hindus regard all laws as a part of their religion. The great Hindu lawgiver, Manu, in his code written some 1500 years before Christ, declared that women should never have independence at any time in their life. In youth, he declared, the woman must live under the tutelage of her father, in middle age that of her husband, and in old age that of her son—woman should never be independent.

Coupled with this dependence of women there was the question of early marriage, intended to prevent her from chalking out a course of her own. The idea was that she should be given to her husband before she was able to think for herself and it is the root cause of the custom of child marriages in my country. Those of you who have looked at the Census Report only of the last decade, taken in 1931, will find that some 300 odd women are declared to be widows and their ages, as given in the Report, are from zero to 5. A larger number of widows' ages are given as 5 to 10, while those from 10 to 15 run into six figures. The prevailing custom is not necessarily confined to the Manu community.

When I introduced my Age of Consent Bill in the Indian Legislature, the opposition came not so much from the Hindu as the Moslem members, who denounced the Bill as opposed to their Sharrait, that is, their sacred law, but the Bill has been enacted

into law, raising the age of consent to 14 and 16, inside and outside marriage. But I am not satisfied with that age. I have been pressing and am still pressing for the age of consent to be synchronous with the year of majority, which is 18 in my country as it is 21 here. I have pointed out that under the law of the land no person is free to make any contract with reference to his property until he has attained his majority—that is, the age of discretion. If that is so, I cannot understand how a child is allowed to enter into a most solemn contract with reference to her priceless possession and the crowning jewel of her life, even before she understands its meaning and the nature and consequence of her act. The fact is that she has no word in the matter at all. Her parents and guardians arrange the marriage and the poor child is faced with a *fait accompli* when it is too late for her to rescind the act of her parents. She has no choice in the matter, and if her husband be incontinent, a congenital idiot, or be suffering from congenital leprosy or sanious disease, imperilling her very existence, she has no choice.

I introduced a Bill for the dissolution of marriage in these circumstances. The Bill was referred to the Select Committee, but has not yet become law. Women in India could at one time be bodily seized by their husbands in execution of a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights. They can be seized in the same manner and to the same extent as you in England would take possession of a runaway horse or a truant sheep. I have repealed that law with the result that women are now free to that extent. I have also secured to women the right of entering the legal profession, a point which was conceded not without some struggle, in which, I am sorry to say, some European members of the Assembly joined hands with the reactionaries against me.

If I had time, I could give you in detail the history of numerous measures on the same lines, for which I was directly responsible: The Devadasi Act, proscribing the offering of young girls to the temples in India and thereby consigning them to lifelong prostitution, is one such Act. This Bill was enacted as part of the Indian Penal Code, but remains a dead letter, as has also the more recent Bill prohibiting the marriage of young children below a certain age.

The future of women in India lies in their own hands. I am glad that the new Parliamentary Statute, in dealing with the government of India, has given women a direct franchise, enabling them to send in their representatives both to the Central and the Provisional Legislatures. Women will take advantage of their position and they will be able to force through social reforms, bringing to their sex the relief which it sorely needs.

The Indian law of inheritance requires drastic overhauling. I

have modified it in favour of certain female relations, but my Act does not go far enough. What we want is a thorough overhaul of the whole system of inheritance, particularly the section dealing with women's private property. I strongly advocate the appointment of a Commission with a non-official majority and a non-official Chairman, conversant with the new law, to go into this question and not to draw up a report which might be shelved, but to draw up a report which shall be translated into an Act of the Indian Legislature, which is only possible if the Government would commit themselves to bringing in a Bill embodying the recommendation of such a Committee, before the reformed Central Legislature comes into existence. When such Federal Government is established, I am anxious to see the appointment of a Committee for the reform of Indian Law generally, and the women of India should not rest content till such a Committee is appointed. They should bespeak the support of the women's organization in England, and I appeal to that organization to take up this question in right earnest before it is too late.

THE FUTURE OF BURMA*

BY SIR CHARLES INNES, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

BURMA has just reached a very important stage in its history. At present it is just a province of British India, but on April 1, 1937, it is to be "separated" from India, and is to launch out on its own. It is the most easterly province of India, and extends from the high mountainous area in latitude 28° N., where the unadministered areas of Assam and Burma march with Tibet and China to the Bay of Bengal as far south as Victoria Point, latitude 9.58° N., on the narrow Malay Peninsula which divides the Gulf of Siam from the Bay of Bengal. On the west and north-west Burma marches with Bengal, the Nanipur State and Assam, and it is divided from India by a wide tract of densely wooded hill and jungle. This tract is not impassable. Indeed, a Burman raid into India led to the first Burman war in 1824. But it is so difficult that there is no communication by road or rail between India and Burma. If you want to go from India to Burma you must go by sea or air. On the east Burma's neighbours are the Chinese province of Yunnan in the north, and French Indo-China and Siam in the south. Here again the frontiers are difficult. There are no roads leading from Burma to the adjacent countries. Intercourse with India is possible only by a few difficult caravan routes, and such trade as goes on is carried on the backs of mules.

I called Burma just now a "fascinating little country." "Little" is only a relative term. Its total area is some 234,000 square miles. That is to say, it is about four times the size of England and Wales, and it is by far the largest of the Indian provinces. On the other hand, it is sparsely populated; naturally so, because it contains so large an area of hill and jungle. Its population is only about 14½ millions, of which about 10 millions are Burman. These Burmans live on the plains, and other plains peoples are Karens, of whom there are about 1½ millions, and Indians about a million in number. The rest of the population are mainly hill people. About a million Shans inhabit the lovely Shan plateau on the east of Burma, and there are numerous tribes of Chins on the west, Nagas in the north-west and Kachins in the north and north-east.

* Based on a paper read before the Royal Empire Society Summer School at the University of Bristol.

Thus Burma owes much to its difficult frontiers. It is they which have enabled this small Burman people, squeezed in as it were between the vast millions of India on the one side and of China on the other, to maintain throughout the ages its individuality as a nation. As I shall show later, they simplify the problem of defence, and in the last analysis they are responsible for the movement for the separation of Burma from India. This controversy is now at an end, and I do not propose to revive it. But I must explain as briefly as I may why it has been decided to separate the two countries.

We took over Burma in three stages. In 1826 we annexed the Arakan and Tenasserim divisions after the first Burmese war, which was waged in retaliation for the invasion of Manipur and Assam by Burmese forces. In 1852 the second Burmese war broke out as the result of outrages on British residents in Rangoon. We then annexed the rest of Lower Burma, and in 1862 the province of Lower Burma or British Burma was constituted. Finally, in 1885 we came into collision with Thibaw, the King of Upper Burma; Mandalay was occupied and the province of Burma as we now know it came into existence.

In all these wars India was our base; in fact the wars were waged by the Government of India. It was only natural, therefore, that Burma was administered as a province of India. Looking back on all that has passed, I think myself that it was unfortunate for Burma that this course was adopted, but at the time, no doubt, it seemed the obvious convenient thing to do. Nor so long as the British Government in India remained an autocratic Government did the arrangement cause much complaint. But there was always an undercurrent of discontent. An American gentleman, Mr. Alleyne Ireland, who visited Burma as far back as 1901, and who wrote a book called *Far Eastern Peoples*, referred in that book to the "desire almost universally expressed in Burma for separation from India." Nor was the feeling merely one of sentiment. Burma is a long way from Simla, and is not even part of India, and there was a feeling, even among British officials serving in the province, that it was rather neglected by the Government of India. Certainly it was starved for funds, and admittedly it is the most undeveloped province of India. But so long as the British Government in India remained an autocratic Government, the question of separation was regarded rather as an academic one.

A change came over the position, however, as soon as the constitutional reforms were instituted in 1921, and India began to advance towards self-government. Clearly, reasons of administrative convenience would no longer justify the inclusion of Burma except with its own express consent, within a self-governing India,

and the case for separating the two countries emerged even more strongly when eventually it was decided to set up a Federal form of Government in India. The units making up the Federation have to surrender powers to the centre and occasionally have to subordinate to the good of the whole their own individual interests. Broadly speaking, it may be said that a Federal form of Government will be a success only where the component units of the Federation are bound together by ties of common national sentiment and ties of common interest. Owing to that difficult tract of hill and jungle which separates the two countries, ties of this kind do not bind India and Burma together. The Burmans are no part of the Indian nation, if such a thing can be said to exist. They come from a different racial stock, they speak a different language, they have a different religion, and their habits and customs and outlook on life are different. There is no caste in Burma, and the position of women is much higher. Ties of common national feeling are therefore lacking, and the same may be said, though perhaps not with the same emphasis, of ties of community of economic interest. India, it is true, is Burma's best market, and it is to Burma's interest to remain on good terms with India. But Burma's road and railway systems are entirely separate from those of India, and in tariff matters her interests diverge entirely from those of her great neighbour. India has embarked on a policy of discriminating protection, and however suitable that policy may be to India, it is definitely injurious to Burma. Burma is not a manufacturing country. She is a large exporter of raw products and raw materials—rice, oil, teak, lead, tin, wolfram, silver, rubber and the like—and she imports the manufactures she requires. Her interest lies, therefore, in selling her products for the best price she can obtain in the markets of the world, in order that she may be able to pay for her imports. Finally, it is regrettable but true that the Burman does not like the Indian. For those reasons I have always regarded the separation of Burma from India as inevitable, and I have always thought that that separation ought to take place in the interests of India as well as those of Burma. It would not make for the smooth and successful working of the Federation if there were included in it an alien race whose interests are different from those of the other component units. Those, in brief, are the reasons why it has been decided to separate the two countries.

This decision has, of course, given rise to many difficult problems, on the successful solution of which will depend the future prosperity of Burma. Before I attempt to deal with some of those problems, I should just like to say a few words about the actual process of separation. As can be imagined, it is no easy matter to separate two countries which have been joined together

so long as India and Burma, and various preparations had to be made and precautions taken before the separation could take place. For instance, arrangements had to be made for the currency system of Burma after separation. A temporary solution of this problem has been found. It has been decided that for the present Burma will remain within the Indian currency system. The Reserve Bank of India will manage the currency and carry on the business of banking in Burma. It will issue distinctive notes, which will be legal tender in Burma but not in India, and the Government of Burma will have the right after giving due notice to issue distinctive Burmese coins. This agreement is to be terminable on two years' notice by either side, but it will subsist for a minimum period of three years after separation.

Then, again, arrangements had to be made to safeguard the trade relations between India and Burma for the first few years after the separation. This is another thorny problem. On the one hand, India, as I have just said, is Burma's best market, and the principal buyer of Burma's most characteristic products—rice, kerosene oil and petrol, teak and silver. Indeed, of Burma's total exports, averaging in normal times about 56 crores (£42 millions) per annum, about 48 per cent. (or £20 millions) go to India. Naturally, therefore, the business community in Burma were apprehensive of the application of Indian tariff duties to this trade. On the other hand, as I have already pointed out, the Indian tariff system is entirely unsuited to Burma. Many of the duties are heavy protective duties, which are definitely injurious to Burma since the industries they are designed to protect are situated in India and not in Burma. Moreover, the general level of customs duties in India is terribly high. Some people would have preferred, therefore, to start Burma off with a trade agreement with India providing for specially favourable tariff treatment for the commodities in which the two countries were specially interested, and leaving Burma free to impose such light Customs duties as she might require for revenue purposes on other imports. It has been decided, however, that, as a temporary measure, free trade shall continue between India and Burma, and that as regards imports from other countries the Indian tariff shall remain in force. This agreement will remain in force for three years, and, if not then terminated, will remain in force subject to termination on twelve months' notice. As a temporary measure, it is no doubt a reasonable arrangement, but one disadvantage has already emerged. India has decided to withdraw from the Ottawa Agreement. That decision binds Burma also, and until fresh agreements are made, Burma stands to lose the benefits of the valuable Empire preferences, especially that on rice.

The Trade Agreement covers another contentious subject—that

of Indian immigration into Burma. In addition to the large resident Indian population in Burma, very large numbers of Indians come over to Burma every year for work. They are attracted by the relatively high rates of wages obtainable in Burma, and they come over for work in the rice mills and in the fields and for menial work of all kinds in Rangoon. This movement of labour is largely a seasonal movement, and there is always an ebb and flow of Indians from and to Rangoon and other Burmese ports. Indeed, now that immigration into the U.S.A. is restricted, Rangoon has supplanted New York as the largest passenger port in the world. As long as Burma was prosperous, the Burmans acquiesced in this arrangement, and they were quite content to leave hard manual work to the Indians. But when the bad times came, as they did in 1931, the Burman was driven to seek labour of this kind for himself, and he resented the dominance of the Indian in the labour market. This problem of Indian labour is one of the major problems before Burma. Indian labour is essential to Burma, but Indian immigration needs to be regulated and controlled. Time will be required to arrive at a proper solution of a difficult problem, which if it is not handled aright may lead to strained relations between India and Burma, and in order to give breathing space for the study of the question the Trade Agreement provides that no restriction shall be placed on Indian immigration for at least three years.

As a further precaution against hasty ill-considered legislation, the new Constitution provides that no Bill affecting immigration into Burma shall be introduced in the Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor.

But the most difficult of immediate problems of separation was that of the financial settlement as between India and Burma. This was a very intricate matter, and also a very contentious one. The views of the Governments of India and Burma were naturally very different, and an authoritative and impartial tribunal, presided over by the Right Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., was appointed generally to advise as to the lines on which, and the methods by which, a complete financial settlement might be achieved between the Governments of India and Burma in respect of assets and liabilities existing at the date of separation. Their report sets out the principles which should be followed in effecting the settlement. It has been published as a Command Paper by His Majesty's Government, and anyone who is interested in the subject will find that this paper will well repay study. I can give only the barest summary of the Tribunal's findings. The problem was first to decide how the liabilities and assets of the Government of India should be assessed, and then to decide what fraction of the excess of liabilities over assets should be passed on to Burma.

Almost every item in the calculations was the subject of acute controversy, but it would be useless to attempt, in the space at my disposal, to go into these points of controversy, and I shall have to content myself with giving certain figures taken from the report to illustrate the methods adopted by the Tribunal. These figures are not final figures. The Tribunal was concerned mainly with questions of method and principle, and the actual figures are now being worked out by a committee on the lines laid down by the Tribunal. But the figures give an approximate idea how the settlement works out. The bulk of the liabilities consists of interest-bearing obligations, such as permanent debt, Treasury Bills, cash certificates, and the like, but they include also the pensionary obligations of the Government of India. On a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis the Tribunal valued those liabilities at nearly 1401 crores, or about £1,050 millions. To some extent those liabilities are represented by assets. There are commercial assets directly earning interest, such as railways and the plant and buildings of the post and telegraph department, and there are interest-bearing advances, mostly to provinces. There are also what are called "dead assets," consisting mainly of lands and buildings appertaining to the Central Government, which, though they do not earn anything, are essential to the functioning of the Government. On the same $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis these assets are valued at 1,126 crores, or £845 millions. There is thus an excess of liabilities over assets of 274½ crores (£206 millions), and the Tribunal recommended that $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of this sum should be assigned to Burma. In addition, Burma has to pay for the material assets belonging to the Central Government, of which she now assumes possession. These are provisionally valued at 35½ crores, and, according to their calculations, the sum payable by Burma to India under the settlement will be just over 56 crores (£42 millions), and it is recommended that the principal and interest of this debt shall be repaid in forty-five equal annual instalments of 2.38 crores, or about £1¾ millions.

These figures give some idea of the magnitude of the sums and the complexity of the issues involved. Neither side is very satisfied with the award. The Burmans think that their share of the total net liabilities has been assessed at too high a figure. The Indians think that Burma has been let off too lightly. In these circumstances one may legitimately infer that the award was fair. At any rate it was made by an impartial Tribunal, which, as their report shows, took all relevant considerations into account.

It seems to be generally agreed that as the result of separation Burma will be better off financially than is at present the case. At present sources of revenue are divided between the Central

and Provincial Governments, and the common complaint of Provincial Governments, including that of Burma, has been that the growing heads of revenue, notably income tax and Customs, have been reserved to the Central Government. These sources of revenue, in so far as they originate in Burma, will now pass to the Government of Burma. On the other hand of course, besides having to repay her debt to India in forty-five years, Burma will have to assume the liability for certain expenditure, notably that on defence, which hitherto has fallen on the Central Government. As I have said before, the final figures have not been worked out, but the Secretary of State for India said recently in his speech at the Burma dinner that, according to the calculations of the Government of India, after making allowance for all the additional expenditure that would fall upon Burma, the Government of Burma would have a net additional revenue of some 2½ crores a year. The Burma Government's estimate is lower, and the Marquis of Zetland seemed to think that the net addition to Burma's revenue might safely be put at about 240 lakhs, or £1,800,000 a year.

This may not seem a very large sum, but, if it really does materialize, it ought to bring some very much needed relief to the finances of the Government of Burma. This remark brings me to one of the major problems which will confront Burma after separation—namely, that of Finance. At present Burma has the Government of India to fall back upon, and during the last few years she has financed a series of deficits by borrowing from the Government of India. After separation, this recourse will no longer be open to her. If she wants to borrow she will have to rely on her own credit and to raise loans in the open market. For this reason it is a comforting thought that Burma ought to be able to budget for a comfortable surplus in the first year after separation. At the same time it must be remembered that Burma has a lot of leeway to make up. As I have just indicated, the last few years have been very lean years. Indeed, I suppose that the depression of trade throughout the world has affected Burma as much as, if not more than, any country in the world. As I pointed out, when last I lectured to the Royal Empire Society on Burma, it is the economic weakness of the country that she depends so largely on one crop—rice. She is the largest exporter of rice in the world. Every year she exports some 3 million tons, and the prosperity of the Burman depends, it is not too much to say, on the price he gets for his paddy, or unhusked rice. For ten years after the war prices were high. They averaged between Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 for 100 baskets and the Burman was prosperous. But just as I went to Burma as Governor at the end of 1927, prices began to fall.

There came the world slump, and prices fell away till in 1933 and 1934 they dropped as low as Rs. 55. I think that I am correct in saying that this is the lowest price ever recorded since the province of British Burma was constituted in 1862. This price hardly covered the cost of cultivation, and the cultivators were reduced to great distress. Naturally, also, the finances of the Government of Burma were disorganized. During the whole of my period of office we were engaged in the depressing task of retrenchment and cutting down expenditure, and the same unpleasant task fell on my successor, Sir Hugh Stephenson. Fortunately, in the last year or so there has been some recovery. The price of paddy has moved up to the neighbourhood of Rs. 100, and the Burma Government has been able to budget for a small surplus in the current year. A few figures will illustrate the position. In 1927-28 the Budget provided for an expenditure of 12.39 crores, including capital expenditure of 2.58 crores. In 1936-37 the expenditure is put at 9.11 crores, and there is practically no capital expenditure. Thus the Budget in those nine years has been cut down by nearly 27 per cent., and this is a heavy reduction when you consider how relatively small the expenditure of the Government of Burma was even when the province was prosperous. 12½ crores, less than £9½ millions, does not seem very extravagant expenditure for a province which is four times the size of England and Wales and which has a population of 14½ millions. There was thus not a great field for retrenchment, and the Budget has been balanced at the expense of calling a halt in development work, of putting the roads on a maintenance basis and of giving what are called in India the "nation-building" departments, such as education and agriculture, just enough money to carry on. There is therefore much leeway to make up, and after separation careful and prudent management of the finances of Burma will be required in order that the country's credit may be established and that she may be able to borrow, on reasonable terms, when the time comes for her to resume the work of development. It is for this reason that the new Government of Burma Act places upon the Governor a "special responsibility" for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the Government, and makes provision for the appointment of a financial adviser to assist him in the discharge of this responsibility.

I pass now to another of the major problems of the new Government—that of the defence of Burma. Hitherto this has been one of the functions reserved to the Government of India. I do not know what exactly has been decided in this matter, and I can only state what the problem is, and indicate some of the difficulties surrounding it. In itself the problem is

not a very formidable one, thanks to those frontiers to which I have referred. On the north of Burma the country is so difficult as to preclude all idea of invasion. On the west there is India—from which, of course, Burma has nothing to fear—and on the south there is the sea. The only vulnerable land frontier is the east, where Burma marches with Yunnan, French Indo-China and Siam. Here, again, the country is difficult, the distances are great and there are no proper roads—only mule tracks. French Indo-China and Siam have long been excellent neighbours of Burma. On the China frontier there have been from time to time small raids into Burma by bandits, but no difficulty has been experienced in dealing with them, and there has been no organised invasion from China since the end of the eighteenth century. Expert military opinion seems to be that the difficulties of the terrain are so great that it would be impossible for a modern army to invade Burma except after much road building and long preparation. At any rate the fact remains that the Government of India have hitherto been content to leave watch and ward on the frontiers to the Burma Military Police—a force which is under the control of the Government of Burma, and which does not form part of the regular Indian Army. The frontier battalions of the Burma Military Police are stationed at convenient centres near the frontier and maintain outposts at all the passes leading into Burma. These outposts are linked up by wireless, and one of the first duties of the new Government of Burma, at any rate in my view, will be to connect them by lateral roads behind the frontier. This is an obvious precaution for which hitherto the Government of India have not been able to find funds. What money they can spare for the Army is, of course, mostly spent on the North-West Frontier of India.

It will be seen that the defence of Burma from external aggression is in itself a comparatively simple one. It is complicated, however, by the fact that the Burmans themselves are not a military people. There are fighting classes in Burma. The hill tribes, particularly the Chins and Kachins, make excellent soldiers. They are short, stocky little men, very like Gurkhas in appearance. The Karens have also done well as soldiers, and the existing three battalions of Burma Rifles are composed of these three classes. They are also recruited for the Burma Military Police. But the Burmans themselves have not so far shown much aptitude for military life. They are plucky enough, and under proper leadership would probably fight well. But they are impatient of discipline, and especially when quartered in their own country; impatient also of the routine of military life in peace time. Hitherto, therefore, they have not been recruited in any large numbers either for the

Burma Rifles or for the Burma Military Police. The latter body is largely recruited from the fighting races of India, and, in addition to two British regiments, there are generally one or two battalions of the Indian Army stationed in Burma. The garrison of Burma is small, but hitherto the Indian Army has always been available in time of trouble.

Now it will be necessary to constitute some kind of Burmese defence force, but as I have already said, I do not know what the final decision will be. I imagine that the nucleus of the force will be the three existing battalions of Burma Rifles and the frontier battalions of the Burma Military Police, and that, as at present, British regiments will also be stationed in Burma. The force will be a comparatively small one, and the problem of officering it will not be easy. The solution may be found, at any rate temporarily, in organizing the force on the lines of the Soudan Field Force, and in officering it by officers seconded from the British and Indian Army. This is the system now followed in the Burma Military Police, which is a highly efficient body. No doubt a real effort will be made to try out the Burman as a soldier, but the force will mainly be recruited, I imagine, from Kachins, Chins and Karens as at present, and I hope that it will be possible to continue for a time at any rate to recruit from the fighting castes of India for the frontier battalions of the Burma Military Police, whatever they may be called in future. Under the new Constitution, defence will be the responsibility of the Governor, who will also be Commander-in-Chief, and he in his turn will, of course, be responsible, through the Secretary of State for India and Burma, to the British Parliament.

I will now pass to what is the most important question of all—namely, how Burma is likely to fare under the new Constitution established by the Government of Burma Act passed last year. That Act is modelled on the Government of India Act, but there are, of course, important differences. The Government of Burma will be a unitary Government. The complicating factor of the Indian States does not occur in Burma, and there was no need for a delicate distribution of legislative and executive powers and of sources of revenue between a Federal Government and Provincial Governments enjoying a large measure of autonomy. In other ways, too, conditions are more favourable than in India. The Burmans are more of a nation than the Indians. There is no caste, and caste, as it has been said, “atomizes” the Hindus, and there is no communal strife arising from strong religious antagonisms. On the other hand, there are other circumstances which had to be taken into account. In particular, there is the Burman temperament, which, as I have already said, makes him impatient of discipline and prone to

serious crime—especially crimes of violence—and there is also the fact that the political education of the Burmans has not advanced so far as that of the Indians. I do not mean to suggest that there is much difference in this respect between the cultivators, which constitute so large a proportion of the population both of India and of Burma—I am referring to the educated classes in both countries.

As I shall show presently, circumstances of this kind have been taken into consideration in framing the new Constitution, but I want to deal first with the question why, if the political education of Burma has not advanced so far as that of India, Burma has been given practically the same measure of advance towards responsible Government? The answer to that question is contained in what has gone before. It is useless now to inquire whether it was a good thing or a bad thing for Burma to be administered as a province of India. The fact remains that she was so administered, and when in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 Parliament announced that its declared policy was “the progressive achievement of responsible government in British India,” the pledge so given was given to Burma as well as India. It is true that it was first proposed not to extend the Constitution of 1919 to Burma, but such an outcry was caused that eventually Burma was treated exactly like the other provinces, and when in 1931 the Indian Round Table Conference recommended that Burma should be separated from India, they were careful to add that separation should not be allowed in any way to derogate from the pledge set out in the Preamble to the Act of 1919. It has been decided that the Constitution of 1919, based on the principle of what is usually called diarchy, which was given to Burma as well as other provinces has outlived its usefulness, and that the wisest course now is to make as big an advance towards responsible Government as is practicable. Had Burma remained a Province of India she would have got the same measure of provincial autonomy as has been accorded to the other Provinces. Since she is to be separated from India, the same kind of advance is to be made towards responsible Government as in India, due allowance being made for the special circumstances of Burma.

Under the new Constitution certain matters are to be reserved to the Governor's own direction and control. The most important of these subjects are defence, external affairs, the affairs of certain scheduled areas, and monetary policy, currency and coinage. The scheduled areas, I should explain, are the hill tracts which surround Burma on the west, north and east. The most important of these are the Shan States. The Shans are a peaceable docile people, more or less on the same level as

the Burmans themselves, but for historical reasons our policy in the Shan States is one of indirect rule. We govern the States through their own hereditary Chiefs, and those Chiefs could not be brought under the Burma Legislature except with their own consent. The other hill tracts are inhabited by tribes ranging through every grade of civilization from the Chins and Kachins, who are recruited in large numbers for the Army, down to the Nagas on the north-west, who go in for human sacrifice, and to the wild Was on the extreme east, who are head hunters. These tribes have never acknowledged Burman suzerainty; they are entirely unfitted as yet for any form of representative Government; and the frontier tracts which they inhabit are vital for the defence of Burma. The control of monetary policy, currency and coinage has been reserved to the Governor, since in Burma, unlike India, there is no Reserve or Central Bank. The Governor will be empowered to appoint not more than three counsellors to assist him in the administration of the Reserved Subjects, and the expenditure required for these subjects will be "charged upon the revenues of Burma." It will not be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, but a statement of such expenditure will be presented to the Legislature and will be open to discussion.

Subject to the safeguards mentioned below, the remaining field will be entrusted to a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature, which will consist of two Chambers, known respectively as the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate will be a body having revising and delaying powers, and will be composed partly of persons elected by the Lower House and partly by persons nominated by the Governor. The House of Representatives will be a popular assembly elected on a wide franchise. The Ministers, who will be members of the Legislature, will have a constitutional right of tendering advice to the Governor in the exercise of the powers conferred on him by the Government of Burma Act other than the powers relating to the reserved subject, and ordinarily the Governor will be guided by that advice. But by way of safeguard the Governor is declared to have a special responsibility in respect of certain matters. The most important of these matters are the prevention of any grave menace to the safety and tranquillity of Burma or any part of it, the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Government, the protection of minorities and the Services, and the prevention of action which would subject goods imported from the United Kingdom and India to discriminating or penal treatment. Whenever any special responsibility of the Governor is involved, the Act requires him to exercise his own individual judgment as to the action to be taken. There are

other checks and safeguards provided in the Act which I have not time to mention, but the final one is that in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution the Act empowers the Governor to take over the Government.

I have given just a short sketch of the new Constitution. Most people, I think, who have taken part recently in the Government of India or of any Indian province believe that the best remedy for the troubles of India and of Burma is not to go back, which is impossible, nor yet in repression, but in greater responsibility. That is the theory which underlies the new Government of Burma Act, and I have no doubt myself that the theory is sound. But one must not push theory too far, and one cannot shut one's eyes to facts, and one must minimize the danger of failure. Responsible Government, as the Joint Committee put it, is neither an automatic device which can be manufactured to specification nor yet a machine which will run on a motive power of its own. Even in England, the original home of responsible Government, the Constitution is subject to innumerable "safeguards" not written, indeed, but none the less effective because they are based on established custom. Such custom has not yet grown up in Burma, and it is for that reason that it has been necessary to give statutory form to so many "safeguards." If the Burmans work the Constitution in the right spirit there will be no need for the Governor to make use of the safeguards, and, as in the Dominions, they will gradually atrophy and fall into disuse. In the meantime no reasonable and impartial person can deny that they are necessary. The technique of Parliamentary Government is not easy, and the Burman politician has much to learn. At present they are apt to regard themselves as perpetually in opposition to the Government and that their duty is to oppose the Government. In future some of them will take part in the Government. They will have to frame a policy and try to get that policy accepted both by the Legislature and the country. To that end, it may be hoped, proper disciplined parties will be organized, each prepared to back the policy of its leader. Hitherto again the Burman politician has been apt to take the maintenance of law and order for granted—as a function of a Government in which they have no real share. They have still to learn that it is the most vital function of a Government which they themselves are helping to carry on. It will not be an easy task, but, owing to the wisdom of Parliament, they have the Governor there at hand, always available for consultation, and they have the great advantage of the great public Services who have been trained in long service to India and Burma. They will no doubt make mistakes, as we all do, but the safeguards are there to minimize

the effect of those mistakes, and I hope that as time goes on the mistakes will become fewer, and the machine will run with increasing smoothness. At any rate the opportunity is there. The new Government of Burma Act does give Burma a real chance, if she will only take it, of advancing to full responsible Government, and that, I think, is all that Parliament claims for it.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF COFFEE GROWING IN MYSORE AND COORG

By R. O. OLIVER

AFTER the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 some years elapsed before peace reigned in Mysore. The Poligars, who held forts in parts of Mysore, were not finally suppressed until the year 1834. Some of the last strongholds of the Poligars were in the present district of Kadur in the Mysore State. An officer who took part in the suppression of the forts in the highlands of Mysore wrote that the climate was suitable for Europeans and that coffee might be successfully planted on these hills.

Nine years later coffee was planted in Mysore. There is a legend that a Muhammadan pilgrim named Bababudan brought the coffee seed from Arabia in the seventeenth century, and planted this seed on the hills which bear his name to this day. Coffee was growing near his shrine on the Bababudan Hills long before any European had thought of cultivating coffee in India. It is assumed that the seed used by the pioneers in Mysore was collected from these trees. The seed was named Chick, after the town of Chickmaglur, which is at the foot of the Bababudan Hills.

Many Europeans were employed by the British Commission which administered Mysore between the dates 1831-1868. Some officers of the Commission obtained grants of land, and their sons were sent out to open the plantations. The first planters opened estates on what is considered today to be the cream of the coffee zone. Later the movement was to the west, where estates at first flourished with a very forcing climate. These estates had eventually to be abandoned on account of a higher rainfall than the coffee could stand. The life of the pioneer was an isolated one. He was dependent on local foodstuff. For weeks he did not see a European. Books were few. Coffee and sport were his only standby. The country in which he lived was beautiful and the Indians good neighbours. The few European planters in Mysore at the time of the Indian Mutiny were left unruffled by the storm in the north.

The coffee planted in Mysore thrived. It was grown in the shade of the original forest, which was thinned out to obtain the correct density. At a later date the "shading" of coffee became an art—the art of knowing the individual advantages of each tree, the size it would grow, if the tree could stand up to

the heavy winds, whether the foliage was too dark or too light, and at what time it was out of leaf. It is a blessing that the coffee in Mysore is grown under shade. There are no ugly bare spaces which once were covered by the forest. The expert alone could observe from afar that the hand of man had altered the forest. The highlands of Mysore retain their original beauty.

In Coorg there is a very different picture. Coffee was first planted in 1854. The origin of the seed is doubtful. Coorg followed the Ceylon principle of planting in the open without shade. Coffee in Ceylon after producing for some years exceptional crops was completely exterminated.

The large crops which coffee would produce on new land without shade proved too great a temptation for the Coorg planters. For some years they prospered. Mr. Stewart produced such large crops that he was known in Mincing Lane as the Coffee King. The strain on the trees supporting large crops was too great: the trees were weakened and recovery was slow. In time Coorg had to follow Mysore and planted shade to protect the coffee.

The top-soil of suitable coffee land is a rich loam which should be preserved as carefully as one's banking account. It can be easily exhausted, either by taking all and returning nothing or by the quickest and surest way of allowing it to be washed into the sea. The original forest is covered by a thick layer of leaves over the soil, which, combined with the roots of the jungle, prevent erosion. When the soil is laid bare each heavy shower in running off the land carries with it the rich red loam.

All Indian coffee is today planted in the shade. It has been proved in India that too little shade is detrimental to the quality of coffee. Too drastic thinning of shade allows the plants to overcrop, and is the surest way to ruin.

To return to the early day of coffee. The Chick seed was universally planted in Mysore, proving a great success. The coffee from these trees was greatly appreciated in Mincing Lane. Coffee flourished; more and more men came to Mysore to seek their fortunes. It was a pleasant life. Roads and communications were rapidly improving; sport was first-rate, both with the rifle and the scatter gun.

Between the years 1865-1870 the coffee in Mysore became affected by a leaf disease. Many plantations were so greatly damaged by the disease that they were abandoned. It was only round the hills above Chickmagalur that the Chick trees still prospered. Planters in less favourable zones were in despair.

A Mysore planter, on paying a visit to Coorg in the year 1870, was very impressed by the vigour of their coffee, beautifully green and free from disease. The seed was brought back and

grown in Mysore. The young plant from the Coorg seeds stood out healthy and vigorous against the Chick. The land which had been abandoned was replanted with the Coorg seed. In a few years such was the success of the new seed that planters had recovered their capital outlay.

At first the buyers in Mincing Lane complained that they were not prepared to pay the high price for Mysore coffee now that Mysore put on the market coffee grown from Coorg seed. The Coorg coffee had never come up to the standard of the fine Mysore. Luckily, this solved itself. The Coorg trees planted in Mysore took on the characteristics of the old Chick, producing a fine liquor, although it was recognized that the old Chick stood supreme in quality. From the year 1870 until recently the Mysore coffee that is put on the market in Mincing Lane is the coffee grown from the Coorg seed. A little of the old Chick remains and a few estates have coffee grown from Blue Mountain Jamaica seed.

Coffee in India has been grown from the year 1843, long enough for most of the diseases in coffee to have developed. There have been many, several very severe, but the coffee continues. In the year 1876-1877 Mysore suffered from the great famine. The disastrous effects of the famine will be realized by the revenue of the State falling by nearly half in two years. There were over 100,000 starving. The Mansion House started a fund, subscribed by English charity, to reinstate numbers of the Indian farmers left destitute by the famine. The planters did all in their power to relieve the suffering. The famine marks a date in the history of Mysore.

The planter is always on the lookout for a wonderful plant that will produce a fine liquoring coffee and is a high yielder. It was not until after the war that Mr. Kent introduced a plant which was afterwards to be known as "Kents." The first supplies of seed were disappointing. Some of the plants from this seed were exceptional, whilst others were indifferent. In time Mr. Kent irradiated the indifferent plants. The present seed produces a very fine plant, true to type, which is larger than the Coorg. It resembles the old Chick in growth and bean. This new variety has been universally planted. Again abandoned areas were planted up, but this time unsuccessfully, due probably to the soil having been badly washed from those parts where the rainfall was excessive. Nevertheless the Kent plant is an improvement on the Coorg. Year by year Indian coffee shipped to London contains a greater proportion of Kent coffee. The planter has been rescued twice by a new variety of seed. He can no longer afford to neglect the probability of the Kent in time becoming as liable to disease as its predecessors. The Kent plant showed up against the Coorg

plant as a rare and refreshing sight, but the planters who remember seeing the Coorg plant in the eighties planted amongst the Chick were of the opinion that the Coorg in its prime surpassed the Kent. The old Chick was the delight of buyers in Mincing Lane, but the backbone of the success of planters in India has been the Coorg plant.

The Mysore Government at its Experimental Station has been at work in trying to breed an improved variety both in quality and disease resistance. India is recognized as producing some of the finest coffee. She will not leave a stone unturned in keeping up the high standard of their coffee.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE FORTHCOMING Y.M.C.A. CONFERENCE IN MYSORE AND THE PROBLEM OF EAST AND WEST

BY STANLEY RICE

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*)

"East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

THE famous line was once hailed with delight because it seemed to crystallize into a phrase what everyone knew to be true: it is now as vehemently repudiated because it seems to set the stamp of finality upon the inevitable separation of races and to make the task of co-operation impossible. Neither attitude is entirely true or entirely false: not only must the manners and customs of the East always differ from those of the West, but there does seem to be an almost insuperable gulf fixed between the outlook of the two. It is easy to say that the West is material and the East spiritual, but facile phrases of this kind do not carry us much further. There is spirituality in the West, among men of goodwill: there is materialism in the East, where every man is striving to make the best he can of this world, and, in so far as Western methods conduce to this task, to copy the West. On the other hand, in fundamentals there is little difference: the East, which has its old civilization which it cherishes, is, not less than the West, a lover of virtue and a hater of vice, and if the code differs, it is largely because of the difference of outlook already mentioned. The dogma of the superiority of the white races, which was once accorded almost as an axiom, is fast disappearing with the greater contact which the East is making. The young man who comes to the West is brought suddenly into the realization of the more sordid kind of Western life. He sees about him the orderliness, the organization, of Western life, with the scientific marvels which the West has achieved and which he is free to borrow and to adapt to his own needs. He sees, too, the comfort and amenities of middle-class life to which perhaps he has been accustomed in his contacts with the West in his own country. But he also has a glimpse of the squalor and the dirt of town slums and also of the luxury and artificiality of the so-called higher life. He reads in the newspapers accounts of immorality

and murders and frauds, and he naturally concludes that in the higher things of life the West has little or nothing to teach him. And so he decides that the boasted superiority of the West is after all only an image with feet of clay.

Can, then, the East meet the West? It is to offer an answer to this question that this book* has been written. The Maharaja of Mysore has generously consented to arrange for a conference of men belonging to the Y.M.C.A. next year and to treat the delegates as his guests. That the Maharaja, who is himself an orthodox Hindu, should thus offer his hospitality is itself a sign of the times and, so far as it goes, an earnest of that desire for co-operation for which the authors of the book are mainly pleading. For their concern is not for the conversion of those who profess other creeds, but to find a solution of the differences which separate East and West on lines which shall be those of the Christian profession. And this they have tried to do from as many angles as possible. The co-operation contemplated is not merely the removal of what may be called in the language of today a superiority complex; it is rather the recognition of the essential oneness of the modern world—spiritually, socially, economically, politically.

It is, one must suppose, one of the effects of the impact of the West that politics in the East have to such a large extent taken the place of the older religious obsession. There was a time, doubtless long passed, when the preoccupation of kings, when they were not at war and leading armies in the field, was the discussion of philosophical questions with learned pandits, and though that time has gone there is still a small minority to whom such questions are all-important. Now, however, the main interest of the rulers is the administration of the country, and the main interest of thinking men is the discussion of politics. This is to be observed practically throughout the East. It is very striking in India, in China, and perhaps most of all in Japan, where, ever since she decided to adopt Western institutions, and particularly since the two wars against China and Russia, the old ideas have been discarded. The sense that wealth brings power, and that power alone can enable a nation to take its place in the world, is becoming stronger with the passing of the years. At the time of the Russian war the cry was loud and insistent that what one Eastern nation has done another can do; in the enthusiasm of the moment it was overlooked, or at least ignored, that the Japanese character, moulded by the climate, by environment, and by the national training, might have something to do with the success, and that other peoples, placed in other circumstances and not

* *East and West*, edited by Basil Mathews. (Student Christian Movement, 3s. 6d. net.)

accustomed to the same training, might not easily be able simply to imitate. At that time it was the military success which seemed so dazzling, but as that vision faded another took its place—the vision of industrialism. “The economic development,” says one of the authors, “of Eastern lands has been bewilderingly swift. It is no longer a pedestrian affair, but throbs like a huge engine. . . . The trade, industry, and commerce of the Orient has grown by leaps and bounds.” Whether this is an advantage in the larger sense is naturally a question of opinion. There are those who look forward to the industrialization of India with enthusiastic hopes, and they see those hopes gradually being fulfilled in the growth of the mills of Ahmedabad and Bombay, in such settlements as Jamshedpur, and in the spread of industry on the Hooghly. But these enthusiasts, with their eyes solely upon the sense of wealth and power, are apt to forget that industry, in that form which converts the raw material into the finished product, necessarily brings with it the congregation into towns, the spread of the conditions of poverty, the creation of slums, and probably, too, the increase in the death rate. It is a common remark that modern conditions of industry which compel a man to do the same mechanical task every day, with no incentive to any real interest in his work, are soul-destroying. And just because it is so, because man requires some relaxation at the least possible expenditure of mental energy, there has sprung up an intense desire—even a craving—for amusement. But the congregation into towns, which is so marked a feature of Western civilization, has also led to an increase of vice and of vulgarity. That there is vice in the villages of the East no one need dispute; wherever there are men and women there is bound to be a minority which is vicious. But it is equally beyond dispute that the vice of the villages is as nothing compared with that in the towns. If men cannot afford the relaxation for which they crave in one way they will try to get it in another. And the vulgarity which strikes one at every turn in the West is noticeably absent in the East. Just as there is little of it in the villages of the West (if they are real villages), so in the East, which lives in villages, you practically never find, in spite of poverty and even squalor, any real vulgarity. It is difficult to define the word: it has been suggested that it means or connotes a lack of dignity, and that if you apply it to such matters as advertisements, the throwing away of litter (itself due largely to modern civilization which depends so much on tins and packets and newspapers), or the ostentation of needless jewellery, does seem to fit the case. It is, however, perhaps even more a question of intuition rather than of reason, and that, if objection be made that this or that does not come within the definition, must serve for the answer.

All this seems far enough away from any question of Christian ideals which it is the avowed object of the book to connect with the world's various problems. "So far," says the author already quoted, "as Christian men are concerned, both in East and West, these values must be referred to the character of God. So will there come to men a truer sense of the value of men and things, and of work and activities, and instinctively their judgments and decisions and actions will tend to be ever more just." That is a brave saying, but it is doubtful how far men, absorbed in the bustle and hurry of business (even, if one may say so frankly, in the effort to get the better of one another), are likely to realize the truth of it. While the nations are busily employed in setting up barriers of trade against one another, and while individuals are striving each to get into his own hands as much of the world's business as he can handle, the idea of connecting God with the price of pepper or pig-iron seems fantastic, if not blasphemous. But what is really meant is that we must recognize that each is necessary to the other, that we must all bear the burden alike, and that therefore the Christian ideal of mutual service cannot but have its effect.

Mr. Taylor, whose special knowledge is China, asks why it was that while Japan had very little difficulty in changing her organization to that of a Western type, China has found it so difficult. "The explanation," he thinks, "does not lie in racial or temperamental differences, so much as in the political and economic differences between China and Japan. . . . The dominant type in Japan has been the soldier, not the official. In China, on the other hand, the dominant type has been the official and not the soldier." Consequently Japan was feudal, China bureaucratic, and it was easier to change the feudal State into the capitalist State. It is a plausible idea, but it seems to allow too little weight to temperament and to national character. The form of government and the social environment which have produced in the one case feudalism and in the other a bureaucracy are after all mechanical things compared with the subtleties of national character, and one is inclined to think that the will to change, the will to get things done, had more to do with the Japanese success than the writer will allow. The Chinese have been hampered by foreign interests, foreign intervention, and foreign treaties in a way that the Japanese never have been, and the further factor remains that Japan is more of a northern than an Eastern country and therefore inherits some at least of the grit and determination which we are accustomed to associate with northern peoples. Both are or were agricultural countries, and though both are rapidly developing their industries Japan is very far ahead of all Eastern countries in that respect. This result could hardly have

been obtained without an effort of will on the part of her people, and merely by a change of system.

Perhaps the most marked revolution in the East has been in the position of women. The idea that Indian women were merely the downtrodden slaves and chattels of the men has long been exploded. There is, in fact, no higher ideal of womanhood than that which is contained in the Indian epics. Even so, however, chastity and fidelity were the main virtues attributed to women, and the idea that women could take any part in public affairs would have been condemned. Woman's place was in the home and there she was admittedly supreme. So it has continued to the present day, but now it is a commonplace for women to take a full share in affairs which hitherto were thought to be the prerogative of the male. There is no doubt that this change has come about through the impact of the West—if not entirely, then at least to a very large degree. "The impetus for change in the life of the East," writes Miss Ruth Woodsmall, the author of the essay on women, and an American supporter of the Y.W.C.A., "has come through the growing spirit of nationalism which has been awakened by the sense of need for self-protection and competition with the West." This seems to be a true diagnosis; it was Gandhi's campaign which brought women to the front, and for the sake of his ideals they courted arrest and imprisonment as cheerfully as did the men. The men, moreover, are realizing more and more that a woman, to be a true companion, must be educated; an advertisement is quoted which asks for a "beautiful educated girl for a B.A. London returned Hindu." It was—at any rate to Western thinking—an obvious disadvantage that a man should not be able to share his life in any appreciable degree with his wife, and that when he had asked, "What's for dinner?" there should be nothing more to be said. This new emancipation of the women is not due to any single cause, but Christian missions and the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., as well as other organizations of the kind, must be given due credit. In Japan it is said that the school attendance of boys is only 0.06 per cent. in advance of the girls, and it is certain that female education has also made wonderful strides in China. The transformation of Turkey under the guidance of Mustapha Kemal Atatürk has hardly received its due recognition in the English Press; yet here also the position of women has been entirely changed. It is the women themselves who have hitherto been the chief obstacles to their own emancipation. That is, of course, quite intelligible. They have been asked to break with a tradition now centuries old, and being conservative like other women, they have found it difficult. For a woman to appear in public—much more to take an active share in public affairs—would seem to them even more unwomanly

than the wearing of trousers by a Western girl. But the latter is now quite common, and doubtless familiarity with the new conditions will soon do away with any sense of shyness, if any remains. Women in the East have, of course, been fortunate in that if they desired to imitate the freedom of the West—since that has apparently been their aim—they have had the pattern ready cut to their hands. In China, India, and Turkey they have, for example, been admitted to the suffrage without any preliminary struggle such as most of us witnessed in England.

Christian missions have undoubtedly done much good work in broadening the outlook of the East. They are, perhaps, the outstanding example of that social service which is so conspicuous a part of modern Christianity. They have been foremost among the educational workers, and to them and their efforts may be attributed the spread of female education. Almost more notable has been their success in the domain of medicine. In India it is often the mission hospital that has the most qualified doctors, the best equipment, and the most up-to-date appliances. "In China, especially," it is claimed, "the modern medical profession is almost entirely the creation of Protestant missions." In this part of their work the people have generally been with them. In India one sometimes finds a distrust of the Government sub-assistant surgeon, who is often an excellent fellow according to his lights, but he has not been very highly trained. He tends to become unimaginative, to be content with what lies under his hand, instead of trying to create better conditions by prevention as well as by cure. Moreover, the vastness of the problem baffles the efforts of Government to spread Western medicine everywhere, and if it were not for the missions many villages would be deprived of all opportunity of scientific medical aid. Even as it is, many thousands of villages prefer the time-honoured customs of their forefathers and resort to incantations and nostrums rather than attend the hospital.

It is in the sphere of religious conversion that missions, in India at any rate, have been, if one may so put it, least successful. They can no doubt show a large and increasing number of converts, chiefly drawn from the lowest classes, and they can claim a big share in rousing these "depressed classes" to a sense of their position and to an effort to ameliorate their lot. But what they have gained in quantity is lost in quality. To be a Christian in India generally means that you have once been an outcaste, and that in the eyes of caste people is in itself something of a condemnation. It is frankly acknowledged that the "Christian Church has been—to such people—a door of opportunity. Hundreds of thousands have flocked into it, hoping to find in it an improved economic and social status and education for their children." That has

been too often the motive. It was said to me not long ago that you can never really "convert" anybody; there will always be a background of a less spiritual interest which vitiates true conversion. It is, however, true that even the nominal converts have found in their new life a measure of self-respect and a higher level of living.

Dr. Nicol Macnicol, who is a well-known authority on the Hindu religion and has shown his sympathy with Indian thought by his translations of Hindu poetry, can nevertheless hardly be accepted as an unbiassed witness. He writes as a Christian missionary, and his writings are quite properly coloured by his intense conviction that in Christianity alone is to be found the true way of life. His exposition of Hinduism is therefore open to criticism, and it is very doubtful whether it would be accepted by thinking Hindus without considerable modifications. Particularly in his explanation of Maya "or unreality." This is really a contest of words. The doctrine of Maya has been much misunderstood, because there is no English word which exactly expresses it. He quotes, not as one would expect, Hindu writers of eminence on such a subject, but a "distinguished American humanist, Mr. Paul Elmer More," to the effect that "the whole thing, this globe and this life are utterly without design, a phantasmagoria in which we can detect no meaning and to which we have no right to apply any interpretation, not even that of chance, a huge illusion of ignorance which simply vanishes into nothing at the touch of knowledge." Against this we may set the following passage from Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

"There is hardly any suggestion in the Upanishads that the entire universe of change is a baseless fabric of fancy, a mere phenomenal show or a world of shadows. . . . The Upanishads do not teach that life is a nightmare and the world a barren nothing. Rather is it pulsing and throbbing with the rhythm of the world harmony. . . . There is a popular view which identifies the Upanishad doctrine with an abstract monism, which reduces the rich life of this world into an empty dream. . . .

"The difficulty of giving a satisfactory explanation is traced to the imperfection of the human mind, which employs inadequate categories of space, time, and cause which are self-contradictory. The aspects of the world known to them are fragmentary and are not genuinely real. They are appearances somehow in and of, but not for, reality. Everything we come across in our finite experience breaks down somewhere or other and becomes contradictory. While all finite experiences are limited and incomplete they are ~~so~~ in different degrees, and it is not right to put them all on a general level or give to them all equal reality or, more accurately, equal unreality. The doctrine of Maya gives abstract expression

to this general feature of all experience of the finite that it falls short of the absolute."

There are, then, many important problems awaiting the conference of the Y.M.C.A., to which the Maharaja of Mysore has offered his hospitality. They are of varying degrees; some are perhaps insoluble, others are already in a fair way towards solution. We can only hope that the assembly may find practical means for furthering the cause which it has at heart and may work wholeheartedly not only for the good of India but for the good of the world, and may be enabled to find some means whereby the co-operation between East and West may be promoted and so prove the words of the poet so far untrue, that if East and West cannot actually meet, they may at least approach so near one another that the remaining gap may be looked upon as negligible.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By W. H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee. (Longmans.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR RICHARD BURN.)

Those who desired to gain a reasonable knowledge of the history of India without a minute study of original works have till recently been referred to the *Oxford History*, by Vincent Smith. The *Cambridge Shorter History*, only two years old, covered the same ground, with more detail, especially in the category of annals. This new volume is as comprehensive in the period covered (from Mohenjo-daro to 1936) as its predecessors, but is shorter and differs from them in its treatment of the subject. Its aim, as the authors themselves described it, is to concentrate on the evolution of Indian culture and its response to successive foreign contacts, which, of course, compels them to omit much of the detail to be found in the other books mentioned.

One could quote many works on India in which selection has been practised so as to make a vivid picture of some feature in Indian culture, but which leave the critical student with the impression that blanks have been filled by imagination, and selection has been exercised mainly for effect rather than by judgment. In the present case, however, the authors are always frank to point out where exact knowledge fails. They indicate the nature of speculations on doubtful matters where these are of importance for the history of India, but abstain from technical argument. And the general effect of their caution should be to stimulate further enquiry into the topics thus treated. Selection of political facts has been judicious and not casual. It is based on wide reading of primary sources, and is sufficient to bear the weight of the conclusions arrived at on motives, reactions, and results. The aim of Tacitus has been kept in view: "*Ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causæque noscantur.*"

One result of this method is that without any violence being done to evidence, India and the Indians appear in a more favourable aspect than mere repetition of annals would suggest. Inscriptions recording conquests and eulogies by Court poets make up most of the material for the history of early mediæval India, and the sketch of the ideal king (p. 110) as "a patient and laborious administrator, an expert and chivalrous soldier, sincere in his religion, but tolerant of other creeds, a sportsman, and a cultured gentleman according to the standards of the times," is exhaustive and fair. The descriptions of slavery under the Turk Sultans of Delhi (pp. 254-6, "a status, not a stigma"), and of domestic slavery in the nineteenth century (pp. 337-8), are other examples. A generous and well-deserved tribute is given (p. 117) to the Indian scholars who are laboriously working out the results of new discoveries of facts. At the same time the book avoids, in describing ancient institutions, the use of English terms which suggest exact parallels to modern practice, though the evidence is not really sufficient for such comparisons.

The book should thus attract many classes of readers, English or Indian. It is admirable as an introduction for those who propose to make a more serious study of Indian history. Students of other historical fields, who wish to trace the main currents of life in India, will find this an easier and at the same time more reliable, critical, and comprehensive guide than any other book of the same volume. All whose life work has lain in India may find in it matter of absorbing interest, new aspects of old problems, vivid summaries of economic and social conditions at different periods, and explanations of things which have hitherto been condemned by default. Thus it is suggested (p. 50) that some of the difficulties in accepting Megasthenes' descriptions are due to his specialized use of an ordinary term, and to understand what he says about an Indian city or the ryot we must first ascertain what "city" or "cultivator" meant in his Western experience. Topics like the decline of Buddhism (p. 122 ff.), the contrast between the methods of warfare in North and South India in the fourteenth century (p. 175) are examined carefully.

In the later periods useful comments and comparisons occur even more frequently. Hastings has regularly been condemned for his first settlement of land revenue by putting it up to auction, but it is pointed out here (p. 300) that there had been a failure of the rains three years earlier, and that acute famine in those days might disorganize agriculture for a generation. To blame Hastings, as some writers have done, is to ignore the fact that his successors often used his method as a preliminary way of enquiry. There is, however, no disposition to minimize such errors, and a good deal of the book is devoted, not to that object, but to explain more clearly than has been usual how they occurred. Good examples of this are the notes on relations between officials and Indians after the Mutiny (pp. 362-5), on racial feeling from 1900 (p. 435), on the way in which Indian emigration followed the abolition of slavery (p. 381), and on administrative unity throughout India causing uniformity itself to be urged as a reason for changing local variations (p. 392). Both the authors had distinguished careers in India, and since they left the country have maintained touch, one by his concentrated studies of its economic history and the other by taking an important share in the control of Indian affairs in England. Traditions of service have not blinded them to defects of past administration, while at the same time their criticisms are fair and not tinged with the acridity that spoils some books by ex-officials.

Where selection of material has been rigid, though also judicious, criticism is disarmed, but a few suggestions may be made. The origin of the Kharoshthi alphabet in an Aramaic script is mentioned (p. 38), but that of Brahmi, the parent of all modern Indian scripts, is left uncertain. There can, however, be no doubt of its affinities with a Moabite script of the ninth century B.C., whatever may be the outcome of researches on the Mohenjodaro pictographs. Careful use has been made of the most recent researches into doubtful points. The authors seem, however (p. 87), to have missed Jouveau-Dubreuil's reconstruction of Samudra Gupta's expedition to the south of India, in which he suggests that the conqueror returned by the east coast and did not cross the peninsula. While it is true that the use of

charas and *ganja* is not traceable in ancient records (p. 128), it has been plausibly suggested that the *soma* draught so often mentioned was a decoction of *bharg*. The account of Timur suggests (p. 171) that he was a Mongol instead of being a Turk (of the Barlas tribe) like the Turks he overthrew in India. Aurangzib's sacrifice of a cow in a temple (p. 250) is paralleled by Jahangir's act in Kangra. To say that the prohibition of suttee was the first occasion on which the Company's Government deliberately interfered with an established custom of the country (p. 337) omits the humanitarian work of Jonathan Duncan, who got regulations made forty years earlier to prevent female infanticide and the practice of Brahmans to cut or poison themselves, or murder ancient female relatives when pressed for revenue. Duncan explained the sentiment underlying the murders: "It was a received belief that the female Brahmin (who thus was made or in some instances did herself become a willing sacrifice to the security, and what, by a perversion of terms, was called the honour of her family) does for ever haunt and harass the party to whose act her death was imputed." In dealing with constitutional changes it is said that Curzon ignored the fact that the legislatures were out of date (pp. 446-7). When he became Viceroy only six years had elapsed since the Act he piloted through Parliament had come into force, and Sir Walter Lawrence has shown that towards the end of his term of office his silence on the need for further advance was due to a wish to avoid embarrassing his successor. On the other hand, one would have liked some reference to the Calcutta University Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, which has had deep and beneficial effects on practically all the Universities of India (outside Calcutta) in the period since the war (p. 474).

A series of well-planned maps and an excellent index are provided, and a concise appendix on nomenclature and chronology adds to the value of the book.

THE INDIAN PRINCES IN COUNCIL. By Sardar K. M. Pannikar. (Oxford University Press.) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

This little book, *The Indian Princes in Council*, gives an interesting sketch of the part played by the Princes of India in Indian politics since the war. The author, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, belongs to the Nayar or Kshattriya caste of Travancore, and is well known as a writer on Indian questions. His qualifications to deal with his present subject are particularly strong. He was for several years secretary of the Chamber of Princes: he went with the Indian States Delegation to England in a similar capacity and later attended the Round-Table Conference. Since then he has been Foreign Minister to the Maharaja of Patiala.

For nearly a century the British Government had adopted an isolationist policy towards the Indian States. The first deviation occurred in the Viceroyalties of Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford, but it was not till the institution of the Chamber of Princes in 1921 that Indian rulers had an

opportunity of taking counsel together. The value of the Chamber as a means of influencing the Government of India was indeed weakened by the abstention of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and other great Princes of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore. Despite this drawback, however, it established for itself a position of importance under the able leadership of the Maharaja of Bikanir as Chancellor, and later of the Maharaja of Patiala, who guided its destinies for nearly nine years with a short interlude of two years (1932-34) from 1926. The rising tide of democracy in British India after the war was an obvious danger to princely India. Where would the concessions of the British Government to the political intelligentsia end? Leading British Indian lawyers and politicians were definite in their opinion that paramountcy vested in the Government of India and not in the Crown: it followed that a self-governing British India would claim to control the Princes. That would mean extinction. It was essential that the constitutional position should be cleared. The Princes had no intention of placing their destinies in the hands of political India. The encroachment of political practice on the internal affairs of the States despite treaty engagements was another question which had assumed greater importance after the pronouncement with regard to the prerogative of the Crown in the Berars letter to the Nizam in 1926. In the old days of isolation such questions could not be raised. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, under the ægis of the Maharaja of Patiala, played a leading part in forcing this matter on the attention of the Government. The result was the appointment of the Butler Committee to enquire into the constitutional position. The Princes at great expense ran a parallel enquiry into political practice and the infringement of treaties. The result was a finding that paramountcy vested in the Crown and not in the Indian Government. And "paramountcy must be paramount," declared the Butler Committee epigrammatically. No attempt was made to define the limits of interference. This was disappointing, but even the Princes were prepared to admit that as a corollary of the obligation of the Crown to provide for the military defence of India, it was entitled to intervene in the internal affairs of a State where gross misrule threatened to provoke insurrection.

That was so much gained. But the matter could not be allowed to rest there. Political agitation was rampant in British India, and there was a danger that if a responsible central government were established the British Government might no longer be able to fulfil its military obligations. The Princes must descend into the arena and fight their own cause. For this reason they welcomed an invitation to the Round-Table Conference. The main issue was responsibility at the centre. To the intense relief of the British Government His Highness of Patiala, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, made the momentous declaration that the Princes were prepared to join an Indian federation.

They were determined to maintain the British connection: the one idea of Congress was to destroy it. Here it may be noted that one of the motives inspiring Mr. Pannikar's book is to vindicate the Maharaja of Patiala from the charge of inconsistency. Indian politicians evidently thought that in a federation they would be able to play one Prince off against the other and so neutralize their influence. To counteract such machinations the Maharaja and other leading Princes put forward a scheme for a confederation of States, especially of the smaller States, which would have no direct representative in the federal chamber. The scheme was supported by His Highness the late Jam of Jamnagar. So far it has not taken definite shape. There is this to be said in his behalf, that the scheme of federation as it was slowly evolved went much further than the Princes anticipated. His Highness later played an important part in the criticism of the India Bill, so much so that in some quarters he was accused of a wanton attempt to sabotage it. His efforts undoubtedly contributed largely to the improvement of the Bill from the Princes' point of view. Indian politicians, especially those of the extreme Left, have only themselves to thank for the Maharaja's violent philippic in the Princes' Chamber in February of last year against the politicians' ideas of democracy. The feeling that unless they can form and keep a common front, responsible government at the centre may sound their death knell, is still uppermost in the minds of the Princes. A scheme for a parliamentary committee of States' ministers to frame and carry out a common policy is most in favour; not an easy matter in view of the jealousies and personal rivalries that prevail. It may be confidently expected that statesmen like His Highness of Patiala and the galaxy of experienced rulers and ministers who work with him will succeed in evolving an organization that will at least give the minimum of safety. His Highness has deserved well of his Order and of India in the strenuous work he has put in during the last ten years in the hope of realizing the dream of so many Indians of self-government within the Empire.

THE MAKING OF FEDERAL INDIA. By N. Gangulce, C.I.E. (*Nisbet*.)
12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

Most people in Britain realize—some of them perhaps a little vaguely—the importance of India to the Empire. Many of them are nervous regarding the astonishing experiment in democracy British statesmen are initiating in the Indian sub-continent. Despite this the complexity of the problem has induced an almost oriental fatalism about India in this country. "We must trust in responsible statesmen and hope for the best" is the general attitude.

The stage is now set for the second act in the great drama of Indian nationalism—the introduction of provincial autonomy next spring. Public interest will once more be concentrated on Indian affairs, and many people would doubtless be inclined to study the Indian situation afresh if literature of a simple type were available in a convenient form. A book which fulfils

these requirements, written by Professor Gangulee, has recently been published and deserves to be widely read.

Professor Gangulee writes with authority. Until recently Professor of Economics at the Calcutta University, he was a member of the Agricultural Commission of which Lord Linlithgow was Chairman; he utilized the opportunity of examining conditions in the countryside. In a recent work *India, What Now?* and *The Indian Peasant* he gives prominence to the fact that agrarian discontent lies at the core of the Indian political problem. A Hindu nationalist, he does not allow his politics to disturb the balance of his judgment, and though an idealist he does not lose sight of reality.

The book gives an interesting sketch of political developments in India since the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, culminating in the India Act of 1935. All the important elements in the complex problem are discussed at length, the attitude of the Princes, communalism, Congress, finance, safeguards, the electoral system, the tactics of Gandhi, the disappointment of the intelligentsia and so forth. In point of fact a study of this book will give even those who know nothing of India at first hand a fairly clear idea of the conditions in which provincial autonomy will be brought into operation.

Professor Gangulee's comments, criticisms and theories are worth studying, though many will disagree with his views. He seems for one thing to assume an Indian nation which can hardly be justified. He thinks that it was the spirit of British institutions infused through the mighty mass of the Indian people that has brought on the national demand for reform. The touch of idealism is perhaps too strong here. One meets the stereotyped criticism of a white bureaucracy endeavouring to establish itself as an irresponsible oligarchy. For those who remember Lord Morley and his methods this is, of course, absurd. The control of the British Parliament has always counted in Indian administration, to say nothing of the restraining influence of the highest judiciary in which Indian judges play so strong a part.

For all his belief in democracy in the abstract the author does not seem to be very optimistic about the success of the new dispensation. The social structure is, he thinks, the main obstacle. Communalism is another. Morley, he says, when he yielded to pressure in 1909 and gave the Muslims separate representation knew that it was fatal to democracy. The Lucknow Pact between Muslims and Hindus in 1917 aggravated the evil. He quotes, but not with approval, Gandhi's dictum, "The solution (of the communal problem) can be the crown of the Swaraj Constitution, not its foundation, if only because our differences have hardened—if they have not arisen—by reason of foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom." Such casuistry would hardly appeal to the Muslims!

It is interesting to note that the author is inclined to favour indirect elections in the villages as in Egypt. Direct election, it seems to him, under the present social and economic conditions carries with it the grave risk of the exploitation of the illiterate and helpless masses by a dominant and

enfranchised oligarchy. The peasant, in fact, seems to be exchanging a white oligarchy for a brown!

Political India would hardly agree with Professor Gangulee's views on economics. Political bodies are, he thinks, incapable of handling economic questions. A national economic council would be a more suitable means. The outstanding problem in India is the raising of the standard of living of the peasantry. That will be the test of the new rulers of India. Professor Gangulee has little hope that they will succeed, largely because they are concerned to maintain the *status quo*.

He does not confine his criticisms to the British: his own countrymen are equally a target for his satire. He quotes with approval the opinion expressed by a Japanese statesman, Count Okuma, a quarter of a century ago, that Indians themselves are responsible for their own troubles by reason of their social organization—i.e., the institution of caste. British law and order has, says Professor Gangulee, enabled the propertied and privileged classes to exploit the masses from a position of security. They themselves are largely responsible for the safeguards. Now that political power is placed in their hands it will lie on them to refute the charge that in claiming democracy their idea has simply been to buttress their privileges. Here we seem to be approaching the line which segregates the diehard from those who believe democracy is a cure for all ills. Will these privileged classes build up an Indian nation?

Through all the welter and confusion of Indian politics Professor Gangulee sees one rallying-point, a partnership between Britain and India. Let Britain be the senior partner; if only she is inspired with goodwill and friendship and a readiness to help India to realize her goal of political self-realization, then there would be a firm hope that India's dream might come true. In that way only can Britain fulfil her historic rôle of mediator between East and West, of leadership in the two continents. Let her gift of political freedom to India be open-handed; let her convince India of her honesty of purpose and most of the difficulties which confront Britons and Indians would disappear. Here one may comment that the idea of a partnership has been kept in view by the British Government throughout the long-drawn conferences and the reforms. Some people would say that the senior partner has been placed in too weak a position to exert any real influence. Let us hope that goodwill and friendship on both sides will make the new Constitution workable.

THE HYDERABAD BUDGET. Budget Note for the Year 1346 Fasli (October 6, 1936, to October 5, 1937 A.D.). Prepared by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government by A. Hydari Hydar Nawaz Jung, Finance Member. (Hyderabad: Government Central Press.)

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

There is no more obvious truism to say of any man who has given his utmost to a great public office than that the effects of his work can only be judged hereafter by history. Certainly nothing could be more futile than to attempt to assess the value of Sir Akbar Hydari's great services to Hyderabad.

bad either by comparison with the work of other Finance Members or by the rehearsal of isolated examples designed to prove that the premier Indian State is more peaceful and prosperous than twenty-five, fifty, or even two hundred years ago.

Not the least of the many advantages with which Sir Akbar Hydari entered upon his present duties was the thoroughness with which the ground had been prepared by his predecessor, Sir Reginald Glancy. The fact remains that the development of Hyderabad to the full status of a modern State has occurred, in the main, within the short span of the last twenty-five years, and it is no mere coincidence that the most outstanding achievements should have taken place during the reign of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam, Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur.

Conservatism, as the history of modern Hyderabad has shown, means neither obstruction nor reaction, but progress based on a just appreciation of realities. It is in this spirit that Hyderabad has participated in the protracted constitutional negotiations that, "however formidable the doubts and difficulties they may have engendered, were prompted and inspired by the dual aim of preserving and ever strengthening the unity of India, and of enabling the Princes and peoples of this great section of the British Commonwealth to reconcile loyalty with patriotism."

It is for that reason that Hyderabad, the first among Indian States, elected for Federation, not for any end of its own, but to assist a general settlement. It is in that spirit that Hyderabad will decide, we are confident, before a few months are over, finally to enter the Federation of India as a constituent State, instead of remaining in its present position of isolation from British India, in direct relation with the Crown. The Government of H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions is well aware that the decision will involve sacrifices; it considers that the price is well worth paying if it conduces to the greater profit and happiness of India as a whole. In many directions, it is evident, the establishment of a federal form of government will enforce a progressive co-ordination and pooling of resources, economic and financial. But it may safely be asserted that Hyderabad's entry into the larger life of an All-India Federation will not be obtained at the expense of that stability—not of inaction or reaction, but the adaptation of policy to changing conditions, so as to ensure continuous progress in economic as well as social and political conditions—which has been such a distinctive feature of His Exalted Highness' reign.

In the course of the recent discussions in regard to the Instruments of Accession, Hyderabad has insisted upon provisions that will enable the State, in the event of its joining the Federation, to maintain intact, in matters affecting its finance, such insignia of the Nizam's sovereignty as its own Post Offices, Stamps, and Currency; such sources of revenue as its internal Customs receipts; and such fields of administration, even in subjects in which it may agree to federate, as the management and control of its own railways. How substantial, nevertheless, are the resources of H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions, and how indispensable is the co-operation of that pivotal State, if the new Federation is to reach its full economic and political stature, is manifest anew from the Budget Note for the Muslim year 1346

Fasli (October 6, 1936, to October 5, 1937) prepared by Sir Akbar Hydari, which has just received the assent of H.E.H. the Nizam.

The dominions of His Exalted Highness comprise 82,698 square miles, with a population, according to the Census of 1931, of 14,436,148 inhabitants. The State's credit is valued by investors at only a little below that of the British Government itself. An active and enterprising development policy, coupled with sound finance, has enabled the premier Indian State, without recourse to new taxation—income-tax is still unknown—to maintain a balanced Budget throughout the depression, although some of Hyderabad's principal sources of income, notably land revenue, have been materially affected by the fall in prices. In fact, in order to help the agriculturists, who have been particularly hard hit, there have been substantial remissions of land revenue and reductions in Customs duties, apart from extraordinary remissions in cases of famine and similar calamities. In the words of the Firman sanctioning the 1936-37 proposals, Sir Akbar Hydari, whose "farsightedness and financial statesmanship" are accorded well-deserved recognition, "has managed to provide substantial money for the advancement of every department and yet keep the Budget balanced."

This wellnigh unique distinction, of which the Nizam and Sir Akbar Hydari are legitimately proud, is in large measure due to the success of the system of departmentalization of the finances introduced by the present Finance Member some thirteen years ago.

At the beginning of each triannual contract the ordinary Budget grant for each department is fixed for each of the three years on the basis of the receipts likely to accrue under normal conditions during that period. Unexpended balances at the end of each term are shared in equal proportions with the Exchequer. The latter's share, which in 1346 Fasli is expected to exceed Rs. 70 lakhs, is utilized to finance large-scale public works and other non-recurring expenditure. That the departments have not been stinted, and have in fact had more than they require to spend, is evident from the size of the divisible surplus.

Since the system was introduced in 1922, the State revenues have increased from Rs. 7 crores to nearly Rs. 8½ crores. Two-thirds of the increment is derived from railway and currency profits, and ordinary revenue has undergone considerable expansion, on balance.

Expenditure has risen from Rs. 6.86 to Rs. 8.47 crores over the same period. Incidentally the State's own paper currency, the circulation of which is steadily increasing, originated during the war, owing to the necessity of economizing in silver, on account of the large amount lent to the Government of India. The Osmania Sica Stabilization Reserve, formed from the profits of coinage, is now over Rs. 3½ crores.

Considerably more than one-half the additional capital expenditure has been on the improvement of communications, water supplies and sanitation, large-scale irrigation works, and other development projects which are directly or indirectly reproductive.

About one-third of the accumulated balances was used to finance the acquisition of H.E.H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, which has proved an excellent investment. Formerly the State received from the com-

pany on an average about Rs. 40 lakhs a year. On a capital outlay of Rs. 17½ crores a profit of Rs. 109.52 was made in 1934-35—when railways all over the world were showing heavy losses—and of Rs. 106.43 in 1935-36, after deduction of the full amount for depreciation.

Hyderabad has also taken the lead in the co-ordination of road and rail transport by bringing the two under the same management. A network of more than 4,000 miles of roads has been constructed by the State, and three years ago an up-to-date bus service was inaugurated by the railway with monopolies over certain routes. Eventually it is proposed to replace all private services by the State railway motor transport services, which are run on commercial lines, and by the end of next year will have a fleet of more than 235 buses, with a total route mileage of over 3,800 miles.

The work which has been accomplished in the successful co-ordination of all forms of transport, to the benefit of the travelling public and the State Exchequer alike, was the subject of appreciative reference in *The Financial Times* recently. After observing that Sir Ralph Wedgwood and the members of the Indian State Railway Committee, which is seeking to bring about closer co-operation between rail and road interests in British India, would be wise not to trust too much to the experience gained under very different conditions in this country, the article proceeded: "Valuable assistance, on the other hand, should be derived from the example of Hyderabad, which has been a pioneer in this as in so many other forms of well-planned economic development. . . . A further stage in the co-ordination of all forms of public transport in the dominions will be accomplished shortly when the State begins to operate its own air service in conjunction with its road and rail services."

Broadcasting and telephone development are other objects of special concern to the Nizam's Government, which continues to undertake many commercial activities in directions where private enterprise has not stepped in or been unsuccessful. Particular interest attaches in the circumstances to Sir Akbar Hydari's announcement that, "with the establishment of a Reserve Bank of India under an All-India Federation, it has now become imperative for Hyderabad to seek help in the solution of its banking problems through a State Bank of its own." The problem, especially of the management of such an institution, is fraught, it is recognized, with great difficulties, but everyone who knows anything of Hyderabad and the Hyderabadis will share the Finance Member's confident belief that the difficulties, though formidable, will be overcome.

In an Indian State, no less than in British India, it is very necessary for all classes of the population to have facilities for saving money, and to afford cheap and easy credit. To this end special attention has been devoted to the strengthening of the finances of the Co-operative movement, the indebtedness of the ryot, and the development of industries and mineral resources of the dominions. Hyderabad is to be congratulated on its latest advance in this direction, and it is encouraging to learn that "the people are getting used not only to transact all their business in the currency of the State, but also to invest their surplus funds in State loans, State postal savings banks, and industrial concerns within the dominions."

MEDICAL AND SANITARY REPORT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD'S
GOVERNMENT FOR THE YEAR 1343 FASLI (October 6, 1933, to October 5,
1934).

(Reviewed by SIR LEONARD ROGERS.)

Once more the medical report of the Hyderabad State, under the enlightened government of His Most Exalted Highness the Nizam, and the administration of Colonel J. Norman Walker, I.M.S.(Ret.), presents a record of steady advance. Subsidies to enable medical practitioners to supply much-needed free medical attendance in the smaller towns and in villages were only partially successful. A new mental hospital to accommodate cases of mania, etc., now in a central gaol, has been sanctioned, and an eye diseases hospital is under consideration. A sanatorium for tuberculosis in the hills has been provided at a cost of 6½ lakhs, together with tubercle clinics. The well-equipped Osmania General Hospital, and the Victoria Zenana Hospital at headquarters, attract increasing numbers of patients, and both were highly commended by Lady Willingdon after visits to them. Over two thousand maternity cases were attended in the latter institution. The Leper Home and Hospital at Dichpali, under the Rev. G. M. Kerr, treated 963 cases, all in a stage amenable to treatment and mostly of an infective type, and with an average number of resident patients of 493 no less than 310 were discharged during the year free from symptoms after an average of sixteen months' treatment—an example to other provinces of the successful application of our present knowledge. In addition, leprosy clinics are in operation at every district hospital; yet three-fourths of suitable applicants for admission to Dichpali had to be refused for want of room.

The sanitary department is equally progressive, and the continued prevalence of plague is being dealt with by inoculation, and also by the more radical method of supplying model rat-proof houses. A chart shows well the hot weather seasonal decline with the rise of the saturation deficiency, or dryness of the air, inimical to the carrier rat flea. The malaria department has also been active in closing 700 mosquito breeding wells, etc., with a gratifying decrease of the spleen rates in the suburbs of the city, and Boy Scouts have been utilized in carrying out anti-malaria measures. The vaccination department is equally efficient with a record of 97.5 per cent. successes. Altogether the report reflects credit on all concerned. The index is a useful feature, but it might with advantage be supplemented by a table of contents to enable the arrangement and scope of the report to be evident at a glance at it.

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA. English Documents—Vol. I. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads (1720-1768). Edited by J. H. Gense, S.J., Ph.D., and D. R. Banaji, M.A., LL.B. (Bombay: Taraporevala.) Rs. 4.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

We have here a compilation, a piece of laborious research work, intended to "contribute towards the foundation of the historical edifice that some enthusiastic worker may be tempted to raise." It consists almost entirely

of selections from records in the custody of the Bombay Government which describe and illustrate episodes in the stormy years 1721-68, when Gujarat and Surat were bones of contention between Muslims and Marathas, and the servants of the East India Company were increasingly compelled to stand to their arms and strengthen their forces in order to protect their factories and business. It was in Gujarat that the early Gaekwars, Pilaji and Damaji, played their part, establishing a principality which after many vicissitudes developed into the well-ordered Baroda State of the present day. The whole story is briefly summarized in a short historical introduction. But the collection of extracts ends with the record of a report of Damaji's death in 1768. Further volumes will follow. We must regret that after industriously collecting so much valuable material the authors have not used it more fully in writing the history. The few lines of explanation which begin each chapter are hardly sufficient guides to the reader who threads his way through the subsequent quotations. The period is in any case difficult and confusing, for Western India was in a state of chaos. The central power at Delhi was collapsing; the "subadár" and Nawabs were endeavouring to set up for themselves; even the small community of Sidis was pegging out claims; the Portuguese were losing ground to the Dutch, to the English and to the Marathas. The servants of the East India Company found their trade constantly impeded and lived in the perpetual turmoil described in Bombay records and notably in the Diaries of the Surat factory. The headquarters of the Mogul Viceroy were at Ahmedabad, but all Gujarat was overrun by freebooting Marathas, "Ganims" (looters or enemies), as the Muslims called them. Distracted or contentious nawabs sometimes employed one band of "Ganims" against another, and the Viceroy would ask the Peshwa to help him against the Gaekwar. Many quotations testify to the oppression and plundering that went on. "The country was ruined by war." Daniel Innes wrote from Cambay on April 11, 1725: "Our lives and fortunes are dependent on the caprice of armed villains who have cessed me of Rs. 5,000." On the 4th of the following month he says that at Ahmedabad Hamid Khan, assisted by Ganims, cesses the houses, and as he catches a man "squeezes him according to his estate" (p. 7).

And so the story continues. Pilaji was murdered in 1732, and his son Damaji established a shifting uncertain dominion by traditional Maratha methods, but suffered much from Peishwa Balaji Bajirao, to whom he signed away his independence. He fought at Panipat in 1761 and later on espoused the cause of Raghoba, sharing in the defeat of that unlucky individual in 1768, and dying shortly afterwards. He was evidently a typical Maratha chief of those stormy times.

A long chapter is given to extracts from records which relate to the "capture of Surat castle by the English (1758-9)." It had been seized by Sidî Masud, a member of a family of titular admirals of the empire, and on this occasion had been supplied with arms by the Dutch. Other Sidis held the castle for a few years and were thus able to dominate the city while nawabs or would-be nawabs fought each other, and the Marathas hovered round. The English carried on and organized their slender forces.

At last the merchants and traders petitioned the Presidency Government for the forcible eviction of the usurpers. The Peshwa's consent was obtained and after stiff fighting the Sidis and their supporters, who included a contingent of the Nawab's troops, were ejected. The castle and city passed wholly under British control and the Company was proclaimed the titular Emperor's admiral "vice" the Sidi.

Observing the many and great dangers in which the Company's servants were constantly set, one is impressed by the tardiness of the Directors in providing them with adequate military protection. It was only after 1798, and the first war with the French on the Coromandel coast that new ideas took gradual shape and serious military organization began in the Bombay Presidency. But even then it was on a very small scale, as in those days commerce was much restricted and territorial revenue was lacking.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670-1677. Vol. I. (New Series). The Western Presidency. By Sir Charles Fawcett. (Oxford.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by DR. C. COLLIN DAVIES.)

The historian of British India cannot complain of a paucity of records. On the contrary, he is apt to be overwhelmed by their superabundance. This is especially the case with the records of the East India Company, which form very valuable historical material. The distance of the Court of Directors in London from the Company's settlements in India, combined with a trading concern's natural desire to make its ventures a financial success, necessitated a close and constant supervision of its servants' activities in the East Indies. Political entanglements with the "Country Powers," together with the intrigues of hostile European trading bodies, alarmed the Directors and led to a still more jealous supervision of the actions of their subordinates. Finally, the fact that the three chief settlements were administered by councils has provided the student with excellent historical records in the form of minutes and dissenting minutes.

Thirteen volumes of this invaluable selection of documents have already been published by that able and distinguished editor, Sir William Foster, whose work is always marked by wide knowledge and scrupulous accuracy. The volume under consideration forms the first of a new series, and is the work of Sir Charles Fawcett, who recently broke fresh ground in his study of *The First Century of British Justice in India*. Without any fear of exaggeration it can be said that the work of the new editor exhibits the same scholarship and accuracy which marked the earlier volumes. Indeed, his task has been rendered more difficult by the fact that the contents of the factory records are now "digested into a readable account of the main events in each year." Some idea of the work entailed in the preparation of this volume will be obtained from the footnotes in which the editor has acknowledged his indebtedness to his predecessors in this field: Hamilton, Fryer, Anderson, Bruce, Campbell, Da Cunha, Douglas, Edwardes, Khan and Foster.

The new volume deals exclusively with the Western Presidency—that is,

strengthening and spread of British culture and ideas should be lost. It is therefore all to the good that Dr. Slater should have furnished a detailed account of the years he spent in India, of the people he came in contact with and the work he accomplished. The result may be summed up in his concluding remarks. He was loath to leave the country, but eager to be home again. On his return in 1922 he was appointed lecturer to Indian Civil Service Probationers at the London School of Economics and to the Oxford University I.C.S. delegacy. In the future it would be well if British Universities would take into serious consideration the framing of regulations whereby members of their staffs could be seconded for a time to take service in India and the Overseas Dominions. There should be no serious difficulty in the way, and it will do much to compensate for the cessation of permanent appointments, which is the inevitable sequel of local progress in these regions.

With the rapid changes which have taken place in India during the last few years Dr. Slater's narrative deals with conditions which have subsequently been greatly modified. It is, nevertheless, an interesting account of one of the most turbulent periods in the history of Southern India since it came under our control. The many problems, social, economical and political, in which he became interested are beyond the scope of this review to deal with. He presents his views with moderation, and in conclusion it should be acknowledged that he did much to put the study of Indian economics on a sound basis. To one who was more or less behind the scenes, both before and after Dr. Slater's sojourn in Madras, his comments on men and the parts they played are refreshing and often amusing.

FAR EAST

MILITARISM AND FOREIGN POLICY IN JAPAN. By E. E. N. Causton. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The writer has compiled a fine bibliography, and there is no doubt that he has studied the books that figure therein. In his concluding words he writes that in the so-called democratic countries the military have been the servants of the Government, whilst in Japan at least the military have held a position independent of Government. And it is this policy which Mr. Causton has set out to explain. One wonders, in view of Japan's rise to a great Power, whether a system, like the so-called democracy, is good for every nation on the globe, or whether each nation should not work out its own salvation. There is a map which serves to illustrate militarism in Japan. Mr. Causton properly mentions that such Governments must be rightly understood in the light of their historic past and culture.

PROBLEMS OF CHINESE EDUCATION. By V. Purcell. (*Kegan Paul.*) 10s. 6d. net.

A number of events during the last 30 years have produced a change of mental attitude amongst leading Chinese authorities. One of the subjects which is receiving attention is education, of which several pamphlets issued

in China give abundant proof. Dr. Purcell is in his treatment of this important question a pioneer whose knowledge and research should find a hearty welcome in Chinese and English circles. The volume does not pretend to give a history of Chinese education; this remains to be written. It rather deals, as the title suggests, with the problems which in the near future have to be faced. In the first chapter the author discusses the old system, and he asks pertinently the question: What was a Chinese taught in the pre-Han period, and how was he taught? The Book of Rites gives hints to the answer. The interesting remark is made that the literary system was uninterrupted until a few years ago, with the exception of some changes in the Sung dynasty when Wang An-shih introduced them. In the last chapter Dr. Purcell writes of the present period, and the information he gives is most valuable. There are above all the good intentions on the part of the Nanking Government, but several reasons have so far prevented them from bringing their good resolutions to effective fruition.

Dr. Purcell, himself a Chinese student, has devoted his energy to a painstaking pursuit, as will be noticed by many references, and perhaps he will be called upon to further Chinese education in the right direction.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES DURING THE DEPRESSION. By Prof. Dr. A. Neytzell de Wilde and J. Th. Moll. (Amsterdam: *J. M. Meulenhoff.*) Fl. 1.40.

This book consists of a survey prepared for the Sixth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which met recently in California, and is a valuable textbook for the business man and student of economics. Those who have read the two articles by Dr. Cecile Rothe in the previous and present issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will find much supplementary information in this survey. It is a sad story of dwindling trade, which, however, appears now to have run its course. The authors stress the reluctance with which the Government departed from the time-honoured policy of free-trade, and express the hope that the present restrictive measures are only of a temporary character in view of the sound structure of the Netherlands colonies. Nevertheless recovery is dependent on the developments in the outside world, and especially in the Pacific.

NEAR EAST

THREE DESERTS. By C. S. Jarvis. Illustrated by Frank Lee. (*John Murray.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The three deserts which Major Jarvis had to administer are in Egypt. The first, the Kharga Oasis, lying west of Luxor; the Siwa Oasis, bordering on the Cyrenaica frontier; and the third in Sinai, to the east of the Suez Canal. One must not presume that the author is content with a description of his administration. On the contrary, the book is full of entertainment, which the reader will enjoy. During his eighteen years' residence Major Jarvis was enabled to study the Arab in his life, work, and manners. The

author was in charge of the army which annihilated the locusts in 1930 when they threatened to destroy the crops of Egypt. Another of his duties was to initiate the fertilization of the desert.

ENGLAND AND THE NEAR EAST: THE CRIMEA. By Harold Temperley. (Longmans.) 25s. net.

Professor Temperley, who is a well-known specialist on the Balkans and Turkey, has here produced an important and learned work dealing with the first fifty years of the past century pertaining to this subject. He outlines the disputes and struggles of the various Balkan States and their gradual rise to independence. Then the author describes minutely the internal history of Turkey, beginning with Sultan Mahmud, that country's relations with the European Powers, and, finally, the events leading up to the Crimean War. The author concludes that the chief responsibility for the war lay with the policy of Russia and Great Britain. Russian troops were sent to the Turkish principalities on May 27, 1853, and a few days later the British Fleet went to the Dardanelles. A very helpful part of the book is the list of Turkish and foreign words with explanations. The numerous notes are most valuable, as showing the extensive study of literature and documents which Professor Temperley has made for this conscientious and laborious work. The table of contents and the index have been compiled with great detail and accuracy.

GENERAL

STRANGE COAST. By Liam Pawle. (Lovat Dickson.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This is a distinguished and unusual novel, by an author whose anonymity is not wholly beyond the powers of intelligent conjecture; for there are not a great number of living writers whose knowledge of the Caucasus is at once so masterly and so intimate. But since Mr. "Liam Pawle," doubtless for good reason, prefers to leave his work unsigned, it is not for a reviewer to draw aside the veil. In sheer power the story is reminiscent of the earlier and less sophisticated "thrillers" of John Buchan; but underneath all the adventure which the most hardened reader can require in a bedside book, there is a high and serious purpose. The repulsive operations of international finance, and the manner in which money power, under unregulated individualism, can play havoc with the lives of honest men, have rarely been exposed in more telling fashion; and the strange, perverted loyalty with which the financier is served by his tools constitutes by no means the least poignant element in the story. The whole book reads less like a novel than a piece of sober history; and it is no exaggeration to say that there is scarcely a single episode which might not happen today or tomorrow. It is only preserved from unrelieved tragedy by a singularly touching love story; but even over this romance the sordid shadow stretches. Mr. "Liam Pawle" must be congratulated upon the artistry which has preserved him

from the temptation of falling into the snare of the "happy ending"; for it needs no small determination to persist unflinchingly in the course which involves two such charming people as Amber and Rustya in unmerited disaster. No one who reads this book will readily forget it; and the majority of readers will be driven to ask themselves some unpleasantly searching questions about the organization of society which makes such happenings possible; which, there can be little doubt, is Mr. "Liam Pawle's" intention. If so, he has fulfilled it with remarkable efficiency.

"LA QUINZAINE COLONIALE"

"La Quinzaine Coloniale" is the organ of the Union Coloniale Française, whose director, Mr. Le Neveu, contributes to the present number of the ASIATIC REVIEW in the form of a lecture delivered before the East India Association. The second issue for November contains a valuable account of the conclusions arrived at by the recent Conference of Governors-General. The recommendations include protection of the home and colonial markets, with the rider that the French producer should take account of indigenous power of absorption, especially in the matter of motor-cars and tobacco. Further, it is proposed to set up co-operative organizations for production and consumption. Special attention is to be paid to the soil, not only in agriculture, but also forestry, fisheries and prospecting. Although these are "recommendations," the main reason for the use of the term is that they require the sanction of various Government departments, and an early start in carrying them out may be expected.

In the chronicle of discussions in the French Chamber there is an account of the new Budget of the Ministry of the Colonies, which stands at nearly eight million pounds, and shows an increase over the previous year of nearly one million pounds. The rise in the cost of the civil administration amounts to one and a half million francs, that of the army to thirty million francs for a military establishment of 1,774 European commissioned and 16,741 non-commissioned officers and men and 42,222 colonial troops. This does not represent any increase in armaments or personnel. It is accounted for by increased pay and enrolments. The traditional French encouragement of the arts is reflected in a subsidy to the Ethnographical Museum in Paris.

In the course of the debate Mr. Jean Niel envisaged the creation of an Imperial Ministry to grapple with the manifold problems of France's overseas possessions. Their duty was to give expression henceforward to the national will that this heritage would in no circumstances be diminished to profit other Powers. He was willing, however, to consider accords with countries having a prolific population for the exploitation of primary products, but on condition that no obstacle was presented preventing those who wished to do so from taking up French citizenship. He was opposed to any surrender of mandates and laid down the formula "the Empire is one and indivisible."

In the section devoted to Indo-China Mr. Lalande gives an encouraging account of the improvement in the general situation. The sale of com-

There are now 15 scientific and literary societies in Iran, each contributing to some special branch of science and literature.

Adult education is not neglected, and although the number of the illiterate has enormously diminished, according to a new regulation by the Council of Ministers special courses are to be held throughout the land, and everywhere these courses are instituted, apart from the general public, the minor employees of the Government and local authorities are obliged to attend them. There are to be 3,000 of these special courses.

Heads of educational departments and faculties are chosen from among persons who are acquainted both with Iranian and foreign educational systems, of whom a fine example is Dr. Sadigh, the present Director of the Training College for Teachers. He first studied in Teheran and then in France and England. After returning to his country he held various important posts connected with education, but not content with his vast experience he also visited America to study the educational systems of that part of the world.

This educational movement has changed the social outlook, and a certain thirst for knowledge and reality has produced books, written or translated in a style which is simpler than the florid one which was a sign of literary decadence. A society composed of distinguished people has arranged for the translation of a whole series of general history of the world and many other books of general interest. These books, which are translated by qualified writers, are printed and illustrated in the best way possible, and are sold at cost price.

Most of Anatole France's writings are translated by Dr. Ghani, who is now a Member of Parliament, and who has done for Persian literature what Aylmer Maude has performed in translating Tolstoy.

Let us hope that this intellectual movement in a land where the bodies of Avicenna, Ferdosi, Saadi, Hafiz and Khayyam are buried will produce men and women who may be able to give to the restless world something worthy of a country whose people sincerely believe that it is only by the efforts of humanity that the

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOUTH INDIA ON THE EVE OF AUTONOMY

BY DIWAN BAHADUR A. R. MUDALIAR
(Member of the Indian Council)

WHEN the Government of India Act, 1919, was placed on the Statute Book, there were many who entertained misgivings concerning the form of government contemplated and who held that responsible government was alien to the Indian people and would not take root. But subsequent events and further reflection appear to have convinced many among them that for such misgivings there was no solid foundation. Within a few weeks the new Act will come into force in the Provinces; the Legislatures will be composed of members elected on a very much wider franchise; the principle of Cabinet responsibility for the Provincial administrations will have obtained full recognition; in brief, the Provinces will have passed from the stage of "dyarchy" or semi-responsibility to one of complete responsibility.

It will not be inappropriate if at this stage a survey of present conditions, an appraisal of the forces at work and an estimate of future trends, are attempted. As the title of this paper indicates, I propose to confine my attention to an examination of the problems of the Southern Presidency, with whose political life and administration I can claim some acquaintance.

The dyarchic form of government was for a transitional period. There have been many occasions when persons in high authority and responsible positions have stated that the difficult experiment of dyarchic government has been worked with singular success in Madras. It is a matter of common knowledge that more than one Provincial Head of the Government felt in the course of his

administration and recommended that Madras should have further constitutional advance. When, in 1925, I had the opportunity of discussing the question with Lord Birkenhead, I pleaded that, in view of the record of this Province, full responsible government should be introduced by a transference of the remaining subjects to the control of Ministers. His Lordship's reply was characteristic: the question of responsible government in the Provinces had been examined by constitutional lawyers with whose opinion he, as one of the foremost constitutional lawyers, was in accord. An advance of the kind suggested should be simultaneous in all the Provinces. The Earl of Birkenhead added that if it would console me and the party I then represented, he would make a special reference to the good record of Madras in a speech he was about to deliver in the House of Lords, a promise which was fulfilled in July of that year. Events that have occurred since 1925, under the régime of Lord Goschen and his successors, have, as they will testify, only emphasized this good record of work and shown that the people of Madras are equally alive to their rights and responsibilities.

FINANCES OF MADRAS

The inauguration of the new Constitution in April of this year will be but the fulfilment of hopes and aspirations which have long been justly entertained. But however eagerly constitutional changes may be desired, the new administration must necessarily take stock of the existing position and properly evaluate the heritage to which they are succeeding. What, then, is the position of Madras? The foremost question that must engage our attention is the budgetary situation of the Province. Madras has had a series of Finance Members whose cautious and careful handling of its resources has steered it clear of financial shoals. They have tried to maintain budgetary equilibrium, sometimes under exceptionally difficult conditions; they will hand over to the new administration a substantial surplus. What may be termed the unproductive or dead-weight debt has been reduced to the minimum and they have thereby hastened the day when Madras will be in a position to raise internal loans independent of any control from the central authority.

Their task has not been an easy one, particularly during the last quinquennium, when the economic blizzard brought special disaster to a purely agricultural Province like Madras. The main heads of provincial revenue are land revenue and excise. In the year 1934-35, land revenue amounted to Rs. 715 lakhs, as against Rs. 693 lakhs in the previous year, while excise accounted for Rs. 423 lakhs, against Rs. 428 lakhs. The fall in the price of primary commodities necessitated the grant of certain remissions, but the firm policy of the Government sustained the collection at the high level indicated by these figures. It may also be acknowledged that the Legislature refused to be stampeded by extreme forms of agitation outside the Council by interested parties for wholesale remissions. So far as budgetary finance is concerned, the Province promises to start under favourable auspices.

AGRARIAN OUTLOOK

From an analysis of the financial position we may turn to consider the agrarian question: The agriculturist in Madras is either a *ryotwari* tenant under the Government or a tenant under a *zamindar* or *imamdar*. I have referred to the acute distress that prevailed in the Province during the depression. There are indications in Madras, as elsewhere, that this period is slowly coming to an end. There is a marked recovery in the price of primary commodities, with, however, one notable and extremely important exception—rice. This exception must continue to be a matter of grave concern, as rice forms by far the largest crop in the Province.

The relations of landlord and tenant have considerably improved owing to the enactment of several legislative measures. It may be recalled that the early years of the dyarchic period were marred by one of the greatest tragedies of recent times—the Moplah rebellion in Malabar. Among other factors that contributed to this unhappy episode was the agrarian discontent that prevailed in the district. Since then the Malabar Tenancy Act has gone a considerable way towards promoting harmony and ensuring settled conditions in that district. The amendments to the Estates Land Act mark further steps in the same direction in

regard to permanently settled estates in other parts of the Presidency. It is noteworthy that these highly controversial measures were initiated in the Legislature by private members, but the thanks of the Province are equally due to the Revenue Members whose understanding of the problem and its intricacies helped the Legislature to give practical shape to its sympathy for the tenantry.

It is unnecessary to survey in any detail the progress that has been made in the administration of various other departments or the further legislative measures that have been enacted. Facilities for irrigation have expanded, and one of the largest irrigation projects in the world, the Mettur project, is now in operation. One of the most notable advances in the Province is the erection for the first time of hydro-electric works and the supply of electricity by Government to rural and urban areas for domestic and industrial purposes.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The activities on the transferred side of the Government may be very shortly mentioned, as they have been the subject of electoral appraisal. The spread of elementary education and the extension of medical relief have been two of the most important branches of ministerial activity. There has been some criticism regarding the wastage that occurs in elementary schools, and since the days of the Hartog Committee report, suggestions have not been wanting to prevent this wastage. In a recent letter to *The Times* a correspondent suggested that the recommendations of Directors of Public Instruction have been ignored by Ministers. While this may not refer to Madras, it cannot be denied that difficulties of a formidable character present themselves to anyone who desires to attack the problem in a thorough manner. The existence of denominational schools under the control of various religious persuasions is not the least of the difficulties to be encountered in this connection. A recent Order of the Government of Madras has attempted to solve the problem by adopting a bold policy of refusing aid or grants to inefficient schools, of improving the condition of teachers of elementary schools and increasing the inspectorate.

OTHER DEPARTMENTS

The creation of a separate health staff in each district has resulted in a more efficient control of epidemics which break out from time to time in the Presidency. And the policy of taking over control of district hospitals by the Government and of giving grants to rural medical institutions has helped to spread facilities for medical relief. The activities of the co-operative department have been extended and the establishment of land mortgage banks, together with the increased guarantee by the Government of their debenture stocks, has enabled them to make a beginning in the direction of relieving rural indebtedness.

The problems relating to local self-governing institutions have not always been easy of solution; the claim for local independence often takes the form of an assertion of freedom from all restraint, however necessary and wholesome it may be in the general interest. While it may be true that local bodies are the nurseries for democratic training it must also be realized that the fierce glare of publicity so essential for the proper working of democracy may be sometimes absent. It is a moot question whether the form of self-government that obtains in Great Britain or the system of prefectures under the control of the central Government which prevails in France is most suitable for India. A half-way house has, however, now been reached by suitable legislation which the Ministry and the Legislature have had the courage to undertake and enact, whereby through executive officers appointed by the Government, and in other ways, local bodies are brought under greater control of the Provincial Government.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

No account of the administration will be complete without a reference to the reform of the depressed classes, which have not escaped the attention of even the most superficial students of Indian sociology. In fact, in some cases this problem has received an emphasis which not even its gravity warrants. Nowhere has the problem of the depressed classes been graver or more acute than in the southern Presidency, and it will be particularly inter-

esting to note the attempts that have been made to mitigate their social and economic disabilities. The amelioration of the depressed classes has largely consisted in the acquisition of sites for housing them, the provision of special facilities for education, the assignment or lease of land for cultivation, and extension of sanitary amenities. It is estimated that a total area of 730,000 acres of land has been reserved for assignment in several districts of the Presidency; of this total area, over 400,000 acres had been granted by March 31, 1935. The educational advancement of these classes has been fostered by the grant of stipends and scholarships and the opening of special schools, but the Government have for many years fought steadily for the recognition of the right of admission of members of the depressed classes in all public schools. It is a matter for some satisfaction to note that the Government are now in a position to insist that all publicly managed schools should admit these classes and that privately managed schools which shut their doors to the depressed classes should be deprived of the grant-in-aid. Legislation has also been undertaken to give right of access to these classes to all public highways and other places. These measures are an indication not indeed of the extent to which depressed classes deserve help, but only of the awareness of the existing Legislature of its responsibility to these classes.

"SENSIBLE POLITICS"

From an appraisal of the immediate past, we may turn to a consideration of the near future. The preceding survey will have given an indication of the unostentatious yet tangible progress that has been achieved during the last decade. That this result has been due mainly to the spirit of constitutionalism will admit of no doubt. There have been no violent fluctuations of public opinion in the Province; and no serious attempt at wrecking the Constitution or sacrificing the needs of the people for spectacular displays. Whatever the fortunes of the ballot-box, whichever party has commanded a majority in the Legislature, the desire to work the Constitution and to extract the best out of it has manifested itself. His Excellency Lord Erskine, in his last address to the Madras Legislative Council, remarked:

"Madras has indeed given a lead to the rest of India in the matter of working democratic institutions and has gained a great and deserved reputation by its consistent pursuit of sane and sensible politics."

This fundamental characteristic of Madras should not be lost sight of when occasionally there is temporary excitement. The plethora of speeches on the eve of a general election is not the best indication of the real trend of public opinion. Extravagant promises and militant language are only indications of the intensity of desire to get a place in the constitutional edifice and should not be taken as signs of an inveterate determination to indulge in destructive tactics. Whatever may be the result of the elections now proceeding, one may reasonably entertain the hope and join in the confidence which Lord Erskine feels "that moderation and prudence will continue to prevail in the Presidency and that the conduct of future governments and legislatures will be such as to ensure an ordered progress in our affairs to the great advantage of the whole population."

Having regard to the spirit of constitutionalism on the foundation of which the political life of the Province is based, it would not be unreasonable to hazard the guess that revolutionary methods of solving social and economic problems will not be adopted.

It has not been the contention of responsible public men that the inauguration of provincial autonomy will effect sudden changes, bring about an immediate accession of wealth and ensure freedom from taxation to many members of the community. On the other hand, it has been recognized that self-government may imply an increase in burdens and obligations if social services are to be expanded and amenities guaranteed to the less fortunate section. Nor can it be suggested that the change to be brought about by the new Constitution will be one of personnel and that the even tenor of life will continue unchanged. The responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature, and through the Legislature to a wide electorate, will alter the emphasis on certain phases of the administration and bring about a more concentrated attention on aspects of administration which have so far been in the penumbra. Indications of such change are forthcoming in the programme of village

reconstruction, in the greater attention paid to the economic position of the agriculturist and his indebtedness, and above all in the concern felt for the social even more than the economic position of the depressed classes.

THE AGRICULTURIST

While it may be true that urban interests have predominated in the Councils of the past, it may be presumed that in future the presence of members representing rural interests will help to focus the attention of the Legislature and Executive on rural problems. After all, the agriculturist forms the backbone of the Presidency. His welfare will be the main concern of the administrator. The wealth of the Province consists essentially in agricultural raw products. With the most intense desire to foster industries one cannot lose sight of the vital interests of the peasant. The precipitous fall in the price of commodities has shaken the complacency of legislators and the shock has not escaped the Finance Department.

While the gradual rise in prices during recent months has eased the situation, the agriculturist finds himself suddenly confronted with problems of which he was utterly unaware in the past. The barriers erected against the free flow of goods from one country to another and the policy of self-sufficiency followed by many countries has had repercussions which he has begun to feel. His export markets have contracted without a corresponding expansion of the internal market. He is unable to estimate the exact effect of the policy of Protection which India is pursuing on the export markets with which he is concerned. But he has a growing apprehension that his interests are being sacrificed. These problems, some of them of more than provincial significance, will require sagacious statesmanship for a satisfactory solution.

HINDU POLITY AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

The attempts made to improve the position of the depressed classes have been detailed, but it is evident that so far only the fringe of the problem has been touched. The entry into the new

Legislature for the first time, in their own right, of thirty representatives of these classes elected primarily by members of their community will necessarily have far-reaching effects. Social advance and political status are closely inter-connected. Among the most significant of the changes that have been brought about by the new Constitution is the political status granted to the members of this community for the first time. Their economic improvement will now proceed by geometric progression if they realise that with unity among themselves they can be a powerful factor in the making and unmaking of Cabinets.

But even more important than the question of economic advance is the extremely thorny problem of their social status in the Hindu fold, and here we are faced with what may prove the most difficult problem for the legislators and administrators of the future. It is not merely the social status of the depressed classes that will cause concern, for behind the façade of the position of the depressed classes are found various phases of Hindu life which will constantly come up before the Legislature and demand its attention. Those who have followed the trend of events of Hindu polity in the Presidency must be aware of the dark rumblings and the unrest in the community. The position of women with regard to the laws of marriage and inheritance, the unevenness of the texture of the whole community and the social status of the Untouchables have presented problems the solution of which cannot long be delayed.

The inter-connection, sometimes real, sometimes imaginary, of these problems with Hindu religion, or what is claimed to be Hindu religion, is the vital factor which makes solution extraordinarily difficult. This intricacy must counsel caution, but cannot justify quiescence. The cry "Religion in danger" cannot perpetually be raised and society cannot be allowed to stagnate merely because unreasonable religious susceptibles demand careful nursing. To find a golden mean between the two extremes, to avoid impinging on religion proper on the one hand and to permit social reorganization in keeping with the spirit of the times will be the task of competent and level-headed legislators of the future.

LEADERSHIP

I have tried to survey the immediate past and to make a brief estimate of the tendencies of the future. No survey of the past would be just or adequate without a reference to that great statesman who played so important a part in the shaping of political forces in the Province in the early years of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. There have been two individuals at least during the dyarchic period whose claims to statesmanship are beyond the pale of controversy—the Raja of Panagal in the southern Presidency and Sir Fazli Hussain in the Punjab. Sir Fazli had fortunately opportunities of bringing his powerful and towering personality to bear on problems affecting the whole of India, and the tributes paid to him recently are only a meagre recognition of his invaluable contribution to Indian public life and political thought. It was not given to the Raja of Panagal to play the part for which he was eminently fitted in a vaster arena than that of his own Province. But those who knew him and came under the charm of his personality knew that, with extreme democratic outlook and tendencies, he combined in himself the firmness and grim determination of a modern dictator.

Who can deny in the face of world conditions today that modern democracies require leaders who will not merely interpret public opinion, but who will also shape and formulate it, that the emphasis in a leader's capacity is gradually changing from his characteristic as a representative to his characteristic as a moulder of popular feeling and opinion? If the world is to be made safe for democracy it is this type of leadership that is required. Is it too much to hope that in the Province of Madras, with the traditions that the Raja of Panagal has helped to establish, men will be forthcoming who by their character and courage will continue the glorious tradition of a Panagal or a Fazli Hussain and enable Madras to maintain, despite its cognomen of "benighted Presidency," its front place among the Provinces of India?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, January 19, 1937, when a paper entitled "South India on the Eve of Autonomy" was read by Diwan Bahadur (now Sir) Ramaswami Mudaliar (Member of the India Council). The Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Lieut.-Colonel the Right Hon. Sir George Stanley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Elliot G. Colvin, K.C.S.I., Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., the Right Hon. Sir John Wallis, Sir Hopetoun Stokes, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Arnold Musto, C.I.E., Sir Charles Cunningham, C.I.E., and Lady Cunningham, Sir Gilbert Jackson, Mr. S. K. Brown, C.B., C.V.O., Dr. P. E. Pieris, C.M.G., Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. S. C. Banerji, Mr. S. K. Mukherjee, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Mrs. Percy Brown, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Dewar, Mr. S. P. Sen, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Professor G. H. Langley, Mr. E. Coleman, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. A. B. Gosvami, Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Mr. M. Lal, Mr. Hewart Reynold, Mr. A. Muthuswamy, Mr. S. Ganesan, Mrs. L. M. Saunders, Mr. F. J. Bradshaw, Dr. and Mrs. Ernest Muir, Mr. P. C. Mathew, Mr. N. Subramanian, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Today we are going to have the pleasure of an address from Diwan Bahadur A. R. Mudaliar. It is a great pleasure for me to take the Chair for him, as he is an old friend of my time in Madras. He is going to speak to us on "South India on the Eve of Autonomy." I think you will agree with me that he has chosen a most interesting subject and a very opportune moment to give us an address upon it, as the elections are now taking place for the new members under the new Constitution.

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has had great experience in Madras in politics, but he will speak to us today from the detached point of view of a member of the Secretary of State's Council and not from the midst of the somewhat excited political arena. I think that that fact will add to the authority and weight of his remarks.

DIWAN BAHADUR A. R. MUDALIAR: I recall an occasion nearly seventeen years ago, in the year 1919, when I had the opportunity of enjoying the hospitality of the East India Association and of addressing a gathering similar to this on the eve of the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. There were two other gentlemen from Madras on the same platform with me, one the late Raja of Panagal, who afterwards became the chief Minister of the Madras Government; the other my friend, Sir Kurma Reddi, who recently acted as the Governor of Madras. It struck

me as rather a curious coincidence, for which I cannot account, that now, when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms is passing away and we are going to have the inauguration of a new scheme of reforms, the East India Association through its Honorary Secretary should have got hold of me again and asked me to read a paper on "South India on the Eve of Autonomy."

The pleasure that I feel at being present here this afternoon and putting forward a few ideas on the subject is enhanced by the fact that the Chairman is one who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions in the Madras Presidency. I am fortunate, too, in having in this enlightened assembly another distinguished administrator, who immediately succeeded Lord Goschen: I refer to Sir George Stanley. I am also happy to see a number of officers of the services of the Madras Presidency present here. Their continued interest in Madras bespeaks the fact that, after all is said and done, Madras has got some little charm for those who have been privileged to serve in that Province. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that we have all listened with very great pleasure to the interesting address which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has just delivered. To some of us it was especially interesting that in the first part of his address he referred to problems which confronted many of us when we were out in Madras. Some of them we had begun to deal with when we were there, and I think with all of them we were intimately connected. To me personally he recalled many happy mornings spent in discussions with Members of Council, with Ministers, and with prominent officials.

May I at once say that I am in accord with the tenor of the remarks which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has delivered. I think you will agree with me that his address has shown a clarity of mind, a sanity of judgment, and a breadth of vision. I share the views which he expressed in the beginning of his address. I think that all those of us who were called upon to administer the form of government called "dyarchy" recognized that it was only a transitional one, with the defects which such a form of government must carry with it. We felt that instead of leading to responsibility, it was tending towards irresponsibility, or what the lecturer more generously called semi-responsibility. But, as he said, dyarchy will soon have passed away, and the principle of Cabinet responsibility will have been recognized.

It may perhaps be interesting, in passing, to note that Madras was, I believe, the first Province to recognize joint ministerial responsibility. I think that that will prove a valuable experience in working the new and coming Constitution. Certainly this custom led to the smoother working of the reforms and was of great benefit to the Government itself.

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has referred to what he has been pleased to call the good record of Madras in working the reforms. I think that one of the contributory causes of this (with which I am sure those who have worked in Madras will agree) was the loyalty of the Ministers. I should like to bear testimony to the loyalty which they showed to the Government, and to the care and diligence which they gave to the working of their several Depart-

ments. If I may, I would like to associate myself with Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar in the remarks which he made about my friend the Raja of Panagal, who was the first Minister when I arrived in Madras.

But I think it should not be forgotten that the initial cause of the good record of Madras was the fact that when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in Madras, Lord Willingdon formed his first Government from the Justice party—a non-Brahmin party with a Brahmin party in opposition. Thereby there was started in Madras a more or less united Government party and a more or less united Opposition, instead of the Legislative Council being composed of a great number of entities without any cohesion between them. This undoubtedly encouraged a Parliamentary spirit.

I am very glad to learn, from what Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar said, that the Government of Madras will hand over a surplus to the new administration. This is most satisfactory, and the Finance Members deserve very great credit for it. During the discussions in the Houses of Parliament and elsewhere over the new Constitution, one of the greatest anxieties connected with it was the subject of finance.

Depending, as Madras does, mainly upon agriculture, it was good to hear from Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar that he thought that the Province was slowly recovering from the state of agricultural depression. I am sure he will agree with me that there is room for improvement in the methods of agriculture. Agriculturists all the world over are conservative people, but the interest which the Viceroy is taking in agriculture should be a great encouragement to the agriculturists and to all those who are doing their best to aid them. I was especially interested to hear that the Pikhara scheme and the Metur project were succeeding, and conferring a benefit on the agriculturists, as both of these were started when I was in Madras.

I suppose, as Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has said, there is no part of India in which the question of the Depressed Classes was, and is, so acute as in Madras, and I am sure we are all interested in hearing from him what is being done for them. As he said, politically they will now have enlarged opportunities for pleading their cause, but, as he pointed out, their political status and social advance is very closely connected and is a thorny problem. But I am sure that if the leaders of opinion will approach that subject in the spirit which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar did in his address—a spirit of charity and reasonableness—the outlook of this great problem will be a hopeful one.

Now I will say one word on what I thought was one of the most important parts of the address, and that was in the Diwan Bahadur's reference to leadership. I spoke just now of the formation of the first Government in Madras and the Opposition. The division then, of course, was one of caste, and no doubt, as I ventured to say, in its initial stages it was of considerable advantage. But as time went on it served its purpose, and personally I always endeavoured to urge upon the Ministers a substitution for such a form of government—namely, that the Government must have a clear and definite political programme, a programme which would unite the party, a programme which would be intelligible to the constituents, to the electors, and which the members or candidates would be able to put before the

electors instead of concerning themselves, as so often was done, with only local affairs and local subjects.

This stage may be, and probably has been, reached now, but I feel that this is a moment when it is more important than ever that parties should have a political programme, because undoubtedly the Congress party not only have a political programme, but they are beginning to realize that they must appeal not only to an urban population, but to the mass of the population, and therefore to the villages and to the agricultural population: and they are willing to lop off a bit here or a bit there if they can devise a programme which will make such an appeal successful.

Therefore, of course, it is necessary to find a counter-appeal. As Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has said, that of necessity implies leadership. You will understand that I am speaking generally and not referring to any individuals. What is required is a leader with the ability to formulate such a programme, with the enthusiasm to be able to carry it out, and with the influence and popularity to be able to unite a party upon it. That seems to me to be essential now and in the future. I agree with Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar—and I am optimistic about it—that Madras can find such leaders, and I also believe that the people of Madras will be able to carry out the new Constitution in the same spirit in which they worked the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. (Applause.)

Sir HOPETOUN STOKES: I should like to join with the Chairman in expressing my appreciation of the most interesting paper which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has read to us. As one who for a number of years has been among the most prominent public men of the Province of Madras, he is specially fitted to speak to us on its affairs.

He told us in the beginning of his address that he would attempt "a survey of present conditions, an appraisal of the forces at work, and an estimate of future trends." Well, he has done all those three things. My only criticism of his paper would be that the estimate of future trends was rather in unduly general terms. What I mean is that he refrained, like the wary politician that he is, from anything in the nature of prophecy.

Part of his address dealt with the Madras finances, and he has said that the Finance Members have had an extremely difficult time. As I was the unfortunate person who controlled the finance of Sir George Stanley's Government from 1930 to 1935, I can entirely endorse his remarks on that point. It was a most unpleasant and thankless business, but it was absolutely necessary, and I rather suspect that, for a time at any rate, I was one of the most unpopular persons in the Province. The axe had to be freely used, and various heads of Departments were always regarding me as "the nigger in the woodpile."

It was the policy of Sir George Stanley's Government from the very outset so to administer the affairs of the Province, first of all, as to do what we considered our duty financially so as to achieve solvency, having regard to the great embarrassments of the Central Government at that time; but also with reference to the autonomy which we saw coming and which we believed would come very much more quickly than it actually has done.

We proceeded to cut down the revenue and the expenditure drastically, made economies in salaries and allowances and all sorts of things in all directions. The result was that in about a year we retrenched about two crores on the budget. From Rs. 18 crores we got it down to Rs. 16 crores or under. Then, coming to capital expenditure, it was fortunate that my predecessor had accumulated a considerable reserve, and from this we were able to find sufficient funds for big capital schemes, and to restrict—although not entirely to obviate—the necessity for borrowing.

One big scheme with which our Chairman is familiar was the Metur scheme; the construction of what is now properly called the Stanley Reservoir was completed at a cost of about £5½ million sterling in 1934. Then we were able to complete a great hydro-electric scheme, the Pykara, which Lord Goschen started. The initial stages of that were completed about the same time, 1934, at a cost of about one million sterling. Just before I left Madras, in March, 1935, we sanctioned payments for further developments in hydro-electric schemes for the transfer of power from the Metur dam itself, which, speaking from memory, were going to cost about another £1½ million. It is interesting to note that the Stanley Reservoir proved its value in the very first season after it was got into working order. It enabled the crops under its area to be grown in time, which would otherwise have suffered from the delayed and inadequate monsoon. The hydro-electric schemes have, I believe, more than justified the expectations formed of them at their inception.

That was all financed partly from our reserves and partly by borrowing. At the end of the financial year when I left Madras, in March, 1935, the debt of the Province was just about equal to a single year's revenue—i.e., about Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 crores. Practically the whole of this is productive expenditure, and is calculated to bring a return on the money invested, about 4 per cent. to 6 per cent. A little more than half of the debt is consolidated—that is to say, it is not redeemable. The unproductive loans were paid off, I think, almost entirely, partly by my predecessor, partly by myself.

Another big scheme which Madras was able in the course of the last seven or eight years to assist in bringing to fruition was the Cochin Harbour. That is a very fine scheme. It was financed in its earlier stages, up to one-third of the cost, by Madras, which altogether sank about Rs. 35 or Rs. 40 lakhs in it. It is a scheme which, if properly administered, will render Cochin one of the finest harbours in India. The natural advantages of the Cochin Harbour are unrivalled. Now it has been taken over by the Central Government, and Madras has been repaid the money which it spent, which is an admirable solution for Madras.

With a debt position such as I have indicated and a revenue budget which balances, I think it may be said that the policy of Sir George Stanley's Government, and that I believe also of his successor, Lord Erskine, will have succeeded in starting the ship of State on an even keel when it weighs anchor next April on its first voyage into uncharted seas.

But what will happen then? Will the autonomous Government, like a youthful landholder who takes over his estate after a long minority, proceed to squander the resources of the Province on mere vote-catching policies?

Or will they have the firmness to insist on less showy schemes, and on finding, by additional taxation if necessary, the wherewithal to carry them out?

There is no doubt that the basis of taxation must be widened and additional revenue must be found if the pressing needs of the Province in respect of education, medical aid, public health, and all the other big heads of expenditure are to be satisfied. Unfortunately nothing is more anathema to the Madras taxpayer or the man in the street than the idea of increased taxation, and I am afraid there is a danger that, in order to avoid the odium of taxation, Ministers may attempt unwise economies. Already, for example, the Congress majority in the Madras Corporation has voted very questionable reductions in the pay of important posts, such as the municipal engineer and health officer, and so on. Or Ministers may be tempted to take the flowery path of unproductive borrowing. These are possibilities to which one cannot close one's eyes, and I am afraid that past experience in the Legislative Council does not wholly rebut such anticipations.

I do not think Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar was quite correct in saying that the Legislature refused to be stampeded into voting for wholesale remissions. I have a painful recollection that, although they did not go as far as certain interests would have liked, they did repeatedly pass resolutions, notwithstanding the earnest representations of the Government, for a degree of remission which would have gone far to cripple the Government's activities altogether. However, one may hope that resolutions of this sort have been the result of the imperfect responsibility to which the Chairman and the lecturer have referred, and which was a bad feature of the dyarchical system.

I well remember how, after one of the resolutions I have mentioned, the Government had been defeated, and one of the members, a prominent member of the Opposition, came across to me and said: "If they knew that their resolution would take effect, they would not have passed it!" In other words, the resolution was, by many of the members, intended as a vote-catching gesture only. One may hope that under the new Constitution such gestures will not be resorted to, and one may expect that they will be brought to the touchstone of responsibility. In this I see one of the main and most effective safeguards for the working of the new Constitution.

There is only one other point I would refer to in the address, which covers a very wide ground, and that is local self-government. Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has referred to local self-government and has suggested that perhaps the new Government will do better. I think it was the predecessor of your Chairman who was responsible for passing in 1920 or thereabouts an Act of Local Self-Government, one of the objects of which was "to eliminate the official taint." I am afraid the results have not been altogether satisfactory, if one may judge from the annual reviews of the working of municipalities and local bodies which have emanated from the Government.

But the point which is interesting and hopeful about that is that these results have at long last given an impetus to a sincere desire on the part of the general public for improved administration, and this feeling has emboldened Ministers to introduce and pass recently measures for the more

efficient executive control to which the lecturer has alluded. I think it is a very hopeful sign that this change has been based on a popular desire in very large measure. In fact, at one time voices were not wanting to declare that the return to the old official control by the collector was desirable. That again, I think, is an interesting and encouraging feature which has manifested itself. (Applause.)

Sir GILBERT JACKSON: I have risen more by force of habit than by volition to answer the command of the Chairman under whom, as Governor of Madras, I served so long. From my own point of view it is with very great hesitation that I arise in this assembly. Of course, we retired Anglo-Indians usually have the advantage of *omne ignotum pro magnifico* when we rise in an English assembly. A speaker who says "I know my India" is taken at his own valuation; but it is no good my attempting any such bluff here because you all know exactly what the limits of my knowledge are.

Even in a more credulous body I do not know whether I should be inclined to say much, because, although for thirty-five years I had an enormous respect for the opinion of the man on the spot, and also, I may say, an even greater respect for the man who had never been on the spot, who had spent his time in assemblies where he could get larger vision and broader principle, I have never had any respect myself for the opinion of the man on the spot now off the spot.

I think any young Indians who heard me give an opinion on this subject would say my present condition is like the nature of the Lucretian gods:

*Semota a nostris rebus secretaque longe
Nec bene pro meritis capitur nec tangitur ira,*

which, unnecessary though a translation is in this assembly, one might render: "Tucked away in retirement far from our affairs, it is neither captivated by the worthy nor infuriated by the wasters."

It would be absurd for me in that state to pretend that I have anything really useful to say. I think all I can do here is to testify my faith, like people sometimes do in Salvation Army meetings. While the debates were going on with regard to the Indian reforms, I did the same on every possible occasion, because I felt that that was all I could do and what I should do.

I can testify my faith in the people of Southern India because, looking back on my career the other day, it struck me as a most remarkable thing that I cannot remember ever to have been let down, badly let down, by a subordinate Indian, nor ever to have been badly let down by those gentlemen who had no duty to be loyal to me, the vakils who practised in my court.

I was put in charge of a division when I knew nothing. I was put in charge of a court when I could have written my knowledge of Hindu law on a two-anna bit, but though I was like a hermit crab without my shell, no one took advantage of me. My subordinate clerks might have let me down badly, and the members of the law might have stuck me with any law which came into their heads. They were all perfectly loyal, and when I met

Indians no longer as subordinates but as colleagues on the Bench of the High Court, I can only testify to my admiration at their single-minded devotion to duty and the very high intellectual standard set by my brother Indian judges. (Applause.) With that experience, gentlemen, I testify to my faith in the coming reforms. (Applause.)

DIWAN BAHADUR MUDALIAR : The Chairman has asked me to reply. I do not know what I have exactly to reply to. The speakers who have spoken on my paper have paid me a compliment which I feel all too undeserved. I have only tried to look at the problems frankly from the point of view of one who was an agitator for twenty years sitting in opposition in the Legislature, but still able and willing to put myself in the position of one who appreciates the difficulties of the administrator. I think one who has been in opposition can best testify to the fact that what has been said by an opposition member is not always all that he feels. That is so not only in Madras, but all the world over.

On the whole, speaking purely of conditions in Madras, I know that whatever the necessities of electoral campaigns may be—and the necessity for vote-catching is just as important in Madras as anywhere else—there is the feeling that sobriety is required for real advance in the Provinces. It is that I am banking on.

I have not ventured on a prophecy of the near future, but if I were asked to say what would happen, I am prepared to recognize that under certain eventualities for a few months, perhaps for the first year or two, there may be a tendency for zeal to outrun discretion, for certain changes to be attempted to be brought about which are not entirely in the best interests of the Province.

But again I am counting on what is more than possibility: that the common sense of the people of the Madras Presidency as a whole will come to the relief of public administration, and that for no length of time will wasteful methods of expenditure or improper methods of administration be supported or tolerated. I am fortified in this hope by the history of local self-government, to which reference has been made.

It was in the year 1920, in the administration of Lord Willingdon, on the eve of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and in the light of what Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had written in their Report about self-governing institutions, that the first steps were taken to democratize these institutions. The work went on for some years, and when people found that it led to certain abuses, the awakening came. Pressure was brought to bear on the Legislature and Ministries initiated legislation, so that the question of restoring some measure of control to Government over these local bodies became almost a non-contentious reform when the recent amending Act was passed.

In one of my speeches in the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference, under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, I remember to have remarked: "A great many people are suggesting safeguards. They may be justified, they may not be justified; but when I examine my own position I feel that I am the person who requires most safeguards, because I

am going to live under that administration. I am going to be at the mercy of Ministries constituted under the new Constitution. I am going to be a sufferer, not for a few years, but to risk my whole life and interests under the new administration."

I think that is the feeling that will come on the people when these new administrations are being tried, and the fact that they will have to live under the new administration will be the most efficient safeguard against maladministration or bad expenditure.

That is the hope that Lord Erskine has expressed, and whatever may be the future, one may feel fairly certain that barring a few spectacular demonstrations at the start, if such indeed should happen, South India will, generally speaking, live under a fairly placid régime and progress will continue. At any rate, that is my great hope. (Applause.)

SIR GEORGE STANLEY : I have been asked, and it is a great honour to me, to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman for presiding and to Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar for the most interesting address that he has given us.

But before I proceed to that point I should like to say one or two words about the remarks of Sir Hopetoun Stokes on the financial position of Madras. It is perfectly right in one respect that for some time he was the most unpopular man in Madras. He absolutely refused to be lenient when it was found necessary to make economies and cuts in salaries (most unpleasant, we had to cut our own), but he stuck it out, with the result that the finances of Madras were put in a very sound position, as they have remained to this day. We also had an amusing speech from Sir Gilbert Jackson.

It was most kind of Lord Goschen to come here today, because he was able to give us a great deal of information from his vast knowledge of affairs in Madras. When I succeeded him I found everything in the most admirable order, and it was much less trouble to me than it was, I am sure, to my successor when he succeeded me. He left behind him an abiding sense of affection among the people and of respect for the way he had handled the affairs of the Province during his five years' tenure.

As to Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar, his address shows you what he is. It shows you what he knows about the affairs of Madras, and who should know them better than he? He and I have not always agreed; in fact, there were occasions when we disagreed almost violently, but we respected each other's opinions. He has done his best for the Province of Madras, and with his vast knowledge of political work he will do his best for that Province in the future.

There was one danger in Madras during the last few years to which he did not refer, and that is that there was not that welding into parties that one would like to see. Congress certainly had welded a party and presented what might be called a united front. Unfortunately there were troubles in the Justice party to which I referred in several speeches in Madras, and there was a tendency to split up into groups. If anyone was dissatisfied, he would say, "Very well, I will leave the party and take fifteen votes

away." Unless you can have a two-party system in a Province, I believe there is bound to be trouble of this kind. The great object for the future of India will be to find some leader who will take the place of the Raja of Panagal. If they have not found him already, he must come forward in the future and weld that second party together which will form an effective administrative body or and effective Opposition. I will only ask you to give a most hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman and to our lecturer for his most interesting address.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

MYSORE TODAY

By H. D. RICE

(Deputy Trade Commissioner for Mysore.)

I ACCEPTED with great pleasure the honour of describing to the Association a film of "Picturesque Mysore," for I have a family connection with the State going back a hundred years. I believe that of all living Englishmen I can claim the longest association with Mysore—that is, the longest period of service under the Government. I started work in 1895, so that I have been connected with Mysore for nearly forty-two years.

I will give a brief picture of the State as it is today and a general outline of the more important industrial activities. A Mysore Supplement of the *Madras Mail* appeared at the end of October, and, as it is the latest authoritative account of existing conditions, I shall quote freely from it.

Mysore is the same size as Scotland, with a population now approaching seven millions. It is one of the most ancient States, having cradled many historic dynasties of South India. These speak to us through glorious architectural remains and through coins and inscriptions. Mysore up to a century and a half ago was the scene of frequent warfare in which, in the eighteenth century, British arms were engaged. Today it is, as it has been for over a hundred years, the scene of peaceful and orderly administration. Twentieth-century Mysore is a pioneer in hydro-electrical enterprise, in industrial development, in the improvement of agriculture, and in many other ways wherein the benefits of an enlightened administration are seen.

The *Madras Mail* asks what visitants from the end of the eighteenth century would find now. No doubt essentially they would find it the same land they loved and fought for, with beauties which for variety and excellence are perhaps unequalled in any corresponding area of the Indian sub-continent. But they could not move far without noticing evidence of great change. They

would find waterfalls harnessed to spread a new power to a thousand villages. They would find everywhere engineers and agricultural experts patiently engaged in converting the old tillage to profitable uses through precept and example. They would find vast iron and steel works, village schools, village dispensaries engaged in bestowing upon the humblest Mysorean opportunities to become a healthy, intelligent, and useful citizen, and they would see the combination of popular and personal government which had made such opportunities available. It is now forty years since the accession of the present beloved Maharaja, and the progress made in that time is the admiration of all.

With the coming of Federation, Mysore will soon turn to a new chapter in her history, and, given the continuance of peace and the growth of prosperity, the ambitions of Mysore's present administrators should be realized. Some, indeed, have been fulfilled; others are in the process of fulfilment; others cannot yet be fulfilled. But with the same strong tradition continuing and handed down to their successors this model Indian State may be freed from the poverty and illiteracy of her people, and be steadily progressive, yet with an enviable conservatism of outlook towards everything that is worth preserving.

The vast majority of the peoples of Mysore, as of India in general, make their living from agriculture. The State is, however, richly endowed with a wealth of natural resources and blessed with a progressive administration seeking the well-being of the masses. It is only possible in this paper to touch upon the principal industrial activities which have made rapid strides in recent years.

I will refer first to the sandalwood oil industry, since it provides one of the principal activities of the Mysore office in London. Mysore is the home of the *Santalum album* tree, from which the oil is distilled. This essence is used in all the highest varieties of perfumes and soaps in all countries of both hemispheres. The Trade Commissioner for Mysore in London controls the sales in Europe and North and South America.

The history of the Government soap factory is a commercial romance. Started on a small scale the factory has now grown to

large proportions, and is a steady profit maker. Mysore sandal soap is to be found in almost every household in India, and has received recognition at all the important industrial exhibitions in India.

Progress is now being made with the Mysore iron and steel works situated at Bhadravati. Until recently the iron works were worked at a loss, but with the installations of plant to manufacture steel the outlook has changed for the better, and the present financial year will disclose a substantial profit. Bhadravati is now an important industrial centre and bids fair to become the Manchester of Southern India.

The new paper mills and cement factory are both located at Bhadravati. The possibility of manufacturing paper within the State has for long engaged the attention of Government. Extensive bamboo forests exist near Bhadravati, and the future of this industry can be judged from the fact that the share capital required for this venture was subscribed within twenty-four hours of the issue of the prospectus. The manufacture of cement is also likely to be a profitable undertaking. All the raw material for this new industry is available in large quantities in the immediate neighbourhood of the factory, and a regular market is assured from the Kolar Gold Fields and Public Works Department of the State.

The electric factory at Bangalore turns out a variety of goods in common demand. The porcelain factory is another concern which has passed the stage of experiment and now makes high-grade insulators which are in general use in the electrical transmission systems in the State and in other parts of India.

The textile industries in the State have made phenomenal progress of late years. The general depression in the silk industry owing to the fierce foreign competition is now passing. Formerly most of the silk produced within the State was converted into material of rough character, which though durable was not of the fine finish of the imported article. In order to meet such competition the silk weaving factory was established on modern lines. This factory turns out silk fabrics of the finest finish and comparable to the best produced in any part of the world. Georgette,

crêpe de Chine, and satin of beautiful pattern and shades are now being manufactured. Many of the leading Princes and landed nobility are among the regular customers of the Mysore silk factory. Another recent step which the Government have sponsored in order to better the outlook for sericulture is the opening of a spun silk mill, which will shortly start manufacturing an enduring type of material for suitings from waste silk for which, up to the present, there has been no market at all.

Mining for gold is one of the oldest of Mysore's industries, and the mining leases of the companies operating at the Kolar Gold Fields have recently been renewed on improved terms. These mines are electrically operated on power from the State hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram, 93 miles away. So far over 80 million pounds worth of gold has been obtained on the field, and one of the shafts, which is 7,500 feet in vertical depth, is probably the deepest shaft in the world.

Though not so spectacular as some of the other industrial concerns, the work of the industrial engineers deserves special mention, since it affects the cultivating ryot. The industrial engineer, by introducing improvements in the elementary plant used by the cultivator, is assisting vast numbers of people to economic prosperity and social progress. They have introduced a better type of water lift pump, also improvements to the ordinary country bullock carts, and an improved oil mill. They have also brought about improvements in hand-loom weaving, coir-making, mat weaving, etc. Any improvement in such cottage industries in which hundreds of thousands of people are engaged can only be appreciated by those who know the hard fight the ordinary Indian villager has to earn a living.

Technical schools and manual training centres are also doing much to improve rural conditions. The outstanding institution of this class is the Chamarajendra Technical Institute in Mysore. At this centre pupils are trained in different industrial occupations such as carpentry, joinery, smithery, etc. The furniture and carved and inlaid art-ware prepared at this institution are much in demand. Toy making and lacquer work are also turned out at profitable prices.

The Mysore sugar factory at Mandya has been in operation for less than two years and its success has been phenomenal. The mills have a capacity of 1,400 tons of cane a day and a crushing season of 200 days a year. Eleven thousand acres are under sugar cane in the vicinity of the factory, cultivated by farmers who receive advances from the factory on the security of their crop. These farmers are given free technical advice in methods of cultivation and manuring, and the factory maintains an experimental farm where work is carried on with a view to propagating the most suitable variety of sugar cane and finding effective methods of fighting the numerous pests to which a sugar cane crop is prey. The factory also runs as an adjunct a distillery, which produces liquors for consumption in the State. Rectified spirit as a substitute for petrol is also made, and the factory's lorries are run on this fuel. Molasses, which is a waste product from the factory, is being experimented with as a road surfacing material.

I hope this brief review has given you an indication of the spirit of the Government, which is one of service to the people. To sum up these activities I cannot do better than quote from the Bangalore correspondent of the *Madras Mail Supplement* to which I have referred.

"The betterment of the general economic condition of the masses and an increasing exploration of all the available industrial and natural resources of the State, a gradual raising of the standard of living among the people, and the creation of an industrial and progressive outlook among the people—these are the objects which Sir Mirza Ismail set before himself when he took over the reins of his office as Dewan. How well he has succeeded in attaining these objects every visitor to modern Mysore can see for himself—in the annual reports of the numerous industrial concerns, in the market pages of the newspapers, and in the contentment which obtains in all parts of the State, urban and rural."

If any of you are contemplating a trip to the East in search of new scenes let me say you will not be disappointed if you make Mysore the object of your journey.

SPEECHES ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN presided at a reception of the Association held at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on Wednesday, January 27, when some 260 guests were present. Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran was the host, and Mr. H. D. Rice showed a film upon Mysore, making preliminary observations on the lines of the foregoing article.

In opening the proceedings, Lord Goschen said: We have come here today to hear an address from Mr. Rice, the Deputy Trade Commissioner for Mysore, on "Mysore of Today." I am sure that there is no one more competent to address us on that subject than Mr. Rice, who has, I believe, a family connection of over a hundred years with Mysore. He has himself been connected for forty years with Mysore; his father was there some forty-six years, his grandfather some fifty years, and Mr. Rice has a son present today. I am sure you will agree with me that that is a very worthy record of service to Mysore. (Applause.)

It is a very special pleasure to me to take the Chair today owing to my great personal friendship with His Highness the Maharaja and all the kindness I received from him and from the people of Mysore on the many visits which I have paid there. I think some of my happiest days in India were spent on my visits to Mysore. It is a State with a great historic past and great possibilities of development in the future. Owing to the far-sighted views and policy of His Highness and his advisers, those developments are in progress today, and I am sure there is a great future lying in front of Mysore. All those who have visited it will have been struck by the beauty of the town, by its wide streets, by the hospitals, by the schools, and by the many other institutions it possesses. In the countryside the jungles are some of the best that there are in India.

I have just heard that there was a marvellous gathering in Mysore a week or two ago. A World Conference of Y.M.C.A.'s was held there by the invitation of H.H. the Maharaja. There were representatives from some thirty-seven countries, including the Continent, the United States, China, Japan, and Siam. You will agree with me that it is an example of the wide-mindedness and vision of His Highness that he should have asked this Conference to assemble in Mysore. I am confident of this, that all those who went there will, like all others who have visited Mysore, have appreciated the kindly hospitality with which they will have been received.

(Mr. Rice then delivered his address and showed the film.)

LORD LAMINGTON said: Lord Goschen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure the goodly company assembled here today would not like to separate without expressing our thanks to the Mysore Trade Commissioner, Mr. Isvaran, for his kind hospitality and for giving us an opportunity of seeing these

gave us of the activities of Mysore. Fifty years ago he would have been regarded as a mere dreamer of dreams.

All this wonderful development of Mysore, one of the model States of India, is largely due to the enlightened views of His Highness the Maharaja. Last year we had the pleasure of welcoming His Highness over here, and he had the opportunity of meeting old friends and making new acquaintances. He is a very remarkable personality because, with the profound attachment to the Hindu faith, he has shown his wide sympathy with other beliefs. Lord Goschen, in his opening remarks, mentioned that a very large Y.M.C.A. Conference recently assembled in Mysore. The result of all this has been to make Mysore one of the most prominent and vital States in India, and we are very grateful indeed to have been enlightened as to what has been taking place there.

We are also very grateful to Lord Goschen for having presided here today. He was a most successful Governor in Madras. He also made some very interesting remarks.

Having listened to this address today by Mr. Rice, we shall all feel inclined to take our passages out to Mysore as soon as possible. We cannot all afford to do that—at least I cannot—but I should like to gaze upon these wonderful scenes and to see working this great industrial development and prosperity of the State of Mysore.

With these words, I beg on your behalf to thank Mr. Isvaran, the Deputy Trade Commissioner Mr. Rice, and also our Chairman for having come here and assisted us to so much enjoy this interesting occasion.

MR. ISVARAN: It affords me very great pleasure to say a few words this afternoon and to tender my thanks to Lord Lamington for his kind observations on the part which we have been called upon to take in order to promote the enjoyment of our guests, and also to express my gratitude to Lord Goschen who has so kindly taken the Chair today in spite of the discomfort and inconvenience occasioned to him by a recent mishap. He was the guest of honour with Lady Goschen at the Mysore Dinner in London nearly two years ago. His presence here today and the remarks he has made testify once again to his abiding interest in and to his friendship for Mysore. As His Lordship indicated, he is no stranger to the State, for he visited it during his Governorship of Madras and met from time to time His Highness the Maharaja. They entertain towards each other feelings of strong friendship.

I must not fail to mention on this occasion how very thankful I am to Mr. F. H. Brown, the Hon. Secretary of the East India Association, to whose initiative and enthusiasm, not to say courtesy, this distinguished gathering is very largely due. (Applause.)

You will desire me to be brief this afternoon, and I have only one task. I have the honour to be a humble servant of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government; and if this afternoon's proceedings have given those present a clear idea of the many attractions of the Mysore State and of the activities of its Government and people, I shall feel that our efforts have been amply rewarded. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that all of us have enjoyed our afternoon immensely. I certainly have enjoyed seeing the films. They brought back to me many happy memories of the annual Dasara which I attended twice. We are all very grateful to the Trade Commissioner for Mysore and to Mr. Brown and others who have arranged that we should be here this afternoon, and to Mr. Rice for his address and the pictures.

I think I should be right in saying that an assembly of this kind and these numbers, gathered together to see the pictures and hear the address, would give immense pleasure to His Highness the Maharaja. He is always delighted when people in this country take an interest in that great State over which he rules with so much wisdom and so much sagacity.

The proceedings have been a very real pleasure to me, and I hope to all of you who have been here this afternoon. (Applause.)

THE NEW INDIA: SOME TRENDS AND PERSONALITIES

BY BASIL MATHEWS

(Author of *Clash of Colour* and other works.)

It would seem a gross impertinence for any man, on the basis of three months spent in the vast sub-continent that we call India, with all its confused and complex maelstrom, to attempt to define the direction in which India is moving or to assess the personalities who incarnate its ideas and ideals. For that reason it is better to begin with a brief description of the processes by which my being has been immersed in the stream of Indian consciousness. The passions and burning ideas, the angers, ambitions, loves, and hates of the new India have broken in upon me incessantly in intimate conversations and sustained discussions with men and women of all ages and varied religious, cultural, racial, and economic backgrounds.

To escape from the pitfall of delusion into which the traveller falls who believes all that he is told in a land where courtesy often leads folk to hand to you what they think you wish to hear rather than the naked reality, I adopted, among other methods, the technique of getting men of different views discussing with one another while I listened in. For example, in Erode, that stirring war-horse, who founded the Self-Respect movement to fight the Brahminical domination of Congress sat on a veranda with me in discussion with a cultured Hindu headmaster, who both practises *yoga* and is devoted to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and an Indian film magnate who is a passionate devotee of Mahatma Gandhi. For two hours I had those men discussing the Indian situation, now hilariously, now intensely, each battling for his point of view. The onlooker and listener was forgotten.

Another obvious method has been to pass from man to man in

separate interviews, assembling contradictory points of view. For instance, in Madura in one long afternoon I talked for hours with, first, an extremely orthodox Brahmin with the Vishnu trident on his forehead, who made a passionate defence of child marriage against my criticism of it in a recent book, simultaneously pleading for a reorganization of the Constitution of the British Empire with a Federal Parliament; second, a highly cultured modern tolerant Hindu, a Judge in the High Court of Madras, who described the springs of the new Tamil cultural renaissance as distinguished from the other types of renaissance in the Punjab and Bengal; and, third, a Brahmin, a local secretary of Congress, who, having truculently told me he could spare me fifteen minutes, outlined for me the historic and unparalleled malignity, treachery, craft, and brutality of the British Government until, at the end of sixty-three minutes, I suggested that his quarter of an hour was up!

I not only had long, intimate, and really friendly talks with the giants of the Indian scene—Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan, known as the Gandhi of the North-West Frontier; the new Dewan of Travancore, Sir C. P. Aiyer, and Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the greatest living poet in the Islamic world—but, on the one side, with *détenus* held by the British Government for alleged terrorism in Bengal; a Left Wing leader imprisoned by the British as a Communist but cursed by the Communists for his refusal to let his movement be captured by them; students—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, atheist, and Christian; and missionaries, whose lives are completely dedicated to the service of the depressed classes which Hinduism and Islam have left by the wayside. At the other end of the scale I had long and repeated analyses of the situation in the company of men so ready for fresh initiative and experiment as Lord Brabourne, the Governor of Bombay, and Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal.

FROM SOUTH TO NORTH

The three months' travel took me from Madura through Tinnevely down to Cape Comorin and by slow stages of entranced in-

terest through the villages, and through the length of Travancore, from Trivandrum, where I had a long talk with the Dewan and a session with educationists, politicians, and social workers of all types; through the rural reconstruction work of the Y.M.C.A.; through contacts with the saintly insights of Bishop Abraham of the Mar Thoma Church, and scores of interviews with men of different faiths and castes and cultures, right up to Alwaye College, that unique Christian institution created mainly by the corporate life of a group of Indian Jacobites. So the journey moved by stages through the villages around Erode and the wonderful Christian ashram of Tirupatur to the whirling, bewildering experiences of Madras, ranging from the Theosophical Society and the Rama Krishna monastery and social service to the Rotary Club, the Women's Christian College, and the secretary of the All-India Women's Conference, with her alert and eager son and daughters. Penetrating northward into Hyderabad I was able, through Sir Akbar Hydari and others, to share the liveliest discussions and interviews with progressive and orthodox Muslims, with Communist and Conservative students, and to watch the working of the one great Indian university using the vernacular where one felt the pulse of an Indian State in which conservatism and modernism are at grips. Frank long talks with people like Mrs. Reddi, a pioneer in the liberal movements of Indian women, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, for so long simultaneously the nightingale poet and the stormy petrel of political advance, and the challenging adventurousness of her son and daughter, were followed by a swift plunge into the heart of the depressed class multitudes in Medak, whose radiant and intensely real, albeit primitive, Christianity to my mind shames the stodgy coldness of many suburban churches in England.

Time and space fail to describe further how in Dornakal and Bezwada I was able to feel more closely the pulse and test the mind of the growing multitudes of Christian village folk. Then on to the intellectual and social milieu of Calcutta, followed by Nagpur in the Central Provinces, Bombay on the west, then Allahabad, from which the forces of Congress are now directed, and through Benares, Lucknow, Agra and Delhi to Lahore. In

each of these places contacts were made which enriched every side of my experience. At Allahabad, for instance, many hours spent in the lovely hospitality of the home which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's sister and brother-in-law make for him brought me to a deeper comprehension of that strangely interesting figure. Alongside this experience were interviews with, for example, N. K. Mukerji, one of the outstanding Christian social philosophers of India, Ralla Ram, secretary of the Student Christian Movement for India, Burma, and Ceylon, and many students.

Again, in Benares I experienced an overwhelming contrast between a discussion with members of the faculty and with students of the Hindu University on the one hand and taking the lid from hell itself in looking into the sub-human and agonizing squalor and disease of the communities of Doms, while at the same time sharing the meditative absorption of the new Buddhist monastery founded on the site where Gautama experienced his enlightenment. The whole gamut is run if we add to this the newly-opened temple to Mother India in which the object of worship is a superb Carrara marble relief map of India, over which the ceremony of bringing spirit into the stone has been performed with solemn rites as to an idol in a Hindu temple.

At this point it was of great help in getting balance to test my tentative conclusions on such minds at Delhi as Mr. Ian Stephens, Director of Information; Dr. John Mattai, at the head of the Industrial and Research Department; the Home Member, Sir Henry Craik; the Member for Railways and Industries, Sir Zafrulla Khan; and again at Lahore, on Mr. Malcolm Darling of the I.C.S., author of *Rusticus Loquitor* and other well-known books; and such an experienced judge of men and movements as the Bishop of Lahore. From contact with both modernist and orthodox Islamic groups in Lahore, my travel swung sharply southward through the Central Provinces, with the interesting experiment in the education of Hindu women in Nagpur, down to Mysore State, with its blend of Oriental splendour, Hindu piety, and Western industrialism and engineering.

In all this range of interchange I found it easy and natural to keep an open mind, not in the sense of having no convictions

personally, but in that of having no desire to prove any thesis or to support any institution. It is only fair to myself to add that for over a quarter of a century India has had a central place in my thought and study, seeing, for instance, that I even had the impertinence to publish a book on India which was used in English public schools some twenty years ago.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

One conclusion arising out of this experience that I have tested without contradiction on every kind of mind, from the Left Wing of Congress to the stiffest bureaucrat, is that at this stage the mind of India is swinging from the contemplation of revolution on purely political lines to one that regards economic revolution on Socialist if not even Marxian principles as the main objective of thought and action. This is, of course, in one aspect simply a part of the world movement that has carried the Rooseveltian Government in the United States into economic planning for the whole country and which makes a major preoccupation of every government in Europe the development and control of its economic life both internally and in world relations. The unique importance of it in regard to India is that, in the minds of men like Jawaharlal Nehru, the wealthy absentee zamindar in the United Provinces or Bengal, the moneylender with his economic stranglehold on the peasant, the despotic Indian prince and the Brahmin priest are as much the enemy of the Indian people's freedom and happiness as is the British Government.

I ventured to put to an eminent expert Government official the following thesis: I discovered great palatial houses in Calcutta occupied by wealthy zamindar landlords absentee from their vast estates; at the other end I saw peasants in Bengal villages so ground down into the very dust with poverty that they were selling their brass utensils and string beds to buy a handful of rice. In between the zamindar and the peasant stood hordes of parasitic middle-men, each squeezing all he could from the next, the ultimate squeeze of all being the process that bleeds the peasant white. To add to this scene of diabolical exploitation, the moneylender provides the peasant with money at usurious rates with

which to pay his rent and the taxes that the Government demands from him, and makes the peasant an economic serf. Into that scene there now descends under the new Constitution for the first time the politician, whose simulated affection for the peasant cloaks his desire for votes. He promises, as I discovered in talk with more than one, fantastic amelioration of the peasants' lot such as the new Governmental rule will never carry into effect. To his aid come the young unemployed law graduates educated in the political and legal classics of English liberty and in the power of argument, and captured often by an enthusiasm for Marxian Communism.

These conditions, I suggested to the Government official, seemed to me to afford an ideal forcing bed of rebels that only waits for the maturing of ferment and a Lenin to precipitate a revolution fired by the flames of Communism and Nationalism. I further suggested that if it is objected that the British Government could at any time put down such revolutionary movements by force, the reply is the one that will be given in every part of India today, that inevitably in the relatively near future the British Empire will be absorbed in a world conflict so devastating and strenuous that she will have to call even from India every man to hold her stricken lines of defence. In addition, or alternatively, the technique of obstruction to the working of the normal instruments of government and the attempt to develop a solidarity of front in resistance both to Imperial rule and indigenous economic exploitation bid fair under favourable circumstances to be instruments of a deadlock that would force a revolution.

The only modification that was made by the first Government expert on whom I tried this thesis was that he tended to reduce the ten years that I suggested for this process to five. The second Government official, with even longer and profounder experience, agreed wholeheartedly with the thesis and saw no alternative save a swift and potent development of the co-operative movement, a development of which he was not optimistic owing to the weaknesses produced through corruption and inertia. One reason why the first official argued for the shorter period was that in India

you have the unique fact that economic stress and social upheaval in a revolutionary direction happen, because of the new Constitution, to coincide with a large increase of political drive through the vastly increased franchise. This increases simultaneously the interest of the rank and file in the destinies of India and their power to affect the political fate of their country.

THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

In terms of personality this trend is dramatically illustrated by the swing that has set Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the centre of the stage of India's revolutionary movement, relegating Mahatma Gandhi, at least for the time being, to a secondary rôle. Nehru seems to me to be at once a tragic and heroic figure, a man of passionate ideals, utter integrity, enthusiasm for the exploited and hatred of oppression. He is nevertheless put at the head of the vast Congress machine that so far has been largely supported financially by wealthy industrialists and zamindars, who would be deprived of their riches and power by the practical achievement of his policy. He is thus driven to terms of compromise with what is to him an enemy. Withdrawal of that support is now, in fact, threatened through Nehru's socialistic leadership.

That Nehru is heroic cannot, I think, be doubted by those who have read his autobiography and followed his career of abnegation and renunciation. It is this, even more than the concrete terms of his policy, which so far has been only defined in general terms of uncompromising Socialism, that has won the allegiance of the outstanding majority of educated Indian youth, even among Muslims and Christians. A part of his tragedy is that while he is Prince Rupert he is also Hamlet—a man ready to dash into the fray regardless of peril to himself, who nevertheless in another mood sits brooding like some lonely prince, clear as to his ideals but caught in a mesh of tangled cross-purposes and hidden intrigue. Where the average Congress Indian sees the British Government as the enemy and tends to carry over his hatred from the system to the executive tools of it, Nehru sees all despotism, whether of the Indian or the Japanese Empire, whether of Italy or of Germany or of Great Britain, as hateful. Again, when multi-

tudes damn the Western capitalist as a bloodsucker, Nehru sees the Indian millowner and landlord as equally coming under condemnation.

As one talks with him the impression grows of a curiously detached, objective, almost olympic mind in one part of his being harnessed to the passionate Nationalist crusader. Unquestionably the thought of the West, and especially trends of thought in Britain, are central in his interest. The den where he reads and dictates and plans is surrounded on every side by bookshelves; and fresh parcels of books, including, say, Charles Morgan's *Sparken broke*, the plays of Ernst Toller, G. D. H. Cole, H. J. Laski, and Fisher's *History of Europe*, attest the variety and depth of the interests of this cultured son of Harrow and Cambridge. Temperamentally an aristocrat, he is, with all his passionate Socialism, incapable of either looking or even, it would seem, feeling himself one of the people. Saturated in the culture of the West, he never gives the impression that Gandhi always conveys of being of the very soil of India.

Nehru has the statesman's gift for long perspectives, but he has not Gandhi's intuition for either dramatizing his actions or feeling the pulse of the vast illiterate masses. One cause of this may lie in his rejection of the traditional forms and the immemorial emotional reactions of popular religion. Even when in talk with him I raised issues in regard to India, immediately and unconsciously he lifted them on to a world plane. He is that strange blend—an apostle of Nationalism who is really a citizen of the world. It is really the British Government that, by imprisoning him, has dramatized Nehru into the heroic rôle that he plays. Nehru, however, has superbly capitalized that with his *Autobiography*, many pages of which not merely show full control of English but are pure literature. It is even conceivable that immortality may come to this strange man not through his political career but through his writing in a language which is not his mother-tongue.

MR. GANDHI

I talked with Mahatma Gandhi in the one-roomed habitation of mud walls set in a small courtyard where his bleating goats and lowing cows formed a background for Mrs. Gandhi's spinning-wheel and for the giant form of Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Muslim Pathan who is known as the Gandhi of the North-West Frontier. As he explained to me, the village in which he now lives is cut off from the world for four months of the year by a sea of mud through which no metalled road has been made. Coming through India I had been impressed by the fact that the majority of Indian students, especially the young graduates who came as students through the non-co-operation movement, are perfectly disillusioned. They lamented to me how they had given some of their best years in prison, believing Gandhi's statement that Swaraj would come in a year or so, and were bitter not only at the disappointment of that hope but at the irrecoverable precious years lost.

I put to Gandhi the question whether the freedom of India did not involve getting rid of the shackles of the zamindar and the moneylender as well as the British Government. He replied that the moneylender was at present necessary, but that when the Harijan had been taught to use his leisure so as to earn an adequate income the control both of the moneylender and of the zamindar would automatically disappear. One could not help recollecting that Mr. Gandhi himself comes from the Bania class that provides most of India's moneylenders. His development of the thesis of the Harijan using leisure to amass products from the palms and the crops was his main answer to my question as to the programme of the constructive as opposed to the destructive revolution.

Where Nehru starts with the universal ideology of Marxism and hardly condescends to make a programme for carrying it out, Gandhi rejects all ideologies and starts on the soil with a handful of the depressed classes. An overwhelming sense of futility swept over me as I contemplated in thought the half-million villages of India with some three hundred million of largely illiterate, often malaria-ridden, under-nourished peasantry, hag-ridden both by

terror of cholera goddesses and economic vampires, and then heard this acclaimed leader rejecting the co-operative bank, scientific methods of adult education of the illiterate, and fulminating in anger against the Christians who for over a century have laid down their lives for the outcaste, while Hinduism passed by on the other side. Gandhi voiced to me his criticism that just when Hinduism was trying to reform itself and to bring the Harijan within its frontiers, the Christian leaders of the West should be straining every nerve to lead them into the Christian fold.

I refrained from attempts to change the Mahatma's views on things, yet I could not forbear from asking whether in his own inmost heart he did not believe that the Christian service of the outcastes had been a main instrument in awakening the desire of the depressed peoples for a fuller life and through that, in stirring some elements in Hinduism to try to open the temples to the Untouchables. He warmly agreed that this actually was so, on which it was difficult to refrain from putting the fresh question whether it was really fair to expect Christians to pull up stakes and fold their tents and creep away, just because of this partial change of the Hindu heart. In this connection there comes to mind a talk with a brilliant Punjabi intellectual whose mind has been as much influenced by Nietzsche and Bernard Shaw as by Mahomed. He declared to me: "The creation of Gandhi is a crime for which India can never work out full expiation. In the hour when India needs to be led forward realistically to grapple with her economic and other troubles, Gandhi tries to turn her face back to the Middle Ages, and he is hammering to try to open the gates of the temples to the outcastes when what India most of all needs is to be led to turn her back on the temples and look to the light."

Unquestionably to the masses of India as distinguished from the intelligentsia Gandhi has been a figure of almost divine authority, an attitude which the completely uncritical devotion of many devotees in the Western world has done much to foster. Today, however, with the failure of one prophecy after another of his to materialize and with the intensified economic pressure on the

peasant, Gandhi's authority tends to fade away. There is, however, an incalculable quality in him which has repeatedly given him the air of a man of destiny; and he would be rash who dogmatically prophesied that the end of Gandhi's career was at hand. The movement of his religious thought flows with increasing swiftness back to Hinduism, which he was once almost led to deny. He told me that, while the absolute spiritual authority lay always in his own breast, for him the Bhagavad Gita is the only religious book in the world in which he has found it impossible to discover defects.

The waters of the slow surge of the mass mentality away from Gandhi are fed by a trend from belief in the powers of ideas in themselves to a conviction that ultimately force must be used to make them prevail. Although Indians know that at present they do not possess the instruments of force by which they might wrest from Britain its rule over them, the conviction grows that Britain will never relax her grip until force is used or until India has the unity, the strength and the will to compel Britain to yield what she will never freely give. This is in essence entirely different from Gandhi's doctrine of *ahimsa* or the power of the soul.

MODERNIZING INFLUENCES

The fact that Gandhi is giving himself entirely to the task of removing untouchability from Hinduism leads us to the third unmistakable trend in the life of India today. The motor bus penetrates into remote villages and carries the peasant into the market town with its gossip and cinemas, and the newspaper with its stories of political campaigns into the villages. "Talkies" with intense love interest dramatizing rural reconstruction and satirizing the zamindar's agent, the lawyer, the priest, and the moneylender draw crowded houses. The masses thrust down below the threshold of Hinduism are stirring to new economic and social aspirations. This is a unique and momentous trend in the contemporary scene.

That sixty to seventy million human beings denied the most elementary rights of even servile personality should begin on a wide scale and in many areas simultaneously to seek some open

door to freedom has already challenged the ancient stranglehold of the Brahmin. The value of votes under the new Constitution has led Sikh and Muslim communities to invite the outcastes, through their outstanding leader, Dr. Ambedkar, into those folds. No authoritative Christian leader has made similar approaches. The change in the life of millions of the depressed classes *who are* already Christians has led the depressed peoples in some *areas* to ask for entrance into the Christian community. Their *motives* in doing so are no doubt mixed—a blend of economic, social, and vague spiritual aspirations.

The break-in of Western education and ways of life has created another trend by battering on the walls of the joint family system and the seclusion of women, whether Muslim or Hindu. When you find even in the court of the Muslim Nizam of Hyderabad the wife of the heir-apparent (herself daughter of the ex-Caliph, Sultan of Turkey) appearing unveiled in public and making the presidential address to a great women's conference calling Indian women to advance; when you meet in the drawing-rooms of Lahore Muslim husbands and wives enjoying Christmas festivities and thronging to the cinemas; or when you notice in the select restaurants of the cities of India that fifty per cent. of the folk enjoying tea are women where barely two per cent. would have come out a few years ago, you are witnessing just two or three of the thousands of indications of perhaps the most momentous of all the changes taking place in India's life.

CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS

Against this flood of advance the forces of conservatism are exercising all their power. I even heard of Muslim men buying pictures of mixed bathing scenes on the beaches of Europe in order to shock their womenfolk into seclusion away from the, to them, outrageous immodesty thus pictured. It comes as somewhat of a shock to discover highly educated men strongly preferring their wives to remain in purdah. A professor of English in a southern university set to some two hundred students this year an essay on "Should girls be educated?" saying he cared nothing what views they expressed so long as they spoke their own mind

and expressed themselves in good English. They were divided half and half, oddly enough into two extremes: one set wanted women out without any restrictions in co-educational universities and colleges with all the barriers down; the other held that woman's sole end was to know domestic duties, and, as one romantic boy put it, "to comfort her husband when he comes back from battle." A Brahmin Hindu advocating child marriage and the seclusion of women gave as his reasons that every girl from eleven years upwards developed what he called "mischievous tendencies," and seeing that, in his own words, "all men are bad," there was no alternative to early marriage and seclusion.

I brought this matter up in at least a score of groups of students in north, south, east and west of India. Everywhere they asserted that a tension, often painful, exists between the old authority of the family, especially as vested in the parents and uncles, and their own desire for freedom. In one college where I was staying, a youth on the eve of his examinations received a postcard from his father telling him curtly that his marriage had been arranged and calling him home immediately. A night spent by that youth in bitter weeping was followed by his immediate return home, his student career shattered. On the other hand, a sexagenarian Hindu lamented to me that, as he put it, "Today the father of the family is just the family donkey on whom the boys and girls go for a joy ride."

I sat at dinner in places as remote as Madras and Lahore with women sharing the dust and heat of fevered electioneering campaigns. One had chairs thrown round the room where she was speaking and fists shaken in her face because she had forsaken the veil. A blend of both elements was present in such personalities as Miss Feroz-ud-din of Lahore, Inspector of Schools of a large area, who rigidly sustains purdah. Invisible within her *bourqah* she discussed with me the problems of Muslim womanhood. She speaks veiled on public platforms and has command of some eight languages. Unquestionably the cream of India's new womanhood desires to share freedom of access to the beauty and drama of the world, while sustaining that poise and unconscious dignity that come from loyalty to values of goodness, truth and beauty.

So much of personal economic security and moral control has been vested for centuries in the joint family system that its passing, in proportion as it occurs, unquestionably creates new tensions. The relationship of father and son, the choice of husband or wife, insurance against unemployment and sickness, guidance in the sequence of life decisions that come to every man will all need reinforcement from other quarters.

"REDEMPTIVE TREATMENT"

Coming now to another trend, so far as I can assess British policy in recent years it has seemed to swing rather uneasily between the adventures in co-operation and comprehension associated with the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin and the policy of rigorous punishment of seditious movements. To my mind the most disquieting feature of British rule in India today is that to the enormous majority of peasants the one thing they are vividly conscious of is the tax collector, and to all students the eaves-dropping and spying of those who report seditious talk. The vast ameliorative services of irrigation and health, of afforestation and justice are obscured behind the faces of the tax collector and the police spy. An oasis in this desert was afforded unexpectedly by the courageous, imaginative experiment of Sir John Anderson in training the *détenus* in agricultural and industrial centres and even planning for providing capital to set them up in their business and the marketing of their products. I have talked (all unknown to the British Government) with *ex-détenus* exceedingly embittered against our rule in general who hailed Sir John Anderson's effort as the first gesture that turns, as one of them put it, "from punitive and revengeful punishment to redemptive treatment." If that attitude could become dominant on the British side the political climate of India might be transformed.

When I enquired what are the cultural trends in contemporary India sometimes the response was made that it is impossible for any renaissance of culture to emerge under a soulless bureaucratic alien Government. The renaissance of the arts had come, the argument runs, when princes desired architects to build their palaces and places of worship, painters to furnish the walls,

sculptors to immortalize them, with poets to sing their praises and bring enchantment. As against this it has to be admitted that renaissance sometimes comes in rebellion against authority or in a blending of cultures through the mingling of, say, East and West.

DR. TAGORE

When I talked with Rabindranath Tagore he had on his desk a complete collected edition of his poems just issued. The book is a symbol of the real renaissance in Bengali literature and the rejuvenescence of the very language itself by this great Indian genius, and at the same time of the fact that his work is nearing its close. When, however, leaving Santiniketan I went in Calcutta to the little apartment where the Parichiya group of young and lively intellectuals meets, I found men who, on the one hand, with real devotion ascribe their inspiration to the great poet and, on the other hand, are reading the most modern and anarchic poets of Britain and America. As Tagore himself said to me humorously, "They read T. S. Eliot and manage to be more obscure than even he." These young men run a monthly magazine bearing the same name as their group, in which experiments toward a new Bengali literature are freely made in verse, essay, and story form. While some of the men were of independent means, some were young professors and engineers and one was a famous professional wrestler. There were no women in this group. These men were not guilty of the crime indicated in Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's playful raillery. She told me that she teased Rabindranath Tagore on having the most degrading influence in literature because he wrote exquisite mystical verse that led young fellows to produce long, foggy, formless sentences and feel that they were young Tagores!

SIR MOHAMMED IQBAL

There is in India today no more virile and outstanding literary figure than Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the greatest poet of this century writing in Urdu and Persian. Briefly, the revolutionary quality of his influence has lain in the fact that he came right on the heels of a poet who chanted the lament of the decay of Islam at the

end of the nineteenth century. Iqbal, nurtured not only on the Koran but on the philosophy of Nietzsche following education in Heidelberg and Munich, found reinforcement of the virile, conquering, vehement spirit of early Islam in the German philosophy of the superman and the will to power. He therefore broke in upon the world with the chant of the immortal destiny and all-conquering resources of Islam. The adventurous, rich, systematic, philosophic mine, his *Secrets of the Self*, translated by Professor Nicholson of Cambridge, and his book on the philosophic ideas of Islam, with his poetry in Urdu and Persian still untranslated into English, have gone like a bugle call through the Islamic world of Northern India and the Middle East. He has drawn multitudes out of defeatism and is the inspiration of the younger group of essayists, poets and story writers whose principal medium is a monthly magazine called *Humayun*, which also infiltrates into Northern India the writings of men like Tchekov, Bernard Shaw, and others.

These examples from Bengal and the Punjab are perhaps the most striking of a number of freshets of new culture that may well, in the not distant future, bring their tributary streams to the broader river of a general Indian renaissance. One of the difficulties in the way of such a happy climax is the lack of a universal language, the only general medium being a tongue that is alien to them all.

In the Dravidian south there are, both in painting and in literature, sporadic flights of artistic expression, although all too often the literature pathetically justifies the rather drastic criticism of a cultured Tamil, who said to me that most of it was merely a translation of ideas from the West into unintelligible Tamil.

COMMUNALISM

In the region of religion, two apparently contradictory trends really have at least one source in common. On the one side is the burning intensification of loyalties to the religious communities to which men belong, quickened by the communal award which gives political value to the number of heads to be counted as Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, or Christian. On the other side is the

sharp, rather harsh rise of antagonism to all organized religion, although not necessarily to a spiritual view of reality. Almost universally among Indians the blame for this intensity of communal antagonism is laid on the shoulders of the British Government. The prevailing view is that the British Government of malice aforethought applied the principle "Divide and rule" to the existing antagonisms of Hindu and Muslim. Large numbers go even further and deny that these antagonisms were active previous to the British use of them. A spirit of intense criticism is directed against Mr. Ramsay MacDonald for having decided for communal representation. It seems quite useless to state and restate the argument, first that those antagonisms actually date back to earlier centuries and second that no authoritative scheme for any other plan of representation has ever been put forward in terms that have not been repudiated by one or other powerful group. The repercussion on religion itself is harmful, because it tends to give membership of one or other of the religious communities a political significance. A man or woman tends to be counted as a vote rather than as a sincere follower.

For this reason I was more than once eagerly approached by young students or graduates with the statement that their very repudiation of the traditional faiths was caused by their ardent desire for spiritual truth. I scanned about eighty essays written by Hindu, Muslim, and Christian students in Travancore on "Religion in the New India." The essays were anonymous, so that there was no effort to impress the professor with the student's loyalty to any particular view. Practically all were perplexed and bewildered, with a small exceptional group of men of each of the faiths who had found clear guidance for life. A few repudiated even a spiritual view of the universe, but a clear majority took the position just stated, that it was essential to get past loyalty to the traditional formulæ to some spiritual reality. This accounts for the considerable popularity of the theosophic teaching.

We are led now to another trend of swiftly increasing significance. The growth of the Rama Krishna movement, which has developed a purified form of Hindu philosophy and grafted on to it an active programme of social service through medicine,

orphan schools and so on, is one conspicuous example of the widespread adoption and adaptation by other faiths of the principles and methods of the Christian mission. The Rama Swami community near Agra, the opening of a Buddhist missionary enterprise on the spot where Gautama received his enlightenment near Benares, the Ahmadiya movement, and indeed Gandhi's Harijan movement to destroy untouchability all derive their inspiration from the same source.

Another movement for holding modernist Nationalist Indians within the fold of Hinduism is illustrated in the new temple to Mother India close to Benares. There a Hindu millionaire who is a newspaper proprietor built this temple, to which I have already referred, putting Nationalism on the level of a religious sect within Hinduism itself. Taken altogether, these cross-currents constitute a more drastic process of change in Hinduism than has been witnessed for many centuries.

I have here surveyed all too briefly only a few of the more significant trends rather than attempt what would have been a mere catalogue of many trends that could have been discussed. Trying to look back on the whole experience in India, the first impression is one of cross-currents and contradictory streams. We are watching as it were a drama on a stupendous stage without being able to see to what climax, whether of tragedy or of happy fulfilment, it may lead. To the Indian of all types and classes the villain of the piece is the British Government. Yet to the more detached onlooker, however intense may be his sympathies with Indian aspirations toward unity and freedom, the shadow of other gigantic and evil forces looms up—dirt, disease, illiteracy, grinding poverty, exploitation. From these spring lethargy, terrible anæmia, paralysis of will, fatalism. Without trying to pronounce judgment on Mr. Edwyn Bevan's thesis that India is not weak because she is a subject people but subject because she is weak, one may well hold that she should not wait for the disappearance of the British Government before endeavouring to slay these giants that hold her in thralldom.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 9, 1937, when a paper entitled "The New India: Some Trends and Personalities," by Mr. Basil Mathews (author of *The Clash of Colour* and other works), was read by the Rev. Dr. William Paton. Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.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., Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Major-General Sir Leonard Rogers, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.S., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir Thomas Richardson, Colonel Sir Cusack Walton, D.S.O., Sir Gilbert Jackson, Lady Simon, Lady Dawson, Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. V. H. Boalch, C.B.E., Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. John de La Valette, Mrs. Weir, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. B. D. Berry and Master Berry, Mrs. Roberts, Rev. R. Burges, Mr. H. M. Wilmot, Rev. E. S. Carr, Miss Richard, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. D. Ross Johnson, C.B.E., and Mrs. Ross Johnson, Mrs. Rama Rau, Mrs. McCallum, Mr. Aye Maung, Mrs. L. M. Saunders, Mr. M. N. Sen, Mrs. Barnes, Mr. Frederick Grub, Mrs. G. G. Sim, Miss Harrison, Mr. T. D. Santwan, Miss Speechley, Mr. P. G. Robertson, Mr. W. M. Newton, Mr. S. Haque, Mr. A. A. Puri, Mr. Issar Davis, Miss Drake, Mr. Stephen Ormerod, Mr. Emanuel, Miss E. Coleman, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. Eric Ellis, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: You will see from the appearance of the platform that the proceedings today are not to be exactly as they were announced in the invitation card. That is due to the fact that Mr. Mathews chose to come home almost by the longest route he could find from India; his boat was delayed, and it will be a day or two before he can land in this country. We were looking forward to hearing from him an immediate picture of India as he found it this winter. Mr. Mathews is well known to most of you here. It so happens that his only professional title at present is that of a professor in Boston University, in Massachusetts, but that is a mere accident. Mr. Mathews is well known to us and to many outside this hall, and to many in continents other than ours, as a person with a remarkable capacity for interpretation. We were looking forward to his presence, knowing that he would approach the subject of India, not from the point of view of those political and constitutional preoccupations which have so filled our minds in the last year or two, but from that of the more intangible and perhaps more permanently interesting features in Indian life.

I am here, ladies and gentlemen, first of all to offer you an apology on the part of Mr. Mathews for his inability to be here this afternoon; and, secondly, to say that if Mr. Mathews had to be absent he could not have found a

better deputy than the Rev. William Paton, whom I wish to thank for his kindness in stepping into the breach.

(Mr. Paton then read the paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: We are very much indebted to Mr. Mathews for having given us this rapid cinematograph picture of what he saw both on the surface and under the surface of India. But the very fact that he cast his net so wide, that he has touched on so many subjects, described so many personalities, suggested so many subjects for discussion, means that unless we can subject his paper to a process of selection, it will be difficult to produce a satisfactory discussion arising out of it.

Mr. Mathews comes to us as the latest and certainly a competent witness to what is going on in India today. His evidence proves to us what we knew already, that the movement known as Nationalism—though it is something far more than mere political Nationalism—goes on with an increasing momentum, a momentum that increases faster even than those engaged in the movement realize: and when one remembers that momentum means not only the volume of a stream, but also the speed at which it is travelling, one realizes that even after a short period of absence from India the stream may have flowed on so rapidly that the observer of yesterday cannot adequately interpret the facts of today.

Therefore I feel I am in a sense forbidden, and in another sense absolved, from offering any critical comment on what Mr. Mathews has said, for it is twelve and a half years since I left India. I have maintained as best I could a constant contact with the land where I had a brief and very interesting period of service, but I know well enough at all events how easily absence severs contact to make me hesitate in offering any further comment on what Mr. Mathews has suggested.

But I will add one or two observations. I think the most significant thing that emerges here is not the picture of the individual Indian leaders which Mr. Mathews has drawn, but the evidence that he has produced of the state of mental confusion into which the Indian mind is at present plunged. That, of course, is merely evidence that India, in common with all other countries in the civilized world, is going through a period of transition—a transition from the known to the unknown.

At one part of Mr. Mathews' paper it would appear as if the most important factor were the shifting of the emphasis in the field of public controversy from revolution or change wrought by political means to revolution or change wrought by economic means; and we can see how far a programme designed to represent that shift of emphasis has already disturbed the framework, the natural course and the leadership of the outstanding representative of the Indian national movement—namely, the Congress. We can see already how far the thrust in of this new economic claim into the already established political organizations of India has produced a serious controversy within that organization, and produced it, moreover, at a moment when the leaders of the organization itself might well have hoped that they would be able to present a united front in the face of the tremendous problems placed before them by the enactment of the new Constitution.

Then Mr. Mathews has told us that the generation that enlisted under the banner of non-co-operation some years ago are now completely submerged in disillusion. That is a common and universal experience, and while I cannot bring any evidence to bear upon it from Indian circumstances, I can see very clearly that India is probably today going through a parallel course of experience to that which the younger Chinese revolutionaries have gone through in recent years. Just as those who enlisted under Sun Yat Sen some twenty years ago have now realized that revolution, in the sense of a profound change in the structure of society, is something more than a matter of conflict, banners, and slogans; just as that realization dawns on the mind of the man passing out of adolescence into real manhood, so his mind of necessity undergoes a profound change in the course of which he has to suffer from a painful fever, a low fever of disillusion.

But if I am in any way to interpret what we see in India today by what I know is passing in the minds of most constructive thinkers in China, I would say that that very fact of disillusion is in itself an element of hope—not hope to the individual going through the disillusion, but hope from the point of view of the observer watching the process. For in China at all events it has meant this, that the younger generation, who set out in the belief that the dawn of the great tomorrow could be brought about merely by a rampageous campaign, have now discovered that the dawn of the great tomorrow is something for which they must work, and something, moreover, which they may never live to see, but that their children will inherit.

Sir ABDUL QADIR: I first of all mention the feeling which all of us have, and which we share with our Chairman—a feeling of disappointment over the fact that Mr. Mathews has not been able to reach England in time to read his paper himself. It would have been very interesting to hear it from his own lips and to discuss things with him. I had the pleasure and the privilege of having a talk with Mr. Mathews shortly before he left for India, and he told me how he was going to try, in the short period he would have there, to get into touch with some of the leading minds of India and to compare notes with them. He has done that, and therefore, in view of the talk that I had with him, it is of peculiar interest to me to listen to this paper, which has been read to us this afternoon.

This paper is very different from many papers on India we have had already. It is not only unusually interesting, but thought-provoking and stimulating, just as most of the writings of Mr. Mathews are. He is a man of original mind, and the way in which he has looked at things is characteristic of him.

As the Chairman has remarked, the paper covers a vast ground. There is so much of it to be discussed that if we were to take up every point we should have a discussion requiring far more than one afternoon. I shall take up only one or two of the more salient points made by Mr. Mathews. I must speak with diffidence, as things are changing so rapidly that anybody who has been away from India even for a short period cannot easily venture to express opinions as to what is going on there today. Mr. Mathews has an advantage over me, as I have been away from India for two years and a

half, but I have one little advantage over him: that I know most of the personalities mentioned by him and have had talks with many of them on various occasions, though I have not had the advantage of conversation with them so recently as Mr. Mathews has had.

In the light of my observance of the various trends in India described in the paper, I feel that Mr. Mathews is a little too pessimistic in the view that he is taking of the situation. Mr. Mathews gives me the impression that he thinks that perhaps a great revolution in India is coming very soon; according to one of the official experts to whom he talked about it, it is, perhaps, coming in five years, and according to his thesis it may be coming in ten years. Though it is unsafe for anybody talking about any part of the world today, in these rapidly changing times, to prophesy anything about any country, I do not quite share the opinion that revolution on the lines which Mr. Mathews seems to be foreseeing is coming in India so soon.

Passing on from this observation about the general trend of things to the impression gathered by Mr. Mathews as to the relations between the two great leaders of Indian political thought—namely, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—I am afraid I do not quite agree with Mr. Mathews. Like many other observers from among the Western judges of these two men, he seems to think that there is a great divergence of opinion between them. From what I have been observing—and perhaps some others knowing India will share my view—I think that in spite of apparent divergence there is a great and real appreciation and understanding of one another, and their lines of action have a united purpose behind them.

I know that in 1929, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was given the Presidency of the Congress, it was due to the influence of Gandhi. He wanted to bring Pandit Nehru to the forefront and to make use of his undoubted ability and energy. Even when there have been occasions on which they have appeared to differ from one another, it is an undoubted fact that Pandit Nehru has been amenable to the influence of the older leader in the line of action that he adopts. We cannot say, therefore, that Gandhi has been relegated to a secondary position. He steps aside of his own accord while retaining many of the privileges which he had before, and he is often asked to intervene and advise. What will happen will be that Nehru will supply the motive power of the Congress engine, as it were, while Gandhi will serve the function of a brake on the engine whenever a brake is necessary.

Coming next to the apparent contradiction in the attitude of Mr. Nehru himself towards the main questions now before the Congress, I think the contradiction is more or less soluble. Though he believes that Socialism is the sole remedy for the evils of India, and thereby, as has been observed in this paper, he is causing to some extent an estrangement of the sympathies of the capitalist classes of the country, he is showing a practical common sense in working with the elements in the Congress which represent the well-to-do trading classes.

If they have eyes to see, the latter cannot help noticing that with all his protestations in favour of Socialism, pure and simple, his actual line of work is such that he is trying to keep the Capitalists and the Socialists in the

Congress together. Perhaps his protestations in favour of Socialism serve the purpose of keeping the Socialists within the Congress fold.

Before concluding my remarks, I may make a passing reference to the observations of Mr. Mathews about two older leaders of thought, in a different domain altogether. In the literary and intellectual sphere he has met two of our greatest poets, Tagore and Iqbal. Some of the writings of Iqbal, no doubt, lay great stress on developing the will to power, as Mr. Mathews rightly observes, which the spirit of Tagore marks on more peaceful lines. Yet they both resemble one another in their ideals and in their intense love for their own country and for its welfare. Both of them have in their own respective ways, as is said in this paper, influenced the thought of younger men very widely.

I must say, in conclusion, that I admire very much the amount of information that Mr. Mathews collected during his short visit, and must congratulate him on the excellent manner in which he has compressed so much observation and thinking into the small compass of a short paper.

Sir STANLEY REED: I am a little depressed at what I call the absence of any constructive side in the dynamic Congress movement. I have read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography from beginning to end. What weighed on me, with all his transparent sincerity and all his real devotion to his country, was that it remained a pure negation, and at the end I could discover nothing except that he was opposed to every form of authority everywhere. So much so that I fail to see any light there as to the application of the dynamic forces he represents to the better government of India.

Mr. Gandhi today in his political movements has always seemed to me to represent the negative side of Indian thought. On the constructive side behind some of the seeming absurdities of his propaganda, to my mind there is nearly always a basic principle, but on the political side I have failed to find that expressed in any direction which would give us confidence and help.

Now times are changing, and in every way Congress will be a great influence in the new Provincial Governments. I look with some apprehension to the expression of that influence in concrete form for the greater happiness and prosperity of India. As Mr. Mathews says towards the end of his paper, dirt, disease, illiteracy, grinding poverty and exploitation—these are the real matters with which India has to deal. Many of them spring, as I see it, from forces inherent in certain sections of Indian society itself. India and Indians alone can cut that canker out.

That has to my mind a very vivid bearing on what has been talked of as the threat of a revolution. What do we mean by revolution? Do we mean a political revolution by force, or a political revolution by non-co-operation, or do we mean a social and economic revolution? May I say this, that I think a social and economic revolution is overdue, and that without it we cannot look for stability in India. But that revolution can be inspired and directed only by Indians themselves, and we have to consider, so long as we have a share in authority in that government, what must be our own attitude towards it.

I would suggest to you that those who are engaged in the service of India,

Englishmen in the Services and otherwise, could have no higher ideal than to throw themselves behind the Indian Ministers in any schemes they can produce for combating those evils which have been vividly presented to us in the paper and which are so painfully apparent to all who work and labour in that land. It is not going to be an easy path to tread.

I hope you will take away very strongly indeed the words which fell from the chair as to the disillusionment of young China and what that disillusionment means, not success in their own lifetimes, but, they hope, success in the generations coming after through such part as they can take in it. I feel that there is a period of great disillusionment coming for some of the finest spirits in Indian public life and in Indian service. What we can do is to assist them over that period and help them to set their feet on these broad paths—putting politics entirely aside—which should lead to the destruction of those social and economic evils which press heavily on the land and which they alone can tackle. May it be done with our wholehearted and enthusiastic support.

Mrs. RAMA RAU : I feel I must say just one word with regard to one particular point that Mr. Mathews raises in the paper about conservatism pushing back the progress that Indian women are making. I, too, have just had contact with India; in fact, it is a little over a month since I came back. While I was there I had many opportunities, for I travelled both in the north and south of India, of meeting those women who are standing for the new Legislatures in different parts of the country. Perhaps, because I happen to belong to the women's movement in India, I did not find conservatism raise its head to the same extent as Mr. Mathews did while travelling there. That conservatism does exist in India I do not for one moment deny, but I do not think we can draw any definite conclusion from that fact.

The existence of conservatism in this country, too, is very apparent. It is not very long ago that I was talking to a group of international students in London, and I was astonished to find that a large number of the students at that meeting were strongly opposed to the progress that women in different countries are desiring. They were convinced that economic barriers should be placed in the way, that women should be shut out of certain jobs and certain positions because it was a case of providing for the men first.

My own observation has been that as soon as we have the opportunity to start a new school or college, people who are, comparatively speaking, poor and illiterate are most anxious to send their daughters to the new institution. Not long ago we were responsible for starting a girls' school in Simla. We had catered only for eighty girls. It was really for the children of the lower middle class, the people amongst whom we would naturally find a fair amount of conservative opinion. But we were crowded out on the first day, because we had applications for two hundred and fifty girls for that particular school.

In view of these facts I do not think that the few elements of conservatism that Mr. Mathews has come across during his travels in India are likely to affect the progress of Indian women in any appreciable degree. That chairs should be thrown about at an electioneering meeting is not surprising. It

might be done in this country also. Behaviour of an audience may depend on what the particular candidate stands for, and what views that candidate expresses.

That there are a few orthodox Muslims who feel that without the veils of the purdah women being removed they still can do very responsible and valuable work is proved by the fact that the late Begum of Bhopal from within the veil did rule her State, though in her later years she gave up purdah. There are a few people who still believe in that, but never have they denied the right of equality that Indian women are claiming. I have worked in the women's movement in India for a great many years, and I have never once come across any definite view from Indian men that Indian women have no right of equality and should not claim it.

Mr. PATON : I have been away from India ten months, and on reading the paper through for the first time I felt that Mr. Mathews was right, that some things have certainly moved on a great deal since I was there.

I entirely agree with him about the enormous significance in India of Pandit Nehru just now. I do not think anybody can be much with young Indians in India today and not feel that he has got them body and soul. I found that in all classes. I found it very conspicuously amongst Christian boys and students who had come from surroundings and homes and conditions rather markedly at variance with what the Pandit stood for. I think it is most important for British people in this country to understand what the Pandit stands for. I agree with Sir Abdul Qadir that one can overestimate the difference between what the Pandit stands for and what Mr. Gandhi stands for, but you cannot read that autobiography (which, like Sir Stanley Reed, I have read from beginning to end, and reviewed) and not realize that, while the Pandit is constantly puzzled to account for Mr. Gandhi's actions, he has an enormous admiration for him and feels that he understands the mass mind of India better than he himself does. I feel that the most important difference between the two leaders is that at bottom the technique of Nehru is that of the revolutionary in all countries. He has the kind of mind that looks for the signs of great secular movements in the world, on the tide of which his own movement may ride.

I was interested to find Mr. Mathews referring to a fact to which also I can testify: the increasing widespread conviction among Indians that there is going to be a first-class European war, that Britain is going to be tied up in it, and that it is going to create an entirely new situation. I believe it to be in the background of a good many minds in India. Obviously the revolutionary type of mind looks for such great events to take advantage of them. As I understand the technique of the revolutionary, I do think that that is an important element in his make-up; that he wants to see how he can use the tide in human affairs. Mr. Gandhi is a person whose conscience suddenly gets hold of him. He says, "I have committed an error," and proceeds to fast for a month and calls off the entire movement, to the disgust of Nehru.

I would like to say, too, that I think, like everybody else who has spoken, we cannot overestimate the importance of the whole economic issue in India.

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You cannot help feeling now that many of the traditional political formulas of India are almost irrelevant, and that India has gone on too long. We have gone on in India talking in the terms of Victorian Liberalism, while every other country in the Western world had stopped talking like that. You still find older men in India who are agitated about the success or failure of movements of that kind, while the real issues are economic.

I agree with Sir Stanley: it is easy to talk about revolution, and it is not easy to pull off revolutions with a powerful and centralized Government, and nobody knows what he wants to put in its place. But Nehru obviously favours the large collectivized farm as against the multitudinous small holdings. It seems to me that if you had one or two more bad monsoons, you would be faced with the necessity of taking action in regard to the countryside of that nature, or of finding a revolutionary-minded, sullen, and intensely discontented rural population on your hands.

The same thing is true in China. If you take a book like Mr. Tawney's *Land and Labour in China*, you see how he says virtually that he found in China that those Provinces had gone Communist which he would have expected to find going Communist because of the appalling conditions of life. It is most important that all persons of goodwill should combine to try to focus attention on this supreme economic need.

I agree that it is absurd to refer to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as having decided for communal representation. What is meant, of course, is the Communal Award. It is not only Hindus in Bengal who are critical of the Award. Practically the whole of the representatives of Indian Protestant Christians have systematically objected to the scheme of separate electorates, to which they, like others, are subject. There are two objections to it from their point of view. One is that on the communal basis there is an inevitable tendency for Government grants and jobs of all sorts to be distributed roughly in proportion to population: 55 per cent. of one community, 45 per cent. of another, and so on. Ability tends to be forgotten, and a body like the Indian Christians, who for their size have a large proportion of literacy, tend to suffer, and their young men are bitter about it.

But what I think is more important is the view which the Bishop of Dornakal has urged, that for a body like the Indian Christian Church, which, being Christian, cannot surrender the idea of evangelization, it is very difficult to be forced into the position of offering the Christian Gospel to people, and being compelled to say that if they should become Christians they have to vote in a different constituency! The Bishop of Dornakal a long time ago urged publicly in India that to make the religious community coterminous with the political constituency is a very bad thing for religion; and I think all that has happened has abundantly proved his case. The Christian community is a small body, but I think it has been more fundamentally affected in the inner springs of its life by this system of Communal representation than any other in India.

Mr. M. N. SEN: I think it is a unique privilege to stand here and say a few words in justification of the Indian youth. I have had the privilege of meeting youth all over the world. I have just come back from America,

where I had been working with the students. I met students in China and Japan also.

The charge that has been levelled against Indian youth is that they are completely disillusioned. I should say that the youth all over the world at this moment are completely disillusioned and they do not know what is the right step to take. About the Indian students I just want to say one thing: that we are disillusioned because we are uncertain about the future of our country.

Speakers have said that the condition of China and India is very much the same now. It is not exactly the same. China is trying to retain what she has, and India is going to get back what she has lost. That is the difference. The position of the youth in China and India is very much the same no doubt, because it is incumbent on youth to bring about the changes they believe in.

About the Indian youth, another reason why we are disillusioned is because of our system of education. There is no mention made of that point in Mr. Mathews' paper. The system of education we have today in India is purely cultural and very much on the same lines as the system of education here in the British universities. We do not want that today in India. We would prefer the system they have in America, where the emphasis is laid on the technical side more than the cultural side, because, after all, Indian students must work. If India is ever to become a nation among other nations in the world, we will have to work, and action must be emphasized more than anything else.

What are we doing with this sort of education today with emphasis purely on the cultural side? When we think of a graduate in India, we think of a person who knows English literature or history, mostly British or European history, and other purely cultural subjects. We have some agricultural colleges; and lately some domestic science colleges and the Lady Irwin Medical College for Women in Delhi. But these are recent developments, and we want institutions like these to be more prevalent all over India. Without technical education we are turning out thousands of graduates every year doing nothing useful. They know the problems of their country, but do not know how to solve them.

That is why we are completely disillusioned. Unless technical education is emphasized, we will go on just producing graduates with cultural knowledge, fostering the empty legacy of our aristocratic past, and doing nothing on the positive side.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: I have the very pleasant duty of moving a vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Whyte for coming to preside, and (in his absence) to Mr. Mathews for writing such an interesting paper, and to Mr. Paton for being so good as to read it and to interpret it to the extent he has done.

The hour is late, or there are many things one would like to say about the points raised. As regards the point of view of the revolutionary leaders, I was very much struck by Sir Abdul Qadir's metaphor of the engine, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supplying the motive power and Mahatma Gandhi the brake: but, after all, no rails have been laid down on the track on which

that engine is to proceed, and a steering-wheel is rather a necessity. That particular aspect remains a problem of the greatest interest.

One point about Mr. Mathews' paper that struck me, too, is this. If a paper of that kind had been written and read to us some thirty or forty years ago, I feel certain that the Arya Samaj would have taken a very important part in it. Mr. Mathews makes no mention of that. The Arya Samaj undoubtedly excited the greatest enthusiasm for some time and did some remarkable reform and educational work. Have the younger generation become disillusioned, or has it lost its influence since Lajpat Rai died? At any rate, it finds no place in the picture at all.

As regards revolution, I think it would be rather hard to decide offhand whether the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution were due more to political or economic conditions. The essential feature in each was that there was intense and general discontent, and though the men holding the different points of view did not necessarily want to kill the same individuals, those individuals were killed. When you get passions roused, the distinction perhaps is lost sight of.

I am inclined to think that the purely political revolution has passed from the world's history—the revolution which set out merely to take the power of government away from those who held it and give it to other people. There is bound to be an economic strain in any movement of this kind, caused undoubtedly by intense discontent. There is abundance of room for economic discontent in India, and one can only hope that the expressions of opinion made to Mr. Mathews are a little on the pessimistic side.

The paper was on trends and personalities. Trends are very much easier to describe than personalities, but I think we are most interested in some of the personal sketches that have been given. I cannot imagine a greater opportunity for personal study than is afforded to a man who, like you, Sir Frederick, has occupied with general approval the President's Chair in an Assembly which contained very remarkable and extremely diverse personalities, and who passed on from that to be the confidential adviser of the Government of China, which also has produced most interesting personalities. However, perhaps your lips are sealed!

I think we have had a most interesting discussion. We are certainly indebted to Mrs. Rama Rau for giving us the point of view of Indian ladies. We particularly welcome Mr. Sen's speech. It is far too seldom that we hear the younger generation here, and a speech of that sort, frank and modest, has been most interesting.

I beg to move a vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Whyte, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Paton.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to thank you on behalf of Mr. Mathews in his absence, and Mr. Paton in his presence, and of myself for the way you have received this proposition. Attendance at this meeting has been its own reward.

Lest you think I have any other motive for refusing to accept the dangerous challenge offered to me by Sir Malcolm Seton, I will show him the hands of the clock. I will, however, say this. Everybody who has

spoken has emphasized the importance of personality, and particularly the importance of a man whom I still know as the younger Nehru. There may be much dispute as to where Pandit Nehru stands in relation to the past, the present or the future of India, in relation to Gandhi and others, but I think we can all say this, that the younger Nehru stands much closer in spirit to Mr. Gandhi than his father, Pandit Motilal Nehru ever did; and it may be that Pandit Motilal would have understood the function of the brake occasionally used by the Mahatma where the younger Nehru would not and perhaps never could. But I think we may be sure of this, too, that there probably would not have been a younger Nehru fashioned just in the mould in which he is, had there not been a Mahatma Gandhi going before him, and that where they may dispute and divide as to the tactics to be adopted by the Indian National Congress at any particular moment, there is no doubt whatever that they enjoy complete unity of spirit and outlook with regard to the future of India; and, after all, India being one of the most prolific mothers of the world, can we wonder that her sons are diverse?

INDIA ON THE EVE OF AUTONOMY

BY JOHN COATMAN, C.I.E.

THREE weeks hence the Indian Provinces will start their career as autonomous units. The completion of the full scheme of reforms may be looked for at a not very remote date, but in the meantime the inauguration of this first stage will give the central and provincial governments, and the people of India, quite enough to think about and to do. There is, I believe, a net balance of advantage of carrying out in two stages the immensely complicated and difficult scheme of reforms contained in the Government of India Act of 1935. I think that, had it been possible to inaugurate the scheme of reforms as a whole, there might have been rather less asperity in certain political quarters than there is at present, but on the other hand the administrative difficulties would have been multiplied immensely. Further, it should always be remembered that there is a good deal of adjustment to be made inside the Provinces before they can be said to be in smooth running order. It is very necessary that the Provinces should be in smooth working order before the All-India Federation comes into existence—for this reason. The Federation will be the Provinces of British India and the Indian States—an organism deriving its life from these units, having the character and quality which they confer upon it, and being bound in its actions by them. Now, the old Government of India was a very different thing. It was the overlord of the Provinces which, certainly until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, can hardly be said to have been more than convenient agents through which the Central Government carried on its administration. In future, as far as its own domestic administration is concerned, every Province will have to stand on its own legs. If there is, for example, serious internal friction arising out of some irreconcilable clash of communal or other interests, the Central Government, or later the Federal Government, will not be able to do anything to help,

unless, of course, the state of affairs develops so as to threaten the welfare and good order of other Provinces or of the whole country. Therefore I personally welcome the fact that a period of time must elapse before the Federation can come into existence.

When I was first in the Punjab I often used to meet old veterans of the Sikh wars, who told me stories of days which seemed fantastically remote from those in which I was living. When I contemplate the Government of India Act of 1935, those early days of mine in the Punjab seem to me just as fantastically remote from these days, because in that short space of time—twenty-six years (just over a quarter of a century)—India has, from the point of view of government, become a completely different country. For my first year in India was the first year of the working of the Morley-Minto Reforms, which meant that, stripped of all technicalities, the government of an Indian Province was in essence that of a Crown Colony. At the centre, control and authority had not been relaxed in any important part. Moreover, the Morley-Minto Reforms were not meant to be the prelude to anything different. Mr. John Morley, as he then was, said quite definitely that these reforms were not meant to be the forerunner of responsible government, and in this he was doing no more than repeating what Mr. Gladstone had said before him.

THE REQUIRED EQUIPMENT

We all know how quickly constitutional progress and development have proceeded in India during this fateful quarter of a century, but I am not sure if we are always aware of the significance of this speed of motion. Our scientists are making us familiar with the space-time continuum, with time as another dimension. In the same way, in politics we have got to take the pace of our movements into account quite as much as their effects, their cost, and so on. This great jump forward in such a short time will, I believe, inevitably produce strains and stresses of a difficult, perhaps on occasions even of a dangerous, character in the body politic of India. There are some sections—very few, it must be admitted—for whom the pace is too slow, but for the vast majority there is not the slightest doubt that the pace is much

too fast. This is not the time to argue the pros and cons of the forthcoming reforms. It is enough that the great majority of the people of this country believe that the movement of events in the world at large, and the development of opinion and conditions in India and this country, rendered the scheme necessary. But the fact remains that India has now got to begin to work a political constitution of a highly advanced character, with very little of the equipment of all sorts and the political machinery which the efficient working of such a system demands.

To my mind this is one of the most important points to be noticed. In this country we are so familiar with the ubiquitous central and local political party organizations, with a powerful and effective Press—also for the most part with strong party affiliations—and with all the quasi-official and private activities devoted to political education and action, that we take them all for granted. Even the average voter here has a good deal of knowledge of political and economic matters, and in any case the English people as a whole has an ingrained political sense which comes of centuries of political responsibility. The average voter in this country is thus well qualified to choose between particular issues of policy, and in any case he is within easy reach of full information and guidance from his political, trade union, professional, and other associations, and from the wireless and the Press.

There is very little indeed of this in India, and the experience of the recent elections has shown this very clearly. There is only one organized political party in India—that is, as we in this country understand the words—namely, the Congress Party. The party which most nearly approaches it in organization is the Justice Party of Southern India, but that is not an All-India party, nor even does its influence extend over the whole of the south of India. At one time it looked like extending into the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, but of late years it has receded and has become much weaker even in its original home, Madras. The All-India Liberal Federation and the All-India Muslim League have, to say the least, not functioned as All-India political organizations during the recent elections. Mr. Jinnah's Muslim Parliamentary Party, which he tried to organize on an

All-India basis, has from one cause or another not fulfilled all the hopes of its promoters, and although there were Mahasabha candidates all over India, for various reasons they cannot be regarded as belonging to any political party. There were, of course, one or two well-organized local parties—for example, the Unionist Party in the Punjab, and the National Agriculturist Party in the United Provinces—but these again had neither appeal nor affiliations outside their own provincial boundaries, and had but few counterparts elsewhere. The new "People's Party" in Madras had no solid support and has been swept away at the elections. Labour, too, is hardly organized, and, whatever it may become in future, is certainly not at present a political factor of any importance. Even the depressed classes cannot present a united front for political purposes. As for quasi-official and unofficial organizations, clubs, and the like, for all practical political purposes they do not exist.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS

The position is no better when we turn to the Press. The Congress and extreme Nationalist organs speak with one voice, but they are using arguments pertaining to conditions which have long passed away. The remainder of the Press, too, has for the most part failed to understand, or at any rate to deal with, the real problems and conditions which now face the people of India. I must admit that I have been disappointed in the Press campaign. There has been far too much repetition of outworn shibboleths, and too much concentration on particular and personal interests. Moreover, there are no great national newspapers in India. None of them are read widely over the whole country, and indeed very few of them go outside the boundaries of their linguistic area if they are vernacular papers, or outside their own province if they are printed in English. Moreover, their circulations are grotesquely small from our point of view. A regular issue of twenty thousand would be regarded as a very big circulation indeed by an Indian newspaper.

It is worth our while to ponder this feature of the situation very carefully, because whatever the critics of the Indian reforms

may say, they do embody a democratic constitution, and the successful working of democratic institutions depends first and foremost on all the things which we have just been discussing. I believe that the development of political life in India, particularly after the Federation comes into existence, will produce real All-India political parties, will give a stimulus to local political activities, and will in course of time lead to the effective organization of economic groups, particularly urban industrial labour, and, finally, will profoundly modify the character and organization of the newspaper press. But certainly these are all tasks which will have to be undertaken specifically because, as things are at present, there are more opportunities than are desirable for the exploitation of the mass of voters by particular interests or even individuals.

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

Another insistent question forces itself on our minds when we contemplate the working of the new constitution, and that is the question of the future of inter-communal relations. To an audience like this there is no need to go into details of the Communal Settlement, the Poona Pact, the continuous negotiations which have gone on between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal and elsewhere, the Sikh problem in the Punjab, and the like, for they are all familiar to you; but it is obvious that in the Punjab and Bengal, at any rate, the final distribution of seats between the different communities and interests is such as to carry with it the possibilities of trouble in the future. That it has given cause for serious discontent to the Hindus in those two provinces is, of course, common knowledge. Anybody who sat through the sessions of the Round-Table Conference, who had any share in the administration of India under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and who has kept in touch with the position during recent months, may be pardoned for entertaining fears in regard to the future of communal relations in India. I personally believe that these fears will be found to be largely unfounded. There have been no important armed clashes between the partisans of the two great communities for some time, and there is every reason to hope that the bitter internecine warfare, which stained the his-

tory of the country between, say, 1924 and 1930, is a thing of the past. Recent developments in both Bengal and the Punjab hold out some hopes at any rate of concerted political action on the part of the leaders of the two communities, even in the two provinces where the reform shoe may be said to pinch the most. Indeed, some foreshadowing of these future developments may be seen in the organization of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, and the Tenants Party in Bengal, both of which have Hindu adherents and support.

I at any rate have always maintained that the real solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem was precisely the solution which we are now offering—namely, the grant of real political power to the Provinces. For, whatever old animosities there may have been, or whatever present grievances may exist, the actual working of the constitution will force the two communities into each other's arms. A Muhammadan prime minister will have to have Hindu support: a Hindu prime minister will have to have Muslim support. And this means that narrow, communal policies will be politically and practically impossible. Moreover, ministers will all the time be dealing with measures which affect all communities and sections of their provinces, and will, as a matter of necessity, have to develop the habit of thinking, if we may put it so, non-communally. In other words, the day-to-day working of a constitution such as is now about to be introduced will make merely communal considerations irrelevant to the issues which come up, and in any case the mere routine of getting their measures through the house will gradually force on ministers a policy of toleration and equity towards all communities and interests alike. This is made all the more certain by the extreme lack of cohesion revealed by these elections amongst the Muslims of every Province except the Punjab. Therefore on this side of the new constitution I am not pessimistic.

THE CONGRESS

The next important question which claims our attention is the part to be played by the Congress Party. This, of course, is subject to much comment in the English Press in these days—com-

ment which, as far as some of the less responsible journals are concerned, would be much better omitted. To begin with, it is not particularly easy to assess the exact extent of Congress successes at the recent elections. As far as mere numbers go, we know that they have over 40 per cent. of the seats, that they have absolute majorities in six provinces, and that, outside the Punjab, they are well represented everywhere. But this, of course, is not the whole story. There are an appreciable number of candidates who got themselves returned on the Congress ticket who are not Congressmen, and will maintain an independent attitude. But far more important than this is the question of how far the real Congressmen are going to act in unison. We all know, of course, the resolution which was passed at the latest session of the All-India National Congress, and we also know that many Congressmen, some of them men of importance, have not accepted that resolution; and if we turn over in our minds the history of the Congress Party from its beginning as the Swaraj Party, in early Montagu-Chelmsford days, we have much justification for adopting a cautious attitude for the moment with regard to its future action.

For, to put it very broadly, the history of the Congress Party since the elections of 1923 has been one of successive splits on the questions first of entry into the legislative bodies, and secondly of the policy to be adopted—constructive or destructive—inside them. The late Mr. C. R. Das carried Congress with him against Mr. Gandhi on the question of entry into the councils, and later there were important secessions, particularly of the Maharashtra group, on the question of wrecking the reforms, or co-operating with the Government in nation-building activities. Still later there was the split over Lord Irwin's famous announcement of November 1, 1929, and participation in the Round-Table Conference. Later still, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's Communist policy led to another split, and now, as we know, the old question of entry or non-entry, wrecking or non-wrecking, is once more disturbing the minds of the party leaders. At any rate, we may say that there is not likely to be complete unanimity on these questions. But will the Congressmen enter the provincial assemblies in any

numbers; and what will their attitude be when they get inside? Here again I think we can apply to past experience for guidance. I think that one of the few results of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which cannot be doubted was the shifting of the central political gravity of India to the legislative bodies. With each month that passed after the beginning of the first sessions of these bodies in 1921, it became increasingly clear that, whatever might be done in the way of sound and fury outside, no influence could be exercised—no constructive influence, that is—on national or provincial policies and programmes except from inside the legislatures. This was a lesson that had been learnt by the time of the 1923 elections, when the old Swaraj Party decided to contest the elections. It was reinforced after the Swarajist walk-out of the Legislative Assembly in 1926, when they were forced to return to their seats for the Simla session of the same year, in order to contest Sir Basil Blackett's Currency Stabilization Bill. This was a most instructive incident, because the Congress leaders were forced by the pressure of public opinion, particularly in Bombay, to resume their seats in the assembly against their will. The same lesson was drawn from the temporary suspensions of the constitutions in Bengal and the Central Provinces owing to Congress action in refusing to vote supplies.

Then, too, the experience of the Congress Party's tactics between their entering the Legislative Assembly at the Delhi session of 1924, and their walk-out in 1926, was very instructive. They, of course, went in to carry out their policy of wrecking the constitution from within, but very soon found themselves forced to vote with the Government on the Steel Bill; and when afterwards they tried to throw out the Finance Bill, many of their allies, and notably Mr. Jinnah and his Independents, revolted and left them in a position of numerical inferiority, in which they could do nothing more than obstruct and delay. The truth is that, even inside the Congress Party, there has been from the beginning a section which would not follow the leaders in their most extreme policies, and I can see no reason why experience should not repeat itself, and the most extreme sections of the party be left, if they choose, to plough the sands, whilst their less

extreme colleagues either enjoy the fruits of office, or look forward to doing so on some future occasion.

THE ELECTIONS

I am inclined to see some confirmation of this, let me say, very guarded optimism when I review the election manifestos put out by Congress candidates during the recent elections. Strangely enough, the purely anti-British attitude is not prominent, nor is any general stress laid on the desirability of entering the legislatures in order to wreck them from within. Instead, candidates have concentrated very largely on promises to their electors of the economic and other benefits which they will confer on them if they are successful at the polls. I cannot help thinking that this shows at any rate a subconscious acceptance of the position, that election will be followed by entry into the legislatures, and, where Congress is in a majority, by acceptance of office. It should be noted that many of the Independents who have been returned will either not throw in their lot with the Congress Party in the legislatures, or, if they do, will leave them sooner or later. This again is a lesson from experience. On the whole, therefore, I am not inclined to regard the position left by the elections as catastrophic.

At the same time, I am not minimizing its seriousness. The Congress Party have got a majority in more than half the provinces, and whether they take office or not, the position is not going to be easy for the provincial governments. It is possible, of course, that in one or two of the provinces Congress members will refuse to form and support a ministry in sufficient numbers to put any ministry that is formed in the minority. If this happens, however, it will simply mean that the inauguration of the new constitution in those provinces will be deferred until, as the newspapers say, wiser counsels prevail. The more probable danger which I foresee is that the Congress Party will take office and try to put through policies which are quite impossible. Let us, as a purely hypothetical case, suppose that the cabinet in one province should decide to reduce the land revenue to twenty per cent. of its present level, or to abolish the water rate, or to cut down the

number of police by half and reduce their pay to eight rupees a month. All these things would find favour in the eyes of many people, and it may be that some such suggestions, though perhaps not so extreme as these, will be made by some minister or ministers. In such a case as this I think the immediate situation would certainly be embarrassing to the governor. A fierce agitation would be developed in certain sections of the local press, and there might be a good deal of talk in district headquarters, tehsil towns, and so on. But ultimately I think the logic of facts would right the position. The ministers of education and public hygiene and law and order, for example, would point out to their financial colleague that if he cut down provincial revenues they would have to cut down their activities very largely. This would not only enrage the electorate, which had been looking forward to all sorts of developments from them, but would incidentally throw scores of thousands of useful voters out of employment, all of them voters, moreover, belonging to influential classes, each of whom could probably sway many votes at the next election.

I cannot help thinking, therefore, that even if such extremist policies as these came to the point of discussion in the provincial assembly, the practical aspects of the matter could be made sufficiently widely known among the members of the assembly and the general public to prevent them from doing very much harm. I repeat that I am not taking an easy, optimistic view in saying these things. I know that difficult situations will arise, but the constitution out of which these situations will arise is, as I have said, a real democratic constitution, in which it will never be very easy for any party, however extreme, to bring about a simple head-on collision between themselves and the Government, because if the party in question is in power, it will itself have the initiation and carrying out of Government policy, and the suggestion that any body of men should take office for the main purpose of producing anarchy and dislocation in their own province will be found to be absurd. The dangers which will arise will be more subtle than this.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

I have no intention of venturing into the thorny thickets of finance, but there are one or two general remarks which might be made on this subject. We all remember what a heavy handicap financial stringency proved to be in the early days of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and how much unwarranted suspicion was caused by the provincial finance departments' quite justified tight hold on the purse-strings. Now, of course, the finance department will be no longer a reserved department in charge of an official, but will form a minister's portfolio. Thus one cause for suspicion and ill-feeling will fall to the ground. But the change of control will not affect the size of the revenue, and, as far as we can see at present, ministers in every province will have to go somewhat slowly at first. Nevertheless, the future prospects of provincial finance have some gleams of hope. Bengal, of course, is happy in getting a share of the jute tax, and ultimately all provinces will benefit, to a varying degree of course, by the new allocation of income tax receipts. But there are other ways in which provincial financial administration may be helped and strengthened. I speak with due deference to the distinguished members of my audience who have themselves handled provincial finances, and I am, of course, doing no more than give my own views. But I have felt for a long time that provincial developments of various kinds should be speeded up and assisted generally to a greater extent than in the past by borrowing. I have no doubt, however, that provincial chancellors of the exchequer will pay full attention to this in future. Then, too, I think that there is scope for the financing of certain kinds of development by means of betterment taxes. Far be it from me even to mention the words "taxation of agricultural income," or the revision of the thrice sacrosanct Permanent Settlement. It is not we, the old officials, who will have to deal with these matters now.

All I am concerned with is to indicate certain possible lines of financial amelioration with a view to pointing out that, as far as the all-important question of money is concerned, the future may

be much less unpromising than the present. This is a view which is reinforced by the present trend of world prices, which ought to benefit India particularly. I think there is no doubt at all that we have entered on a cycle of rising prices of both primary and secondary products. One of India's great troubles in the post-war period has been the gap between the price of her primary produce and the price of the manufactured articles which she had to import, but this gap should diminish, and in any case the benefits which will accrue to India from the rising prices of her produce and her increasing output of both export and consumers' goods of all kinds will have beneficial results on the income tax, with corresponding beneficial results to the provinces.

I have now covered most of what I conceive to be the outstanding features of the situation in India on the eve of autonomy. You will notice that I have said nothing about safeguards. I have left them out because I have always believed that the safeguards will not be of much practical importance in the new constitution. Certainly they can never be a customary feature of it, because constant use of them would destroy both the safeguards themselves and the constitution. I hope to see them, before many years have passed, relegated to the museum of political antiquities. There is nothing I would like better than to indulge in a few speculations as to the probable composition of the cabinets in provinces like the North-West Frontier and Bengal, where the situation as left by the elections is, to say the least, intriguing. But these, after all, would only be speculations. I am afraid there has been a good deal of speculation in what I have said already, but at any rate in preparing this paper I have drawn on personal experience of Indian politics, which for me will always retain their attraction. I am quite certain that ministers, British officials, members of the legislatures, and the governors between them will, if you will pardon the colloquialism, make a job of provincial autonomy. Then later on they and the Princes and their people will have the supreme task of making and working the All-India Federation, and I for one can think of no greater happiness than having a part in that great enterprise.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 9, 1937, when a paper entitled "India on the Eve of Autonomy" was read by Mr. John Coatman, C.I.E. The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair, and his introductory address was broadcast in the Empire and United States programme, and partly repeated in the home news bulletin at night. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present.

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Firozkhan Noon, the Viscountess Halifax, C.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Hubert Carr, K.C.I.E., Sir Reginald Spence, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Leonard Reynolds, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Alan Parsons, K.C.I.E., Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Thomas Ainscough, C.B.E., and Miss Ainscough, Sir Miles Irving, C.I.E., O.B.E., and Lady Irving, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Lady Blackett, Colonel Sir Cusack Walton, Sir Charles Tegart, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Charles Cunningham, C.I.E., Sir Walter Willson, Lady Dawson, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Colonel Sir Gordon Hearn, C.I.E., Lieut.-General Sir Edwin Atkinson, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., and Lady Atkinson, Lady Hartog, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Mr. Hugh Molson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. and Mrs. T. A. H. Way, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, Mrs. B. D. Berry, Miss Berry and Master Berry, Lieut.-Colonel A. S. Hamilton, Mrs. Weir, Mr. G. F. K. Adams, Dr. and Mrs. Kalra, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. Rupchand Bilaran, Mrs. Gordon Neale, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Miss E. Richard, Mrs. Mallannah, Mr. Dewan Sharar, Mr. A. B. Rudra, Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mr. H. R. McCallum, Mr. B. N. Tagore, Mrs. Barns, Mr. Massood Yazdani, Mrs. G. G. Sim, Mr. M. N. Sen, Miss Leeson, Rev. and Mrs. E. S. Carr, Mr. J. W. P. Chichele, Miss L. M. Gunter, Mrs. Hooper, Mr. P. N. Mathur, Dr. Abdul Aziz Puri, Mr. Bool Chand, Mr. K. A. Chishti, Mr. Rupchand Sitaram, Mr. W. E. Griffith, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. Ghulam Qadir Khan, Dr. Felix Valji, Mr. Syed M. Syedulla, Miss C. E. Parsons, Mr. M. Acton, Miss K. Speechley, Professor and Mrs. Jeules, Miss F. Blackett, Miss E. Coleman, Mrs. Dantra, Mr. N. Singh, Mr. J. D. Shupla, Mr. R. S. Kapur, Miss Agatha Harrison, Mr. Alexander C. Wilson, Mr. A. Watts, Colonel Pritchard, Mr. B. D. Sanwal, Mr. G. N. Durvedi, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. Hasnett, Mr. B. M. Piplan, Mrs. Lewis, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said :

The East India Association are indeed fortunate in persuading Professor

Coatman to address us this afternoon on the subject of India, to which country he has given twenty years of unremitting service, and about which no one is more qualified to speak.

For, on April 1, India, marching along the parallel roads of democracy and self-government, will make a great advance towards the constitutional goal that lies before her. Far freer thenceforth from the control of the British Government, she will enjoy in each of her eleven Provinces, some of them comparable in size and population with the great sovereign States of Europe, a form of self-government based on those parliamentary institutions which she has long set before herself as her model.

Less than a generation ago the gradual spread of democracy throughout the civilized world seemed as natural and inevitable as it seemed right. The state of much of the world today may appear to suggest that the tide has turned. There are some who say, on a superficial view, that democracy is now on its trial; some, indeed, who say that it has been tried already and found wanting. And there are those who ask why India, that great country of the East, firm-rooted in ancient traditions of undemocratic caste and autocracy, the meeting-ground of many races and of many creeds, should, at such a moment, be made the field of a far-reaching experiment in this dubious dogma of democracy.

But that is not our view, nor India's. With our own political faith drawn from our traditions and confirmed by our experience, it would have been impossible for Englishmen to sponsor any other than a democratic form of government in India. No less impossible would it have been for Indians, steeped in the literature and history and institutions of our country. It was doubtless this that moved His Imperial Majesty King George V., in his proclamation on the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, to say that the Indian desire for political responsibility had its roots in the British connection with India.

No! Neither in England nor in India is faith in democracy on the wane. We do not admit that democracy, compared with other systems of government, is weak in principle. Rather do we believe, and believe steadfastly, that where democracy has failed, that failure can almost invariably be traced to efforts to attempt too much, either in too short a time or in the wrong way. Therefore, in planning India's constitutional advance, Indians and Englishmen, in joint council, have drawn upon all their resources of experience and judgment to ensure, as far as lies in human power, that the progress of democratic self-government shall be regulated according to India's needs and manifold conditions. Englishmen and Indians have long bent themselves to the problem, and I believe with all my heart that success has been theirs.

But let me be frank. There are Englishmen—and among them some who have served India with long and faithful service—who are doubtful, not so much of the rightness of the road on which we are travelling, as of the pace with which we are covering the ground. And there are Indians, equally sincere in their faith in the ultimate goal, who belittle the advance that is being made and chafe at the stages that have still to be travelled. Many of those who so judge are as sincere lovers of India as you or I, and it would

be as ill-advised of us to depreciate their importance as to exaggerate it. But if they would only look at the matter through the right end of the telescope—and I am still speaking of Indians and Englishmen both—I am sure that they would realize, more clearly, more truly, the nature of the changes that are now to take place.

For what are those changes? For many years India has enjoyed some measure of parliamentary institutions. Though they did not afford full opportunity for responsibility, they provided her politicians with ample opportunities for criticizing policy and ventilating opinion. In the absence of responsibility that criticism tended all too often to be negative. But what Englishman, with any political instinct in him, needs to be reminded of the tempering influence of responsibility? In the new Provincial Legislative Councils responsibility will have full scope for its salutary influence. Parties that lack a practical and constructive programme and do not act in a spirit of responsibility will speedily be exposed as having failed in their duty towards those who supported them, and will assuredly be so judged.

For responsible government will now cover the whole field of provincial administration—law and order, health, education, and nearly everything else that affects the daily life and livelihood of the people. Over all these vital matters Ministers responsible to an elected legislature will have authority, subject alone to the intervention of the Governor representing the Crown, only to be exercised if by some mischance the policy of Ministers were to fail to take due account of obligations which, in India as elsewhere, must be fulfilled if the interests of the community, as a whole, are to be secured. Subject only to this reserve of authority in the hands of the Governor (which need, in fact, never come into actual exercise) the Provinces henceforward will have full power to regulate their own concerns. The problems that will confront the Ministers are many and pressing, and no one who knows the conditions will seek to minimize their difficulty. Fortunately, there is an increasing awareness in India of what needs to be done and an increasing determination to get it done. Among the politicians there is no dearth of public spirit or capacity. In the Services there is a spirit of readiness to adjust themselves to changed conditions. All that is needed for success is a measure of tolerance and good-will without which no Constitution can work satisfactorily or for long.

It is a little difficult to realize that, less than a generation ago, all executive authority and all responsibility for policy lay in official hands, and that the electorate has grown within a generation from practically nothing to over thirty million. A few weeks ago that electorate went to the poll in huge numbers and in as orderly fashion as in countries whose political advancement is universally recognized. Some may see in the success of the Congress Party at the polls an ominous fulfilment of their forebodings. I had rather see in this success of the largest organized party in India—organized, that is, as we in England understand political organization—an augury for the development of political institutions in India. For remember this. In all true democracies the Opposition party or parties in the Legislature play an important, indeed, an indispensable, rôle in the working of the representative system. In those extreme forms of government which lie on either side of

the representative system, all points of view but that of the party in power are suppressed. In a true democracy the expression of different opinions is not merely tolerated but promoted. The Opposition not only criticizes; its function is to present the possibility of an alternative Government, and all the while it prepares itself for the task. Therefore it is that those who do not share the views of the party in power are none the less called on to play their part in government. There is not a choice between supine acquiescence and subversive conspiracy. And it is no mere play of words or courtesy that we in democratic England speak not only of His Majesty's Government, but also of His Majesty's Opposition.

We are, indeed, on the eve of a momentous change in the Provinces in India: a transfer of power, not final, it is true, nor complete, yet in its mass of huge dimensions, designed as the prelude to a measure of federal self-government at the centre, whereby India will be welded, as never before in her long history, into a unity of three hundred and forty million people. It is a change such as no patriotic Indian of the last generation, however ardent his hopes, could have expected to witness, a change probably greater than has ever occurred as a single stage of development in the peaceful evolution of any country. Revolution might indeed effect greater changes and cause a larger measure of power to pass at a single stage into hands imperfectly prepared to receive it. Of that the lamentable consequences are only too visible in the world today. But evolution, not revolution, is the sovereign rule of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the secret of its vitality.

I know well how deeply men in India are moved by patriotic feeling to look jealously at any Constitution which seems in any way to fall short of their full aspirations. I think I understand their thought: at its best it readily evokes an answering note of sympathy in our own. None the less, I would hope that those who feel thus will be not unwilling to recognize England's warm desire to promote the essential conditions of Indian progress. Nor can I believe that if they strike a true balance of loss and gain for India, they will be false to these clamant opportunities of service to their Motherland which now lie before them.

I fear that I have kept you over-long from Professor Coatman, whom we are to be privileged to hear this afternoon. He hardly needs an introduction to any British audience, and certainly little or none to the members of this Association, which has so long and so closely been concerned with the welfare of the inhabitants of India. For Professor Coatman served India and the Empire in India faithfully for twenty years, and, like all those whose work has brought them into relation with that great country, he has come under her spell and has devoted himself to her welfare. Moreover, he has given particular study to the economic relations of the British Empire. He is the author of a work, *Magna Britannia*, which is destined, I believe, to become a standard authority upon that important subject.

Mr. Coatman is of that fortunate few who have the art of breathing life and interest into whatever they touch. He has even descended into the valley of economics and made its dry bones live. But this afternoon he has something far from the dust to talk about—India and the vital problem of her form of government. We shall not only hear something that will instruct us,

but, unlike so many lessons, also enjoy every moment of our instruction. (Loud cheers.)

(The paper was then read.)

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON, who was first asked to speak, said: My Lord Chairman,—I am very grateful to you for having done me the honour of asking me to say a few words on a question which is of vital importance to my country. First of all, I should like to congratulate Lord Halifax on the lucid and fair manner in which he has placed before us the constitutional position in India today. I am sure that when those remarks are read on the other side of the Indian Ocean both supporters and opponents of Government will have nothing but appreciation of the kindly and fair manner in which he has treated the subject. I should also like to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of all present here to Lord Halifax's tenure of office as Viceroy of India. His generous policy towards the political prisoners in India, and in releasing them once or twice to give them a chance to work for the good of the country was really responsible for winning over for the Government a very large section of people who might be considered to be sitting on the fence. I think, secondly, that another great achievement of Lord Halifax in India was in successfully persuading Mahatma Gandhi to come to the Round-Table Conference. When the Constitutional history of India is written in future years, Lord Halifax's period of Viceroyalty will stand out as epoch-making. His great statesmanship and true sympathy for Indian aspiration have won for him an unrivalled position in our hearts.

I am very delighted to meet Mr. Coatman here this afternoon, particularly as I had the pleasure of knowing him in India. I met him many times in India digging into Government files and books of reference and writing reports, and if there is anyone suited to deal with this subject with first-hand knowledge, Mr. Coatman is certainly that one. Like the wise sort of man he is, he has given us in his paper both the pros and cons of the subject. He has neither been too optimistic nor very pessimistic. But on the whole I think an impression may be left on the minds of certain people that Mr. Coatman does not entertain such great hopes about the future success of the Constitution in India as we might wish him and the public here to have.

I would like to draw your attention to one or two important points. First he referred to the fact that the electorate were ignorant and not able to read the papers. It is quite true that they do not read papers and that they are illiterate. That is because there is no general education on the scale you know here, and they have not the money to buy newspapers; but it is not correct to say that they do not take a keen interest in the elections. If you study the figures of those who have gone to the polls, you will find that between 70 and 95 per cent. of the villagers walked to the polls to record their vote. So it is not right to say that the electorate in India are not alive to political questions. I was only the other day reading a poster sent to me by a prominent man in London who was protesting against the lethargy of the ratepayers in the London County Council elections. I was astonished to see in that poster that no less than 60 per cent. of the voters in the best

educated town in the world refrained from going to the polls. If that is so in the heart of the Empire, then Mr. Coatman cannot blame my poor country for not taking sufficient interest in the elections, even if that were true. (Laughter and cheers.)

Secondly, Mr. Coatman expresses some fears as to the communal differences in India. I concede that there have been communal differences, but I think it is wrong and unfair to my country to compare the India of today with the England of today. May I draw his attention to a little bit of the past history of England where people belonging to the same religion, Protestants and Roman Catholics, used to murder each other with greater vigour than we are doing in India. At Oxford the other day I passed the Martyrs' Memorial which commemorates that distressing period. I do not think we need be much alarmed about the communal differences in India. Mr. Coatman was right when he said that when there are Hindu and Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet in charge of law and order, they will have to put their heads together if they are to run their Government successfully. I think you need have no very serious fears of our breaking our heads over religious differences. In every country there must be differences of opinion. If we did not quarrel over religious matters we would quarrel over something else. The present-day economic and political differences of opinion will take a lot of beating when compared with our religious differences.

On the second of this month I had the pleasure of going to Cambridge and on the fifth to go to Oxford. The reason was that I read in the newspapers that Lord Halifax had been addressing English boys in a certain public school, and Lord Willingdon had similarly addressed English boys in another institution, with regard to prospects in the Indian Civil Service. I felt that evidently there was some disinclination on the part of those English boys to go to India, and if their qualms were to be set at rest perhaps they would like to know also how the Indian mind works: so I volunteered to go and speak to them. After the discussion at Oxford a very interesting question was put to me. One of the students said that on account of the last war we had to give the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to India, and now if there is another war in Europe, as there is likely to be (which we fervently hope will not be the case), we shall be forced to give India complete dominion status, and where will the members of the I.C.S. in India be? That is a very interesting question, and I hope I shall be able to give you an answer that will satisfy you. I think his fear was that if the extreme political leaders came into power, they would not handle the Service well. I gave him the instance of the Punjab, where I worked as a Minister for ten years. One of my friends, who as an ordinary member was the worst critic of the hydro-electric Department, to our good fortune was asked by the Governor to become a Minister with that Department in his portfolios. Colonel Beaty, who was in charge of the construction work, came to me and said, "Look at this: the Governor has thrown me and my work into the jaws of a tiger who will tear us to pieces: what am I to do?" I said, "Wait and see." After a little while I said to him, "What about it?" He said, "I am delighted with the Minister in charge: I could not have a better defender. He is my best friend." I went over to my colleague the Minister

and said, "What is this, that from a tiger you have turned into a lamb?" He said, "On the Opposition bench I did not have all the facts before me, and I did not see these things as I see them now."

I am almost certain, and I am hoping, that the Congress leaders will take office in India, because when they do take office responsibility will dawn upon them. They will be able to see political problems and administrative difficulties from the angle of vision that the administrator has had to see them up to now. It is very easy to criticize administration when you have not to suffer the consequences of any action that may be taken. I rather sympathize with the Congress leaders for this reason. When they are out of office it is very easy for them to say, "All right, we will make trouble for this Government," and to start a no-tax campaign. It is easy because their actions lead them into no difficulties. But once they have accepted office and the burden of administration is on their shoulders, if they say "no payment of taxes," how are they to run their Government? If they go into office, they have got to co-operate and take all the stock the present Government can hand them over. If they do not take office, the country will say, "We gave them our votes and they are not prepared to take responsibility." When the country has shown that the Congress have its confidence, how can they refuse office? I think it will be in the best interests of the country that the Congress leaders should take office, and once they do so they will prove no less friendly towards the Services than my colleague was to Colonel Beatty.

One further thing I want to say is this, that the strength of the British Empire today lies in the fact that she has the consent of the majority of the Indian people with her. People criticize the British Government for ruling that country irresponsibly. I say that it is an insult to India to suggest that the vast majority of a people do not like a system and yet they cannot get rid of it. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that if the majority of the people in India today were to turn against Government, it would be impossible for Government to run the administration. I see doubts expressed about the past connection of the British people with India, and that is mainly because most of the people here do not know what this connection has meant for India. You have only to compare what British India is today with the neighbouring countries where there has been no British connection. I do not wish to take you into details because sometimes comparisons are odious and are not liked, but I leave it to you to think for yourselves. Look round India on the map of the world and see other countries where the people are more or less the same as we are; see at what stage of political progress they are and where we are today. Look at it from the Indian point of view. There is within India a part where the British connection and British tradition has not meant what it has meant in British India. You can judge for yourselves as to whether the record of your administration in India is such that you may rightly be proud of it. By the granting of the 1919 Reforms the foundations of the British Empire were laid more firmly than ever in India; for it is only by giving way to the just demands of the people at the right moment that you can keep them on your side. I am certain that by granting this further step in 1935 the British Empire will be made more

firm than ever, and I long to see the day when India will be a full partner within the Empire. From that day the British Empire will be more powerful than ever. I have great pleasure in acknowledging the debt we owe to this connection, and we feel justly proud of it. (Cheers.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I think the Council of the East India Association is to be congratulated on the choice of a subject so opportune for this lecture, and also on the selection of a lecturer so competent. I had the greater pleasure in listening to him, as I agreed with a great deal of what he said as regards past events, and also because he was one of my officers in the old days of the Punjab. He said he had not much use for safeguards, but I remember in a time of great crisis he was one of my most valuable safeguards in quelling a rising of the Muslim peasantry against the Hindu money-lenders. He has done a great deal to explain to us the state of parties and of politics on the eve of the great change that is about to take place, and he has thrown much light on many obscure points.

There are two things which I wish he had developed a little more fully, and I hope he will do so in his concluding remarks. They are the complete collapse of the moderate Liberal Party, chiefly Hindu, in the recent elections, and the extraordinary triumph of the Congress. Both of these, though not unexpected by some of us here, have come to many as a shock and a disappointment. At the Round-Table Conferences and Joint Committees English statesmen who had not had previous experience of India considered that these very able gentlemen represented the views of India, and were, in fact, the "Voice of India." The scheme was very largely based on their advice in the hope that when the scheme went through those gentlemen who had done so much in framing it would be found able and willing to work it. The warnings that they had little influence in India were ignored. Now what has happened? They have all disappeared—sunk without trace. Some of us expected that result, but it means that some of the ablest men in India have been thrown out by the Congress Extremists. Their disappearance is a great loss, and to my mind it will mean very serious difficulty in working the new Constitution.

The second point is the sweeping triumph of the Congress. That, too, came as a shock to many people, though not unexpected by some of us who have followed recent events in India and knew that Congress organization, with its anti-British appeal and its promise of a new heaven and a new earth, was the only one with roots spreading all over India and recently even in the villages. But whatever the causes are—and the lecturer has dwelt on them to some extent—the appeal to the agrarian population has been the most potent. As a result the Congress now has an overwhelming majority in five provinces, a small majority in one province, Bombay, is the strongest political party in three other provinces. Only in the Punjab (which usually saves the situation) and Sind the Congress is in a negligible minority. In areas inhabited by over 170 millions of people the Congress is dominant; for over 60 millions of people in Bengal, Assam, and the North-West Frontier it is the strongest party; and in over 30 millions it is of little account. The Congress now has two courses open. It can either stand outside, as hitherto,

and wreck the Government in those six provinces by its majority turning out any alternative Government that may be formed; or it can come in and establish a Government of its own, as it has been invited to do.

The Congress so far is pledged to the wrecking policy, but let us hope that if the Congress do come in and take office they will behave reasonably, as Sir Ferozkhan Noon expects, and be good boys. But what he said is based on his experience as a tried and loyal Minister in the Punjab. The Punjab people compared with the rest of India are less emotional, more hard-headed, more controlled. The Punjab electorate consists mainly of sturdy peasant proprietors, and they include hundreds of thousands of ex-soldiers—men who have seen the world and have a sense of order and discipline. In those six provinces where the Congress has triumphed and the Hindus are in the vast majority, the same sobering influences do not exist. Therefore, because the Punjab has formed what I believe will be a stable government, giving adequate representation to the Hindu and Sikh minorities, I do not think it follows necessarily that the provinces where the Congress dominates will follow the wise example of the Punjab. The Congress is today top-dog for two-thirds of British India, and we can only hope, as the lecturer hopes, that the bark of the dog will prove to be worse than its bite. We must be prepared for disorder and even a breakdown.

It is an advantage, I think, that things have come to a head at this stage while the British Government has still a certain amount of prestige and strength left, and there is still a fairly strong British element in the Services, so that if a crash does come we have got the means of pulling ourselves together. And let me say that if the crash comes, outside the Punjab, we shall have to depend on ourselves if we want to retain our position of partnership in India.

This was illustrated by an incident at a hunt in Ireland when a friend of the speaker's, a fat man with short legs, was riding a big horse. He was thrown off when his horse refused at a brook. He asked a passing farm-hand to help him up. "I will not," said the latter; and, "Why not?" "Because you were there a minute ago, and why the devil didn't you stay there?" (Laughter.) The moral of this is that if we do not retain our position by our own efforts we cannot expect the people of India to help us to regain a position we have thrown away. They will reply, "You were there a minute ago, and why the devil didn't you stay there?"

Lord HALIFAX, after expressing the pleasure it always gave to listen to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whether one was in agreement with his views or not, said he much regretted the necessity to leave the meeting, and he would ask Lord Lamington, the President of the Association, to take his place.

Lord LAMINGTON said: I very much regret that Lord Halifax has to leave us, but I am sure you have appreciated his presence here this afternoon on this very important occasion. Owing to other calls I could not be present when Mr. Coatman spoke, but I have had the pleasure of reading his address, and I think it is a very valuable one. I hope his views will bear good fruit and prove very useful. I will now ask Mr. Molson to speak to us.

Mr. HUGH MOLSON: I hardly expected that Sir Michael O'Dwyer would manage to adopt the same robust optimism that the three previous speakers have maintained in the face of what I think is to all of us a very great disappointment—that so many Indian leaders who have in the last few years shown courage and responsibility should have been defeated in the elections under the new Constitution. I personally share the views of Mr. Coatman that this is the high-water mark of the Congress successes, and that within a very short time we shall see the Congress Party breaking up. We have actually had for a long time a two-party system in India. There has been the British Government on the one side, and you have had organizing themselves on the other side under the name of the Congress Party all those who in any way were opposed to the British administration. As long as it was possible for them to combine in opposition to what they denounced as an alien bureaucracy, it was possible for them to obscure the fact that those who followed them were deeply divided on all questions other than the one which they chose to put in the foreground. Bombay industrialists who wished for high protection were able to get support from representatives of Bengal who had to pay higher prices for their commodities for the benefit of the Bombay industrialists. You have had others who, like Mr. Gandhi, wished to maintain in India the old traditions, while also in the Congress Party you had others who were most anxious for a progressive policy. These heterogeneous groups can co-operate only in opposition.

Now that one party—the British bureaucracy—is withdrawing from the political field, it seems to me inevitable that those different outlooks on social, religious and economic matters must bring about a break-up in the Congress Party. This is the more likely in view of the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is now leading, for it is quite obvious that many of those who in the past provided the sinews of war for the Congress Party will not continue to subsidize a socialist policy. A policy of expropriation is unlikely to appeal to landowners in the United Provinces or socialism to mill-owners in Bombay, and there is no group of men whom it is more difficult to keep together in a strike than a collection of politicians. All politicians are potential blacklegs if it is possible for them by breaking a strike to obtain a seat on the Treasury Bench. That has been demonstrated on different occasions in the past in India, and is certain to be demonstrated on the next occasion. So far as the bad men in the Congress Party are concerned, they will not be prepared to deny themselves the opportunities for loot; so far as the good men are concerned, they will not be prepared to deny themselves the opportunities which the new Constitution gives them of trying to improve the economic condition of the constituencies that they represent. So for these reasons I believe that this victory portends the breaking-up of the Congress Party, and that this solidarity which existed in the past will come to an end within the next few months.

With regard to the defeat of the Moderate politicians, I think it is unfortunate that a proposal for a different electoral machinery that was made in the House of Commons was not accepted by the Government. If I may just give one or two simple figures to illustrate the point, I think it will show that the electoral system which has been adopted for India has made it

particularly easy for a well-organized majority to obtain a larger representation than it really ought to have. If, for example, you have 4,000 voters, of whom 2,000 are Congress men and 1,000 are supporters of the Justice Party, it is, I think, important and desirable that the Justice Party should obtain some representation. If you have the single vote and a voter may only vote for one representative, then it would be possible for the 1,000 Justice voters to obtain one representative in the Legislature. Under the system which at present obtains in all provinces except Bombay, each voter has as many votes as there are representatives to be elected. It is therefore possible for that 2,000 supporters of the Congress if they all vote for the same four men to obtain four representatives on Congress for their constituency and deprive the 1,000 Justice men of any representation. I do not wish to enlarge on that point, but I think the machinery that has been devised has made it easier for the Congress Party to obtain an overwhelming victory and one which has unfortunately resulted in the disappearance from Indian public life, only temporarily, I hope, of many of the old Liberals.

In conclusion, I would only say that I hope that the interval between the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and Federation will not be too long. In any federation there is a natural tendency for friction to grow up between the Governments in the Provinces and the Government at the centre. You can see that in the United States of America: you can see that in Australia you can see it in every federation in the world. This transitional period will, I think, be a dangerous period for India to go through. You will have these new Provincial Governments dependent upon people able to assert a special authority because derived from the people of India; over the top of them you will have the Government of India suspended from the Secretary of State in this country and responsible to the Imperial Parliament. Now there is obviously great danger of a constitutional conflict arising. The authority to which the Government of India looks is not the same authority as that to which the Provincial Governments look, and the great danger that I see in the success which the Congress Party has obtained is that they will take advantage of their power in the Provinces during this intervening period to refuse co-operation with the Central Government. They will try in that way to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament here to make concessions which it will be impossible for them to make, and such a demand can only result in extremely unfavourable circumstances for the inauguration of Federation at the centre.

Mr. LALKARA: After having heard Professor Coatman, Mr. Molson, and others this afternoon, who can escape the feeling that there is a great amount of nervousness on the part of those who have sponsored the new Constitution in India at what is happening now? In other words, the prodigal is beginning to fear that the day of reckoning is coming near. I for one am not at all surprised at the Congress sweeping everything before it in the recent provincial elections in India. Until a fortnight ago I was myself in India, and what I saw and heard and read there fills me with nothing but grave concern as to what may happen in the next few months.

I have been privileged to attend and participate in debates and proceedings

of this Association for the last three years, and, so far as I can remember, at various stages of this Indian controversy those with whom it has been our duty to differ have had nothing more substantial to offer us than this—that we must keep on hoping for the best. When some of us said that the Congress would go in with a majority we were laughed at, and I am sure if my esteemed friend Sir Michael O'Dwyer had said a year ago the same thing that he said today, he would have been told that he was a “die-hard,” and having been out of India for some time, his lifetime of experience there was of no account, it being out of date.

Now, Mr. Coatman, you say in your paper that it is rather difficult to assess to what extent the Congress will have influence in the Legislatures. But on that point let us be perfectly clear. There is, I believe, no need for me to inflict on the audience, at this stage, any complicated figures. Moreover, on the basis of the Hammond Report and the replies the Under-Secretary, Mr. Butler (I am glad to see Mr. Butler is here with us today), gave in the House of Commons yesterday, I do not find it difficult to assess the extent of Congress success; nor do I wish to minimize it in any way. Here is my summary of the figures, which shows that in the six provinces in which the Congress has secured a majority, out of 942 seats it has captured 579 seats, giving a majority of over 61 per cent. And out of the remaining five provinces in which Congress has not secured a working majority, in three it can still count on considerable support, and its vote as a bloc will be one of some importance. But the most important fact which is so often overlooked is that in those very six provinces in which the Congress has come out on the top, there is concentrated two-thirds of the total population in British India. That, to my mind, is the crux of the matter.

It is also inaccurate to say that of late the purely anti-British virus in the Congress attitude is absent. From what I have seen I find that the whole of Congress's propaganda was nothing if not intensely anti-British. It won the elections solely on it. This point also needs a little explanation. The Government of India so found their hands tied this time that in many cases Congress workers and Congress candidates were able to preach with impunity something that went a long way to the region of sedition, and it was preached openly within earshot of the local policeman or village constable. All this lent colour to the bazaar-talk that the British Raj would soon be at an end. The Congress told villagers that it would soon ride in the seat of power, and woe be to those who were not with it now. “Either with us or against us,” was one of their war-cries. This is the plain tale of the whole sordid business and of this debacle of bolstering up a fantastic Constitution.

Out of some 1,585 seats provided for in all the Provincial Legislatures, Congress could only contest about a thousand, after allowing for certain reserved seats which by their very nature no outsider could capture. And Congress has secured 710. So that, as you see for yourselves, it has done very well; even much better than it could have expected to do. The Congress President and the Congress Executive have, from the very beginning, asked for the country's support on the sole undertaking that they are out to smash this Constitution and deal a death-blow to British Imperialism.

The whole burden of its propaganda has been, as I have already pointed out, intensely anti-British and surcharged with hatred of everything British.

In face of it all, to tell anyone to hope for the best is, I am afraid, putting too great a strain on one's faith and credulity. I regret to say I cannot call that optimism. That sort of attitude, in the light of past experience in Ireland and elsewhere and judged by all canons of reason, appears to me as little short of self-delusion. But, believe me, the other side is in no mood for self-delusion. It by no means intends to stultify itself merely to oblige those here who are now hard put to to save face. Even at this eleventh hour we must awaken to reality and have the courage to face facts. If not, it may happen that before long the weight and burden of the whole collapse will be put on blameless shoulders and hot coals heaped on innocent heads. Yet the real source of trouble lies buried in this fantastic Constitution which strikes at the very root of Imperial stability and threatens the security of our Empire.

Mr. COATMAN, in reply, said: I should not like Sir Firozkhan Noon to think that I underrated the interest taken in the elections. I have a very clear recollection of the first elections in 1921 when I was a police officer, and my trouble was that there was too much interest being taken in the elections. Sir Michael O'Dwyer asked me a question. If he will allow me, I should like to say how proud I am that he should have come to hear my talk. I should like to tell him now, as he spoke about the matter, that I have very vivid recollections of his saying one word to me on a notable occasion—a recollection that will remain as long as I live.

On the whole I feel rather like a schoolboy instructing his headmaster in a difficult matter of Greek grammar, but I will give my views on the question asked by Sir Michael. What about the collapse of the Liberals? I used to ask myself that question when I was in Delhi, and my answer is that, first of all, they are not a disciplined party; second, they are confined to the intelligentsia. They have no representatives anywhere else, and I have never been able to discover a coherent programme in any of their manifestos. From the formation of the Simon Commission onwards they have contented themselves with grumbling and objecting. I am sorry to say that, because I have many dear friends among them, but they have not put forward any constructive proposals, and their roots are in too shallow soil.

Nobody knows so well as Sir Michael O'Dwyer that the strength of India is the men of the soil. That leads me to his second question—why Congress was so successful. Because they had a programme designed to catch the man on the soil and because for years they have been cultivating him, perhaps by wrong methods, but they have been paying attention to the villages, and they have got the villages for the time being. Mr. Molson foresaw the breaking-up of the Congress Party quite soon. In a sense I expect the same thing, but not perhaps quite as I understand him to mean. I think certainly the Congress Party must disappear with the responsibilities, as I tried to argue in my paper, but I think we do well to count on them

digging themselves in very strongly. You have to remember that the party that has power and patronage has got very many things on its side when the fight comes. So I do not look forward to a quick disappearance of the party, but I do look forward to a change of views. I listened with very great interest to what Mr. Molson had to say about machinery and its working. That will have to be tested out, and we will see if anything can be done about it.

Lastly, in regard to what Mr. Lalkaka said, his is a point of view with which we have some sympathy. Anybody who would deny that great dangers exist would be a fool. They do exist, and he is quite right in telling us that, but I have always thought that in this matter we have only a choice between dangers. I think we are choosing the lesser danger; and one thing we are doing, we are giving the best men and the best minds in India the chance to undertake constructive work. It is an appeal to them to do so, and there is no less desire and no less capacity in India than in this country to undertake such work.

Mr. R. A. BUTLER, M.P. : It is my pleasure, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Halifax for his historic speech, to you, Lord Lamington, and to our lecturer, Professor Coatman, for his extremely able address. The only observation I should like to make is to congratulate the Association which, through a very difficult period of controversy, has managed to present both sides of the case for a number of years. I think that, my lord, is due to your influence largely and those who so ably advise you, including Mr. Brown, who is sitting at your side. I only hope that India in starting upon Provincial Autonomy may learn just this one thing from British public life, and that is that it is possible to disagree most violently on political matters with many of those who later on are one's closest friends. I would like to thank Professor Coatman, who has a great knowledge of the subject, and I hope it will not be the last time we will have the opportunity of hearing his scientific views on what is likely to happen in India's future. (Cheers.)

HOSPITALITY FOR CORONATION VISITORS

THE East India Association is taking part in the work of a Co-ordinating Committee formed to deal with private hospitality, and which has representatives from the Dominions, India and Colonial Offices, the High Commissioners' Offices and the non-political Empire societies. Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Wilson is the Chairman of the Committee. Members of the Association wishing to offer private hospitality to visitors from India should write to the Honorary Secretary, 3, Victoria Street, S.W. 1, or to the Secretary, Coronation Hospitality Committee, care of Dominions and Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W. 1.

THE WORK OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE FOR INDIA AND CEYLON

BY SIR HARRY LINDSAY, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.
(Director of the Imperial Institute)

It is not generally realized how wide is the range of services which the Imperial Institute renders to countries of the Overseas Empire. On the economic side our laboratories and intelligence offices are at the disposal of enquirers, whether Government Departments or business firms, individuals or associations. On the exhibition side we tell the story of the Overseas Empire, country by country, in our Exhibition Galleries, Cinema, and Film Library. The following is a brief account of our work for India and Ceylon under each of the main heads into which our day-to-day activities are grouped:

PLANT AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS DEPARTMENT

The scientific and technical work of the Department is carried out by the Laboratories and the Intelligence Section. The function of the Laboratories is to investigate Empire raw products in order to determine their quality and commercial value. The materials received for examination may be "new"—i.e., they may not have been previously considered for commercial utilization—or they may be standard commodities but derived from a new source; in the latter case it is necessary to compare them with the standard materials. In the Intelligence Section the scientific staff deal with the technical problems involved in the enquiries which are not handled by the Laboratories.

In recent years the Plant and Animal Products Department has carried out a number of interesting investigations on Indian products. One or two concrete examples may be given. Last year a series of samples of Sunn hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*) was submitted by the Department of Agriculture in Bihar and Orissa for report and valuation. On chemical examination and submission to the trade the samples were found to be all of good technical quality, very well prepared, and worth about £25 per ton. In connection with the problem of utilizing waste limes (*citrus*) the Department of Industries of the Bombay Presidency submitted through the High Commissioner a sample of lime oil distilled from the rinds of discarded fruits. Chemical examination showed the oil to have constants resembling those of West Indian distilled lime oil, but to

be inferior in strength of odour and flavour to the commercial West Indian product; a probability of improved quality resulting from better methods of distillation was suggested.

An experimental lot of sheep skins was submitted by the Technical Adviser of Kutch State for tanning and dressing trials to ascertain their suitability for export. The skins were tanned and dressed for glove leather by a firm represented on the Imperial Institute Hides and Skins Committee, and as a result the Committee recommended that a large parcel of skins should be prepared by improved methods and forwarded to the Imperial Institute for a works trial. The Committee has also had under consideration the complaints of tanners in the United Kingdom in regard to the preparation of half-tanned leather from India and has furnished India with memoranda on the subject.

Other Indian products investigated include Sunn hemp and sisal, essential oils such as ginger-grass and palmarosa, oils and oil seeds (especially tung oil), and tanning materials, including myrobalans, babul bark and pods, *Anogeissus latifolia* leaves and extracts, and certain barks. Wormseed (*Artemisia*) from Kashmir has also been examined, and an enquirer was supplied with information regarding the methods of extraction of santonin from this drug for the market. Technical information has been supplied to firms in the United Kingdom concerning marotly oil, kanjin oil, ghatti gum, soap nuts and mowra cake. The Institute is also in close touch with the Indian Lac Research Bureau in London, and carries out analyses of samples of lac submitted by the Chief Officer.

Much interesting work is also done on behalf of Ceylon, especially in association with the Registrar-General and Director of Commercial Intelligence, and the Trade Commissioner in London. A sample of estate-quality citronella oil examined was found to have satisfactory constants and to be of superior odour; supplies of oil of this quality would be welcomed by soap manufacturers. Work has been done in regard to tobacco, of which a range of samples has been examined including promising types for the United Kingdom market: reports were furnished on the quality of the leaf shipped in successive seasons. Samples of castor seed submitted were reported as being all of marketable quality, though somewhat below the average as regards content of oil. Of a large range of other products examined, sunflower seed, essential oils (geranium, cinnamon bark, lemongrass, and citronella), ginger, and tonka beans may be mentioned. Help has been afforded to the Agricultural Department of Ceylon in connection with the establishment of a local fruit-canning industry. Information was furnished as to methods employed and plant required, and assistance given to an officer of the Department in studying recent

research on the industry; while reports were obtained of an experimental consignment of canned fruits. Private enquirers have also been assisted in regard to the use of coconut palm spirit in perfume manufacture, preparation of quinine and other alkaloids from cinchona bark, wine-making, etc.

MINERAL RESOURCES DEPARTMENT

The Mineral Resources Department is well equipped to carry out all kinds of tests on samples of a mineral character. The work done includes the chemical analysis of every variety of mineral specimen and also small-scale technical trials, in addition to physical testing of clays and of cement, both as regards raw materials and finished products.

To illustrate the varied nature of the work some recent examples may be cited. Detailed microscopic examinations were made of a large number of rock specimens from Ceylon which enabled them to be classified into several petrological types, and comprehensive chemical analyses were then carried out on a typical member of each rock-type represented. The results were required for scientific purposes in Ceylon and the experience necessary for this class of work is not available in the island.

It is known that various valuable by-products are now being obtained in different parts of the world from the waste liquors produced during the extraction and purification of table salt from sea water by solar evaporation. A number of by-products, prepared on a small scale, and of waste brines from the Ceylon Government's salt works, were sent to the Imperial Institute for analysis and for suggestions as to how they might be improved by inexpensive means. After analyses had been made, simple processes were worked out whereby products of commercial quality might be obtained. These products included magnesium sulphate (Epsom salts) of the grade required by the British Pharmacopœia, and an impure potassium chloride which should be of use locally as a potash fertilizer. Potash is one of the elements essential for plant growth which is deficient in amount in most Ceylon soils.

In connection with a dietary survey of Ceylon, the mineral contents of a large number of fruits and vegetables in common use for food were determined, with a view to finding out whether one or more of the essential mineral elements was likely to be deficient in amount.

A number of samples of clay from Ceylon were examined. It was found that the raw clays as dug would be unsuitable for ceramic purposes, but that after washing to remove sand, grit, etc., they might be suitable for the manufacture of low grade ware for local use. A sample of crude ilmenite sand, of no com-

mercial value as received, was submitted to electro-magnetic separation in order to concentrate the ilmenite. Chemical analysis and solubility trials carried out on the separated ilmenite showed that it should be suitable for the manufacture of titanium pigment.

Scientific work done recently on Indian samples has consisted mainly of chemical analyses of various mineral samples for private firms and individuals. These have included monazite sands, ilmenite sands and a number of bauxites, the object being in all cases to determine the market possibilities of the samples. Not all the work involves practical trials or analyses; for instance, in view of the present interest in coconut shell charcoal engendered by the demand for gas-masks, the help of the Imperial Institute was sought by the Ceylon Coconut Research Scheme in formulating a local standard for coconut shell charcoal of good quality, and helpful advice was given. In the case of India, too, information has been supplied on the briquetting of charcoal dust and on the uses and disadvantages of charcoal and of raw wood as fuel for gas producers, both for stationary engines and for engines on motor vehicles.

In all this work close co-operation is maintained between the Institute and the Minerals Adviser to the Indian Government on the one hand and the Trade Commissioner for Ceylon on the other, the former officer being a member of each of the Institute's five Advisory Committees on Minerals. Attention is also given to India and Ceylon in the Institute publications prepared in the Mineral Resources Department. Recent publications containing matter dealing with these countries include *Gemstones*, *Mining Royalties and Rents in the British Empire*, *Platinum and Allied Metals*, while four new editions now in the press of *Barium Minerals*, *Asbestos*, *Strontium Minerals*, and *A Survey of the Mineral Position of the British Empire* also give considerable attention to India. The annual *Statistical Summary* issued by the Imperial Institute gives details *inter alia* of the production, imports and exports of the more important minerals of India and Ceylon.

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE EXHIBITION GALLERIES

The extensive Exhibition Galleries, to which the public is admitted free of charge, are divided into Courts one for each country in the British Commonwealth of Nations, in which the scenery, the products and the life and industries of the people are represented in the form of a travelogue. These Courts are arranged in as true a geographical sequence as possible so that a visitor is able to pass from one country to another as if on an actual tour. The Courts of the countries of Asia have been

grouped together, those of India and Ceylon being in the east gallery, whilst those of Malaya, Borneo, and Hong Kong are in the adjoining south gallery. The Cinema Hall, where Empire films are displayed free to organized parties, is also entered from the East Gallery and from the South Gallery. The main object of the exhibits and of the Cinema is to carry out the travelogue idea and to impart, by means of visual instruction, to adults and to the youth of England, some knowledge of their Empire heritage and what this heritage means to them and to the home country.

To this end each Court has one or more "story" exhibits arranged to show the connection of some product in its country of origin with industries in Great Britain requiring that product in the manufacture of an article of everyday use. As an example of a "story" of this type, the jute exhibit in the Indian court may be cited. In this the visitor sees first a diorama (illuminated picture model) which depicts a scene in the jute region of Bengal and shows bundles of jute stems undergoing the retting process and the successive stages of preparation at the hands of the farmer up to the finished fibre, the raw jute of the manufacturer. A descriptive label attached to the diorama explains these processes, whilst a map gives the areas in India devoted to jute cultivation. Associated with this diorama is a showcase containing specimens and photographs of jute plants and of the various stages of treatment which the stems undergo until the fibre is ready for use in the jute mills of India or for transport overseas. These are followed by specimens, one-third of the normal size, illustrating the jute sacks and bags manufactured in Calcutta and Dundee mills, and their service in the transport of the world's goods, each bag containing samples of the actual products which it is destined to transport. The many other services rendered by jute in the domestic life of every man are shown in a doll's house model illustrating how jute is employed in the home, the office, and the factory. By means of exhibits such as these the child, as well as the casual visitor, is brought into contact with important facts, that would otherwise be remote from his ken, regarding the needs of everyday life and how they are supplied; and, at the same time, an awareness of the romance of common things is awakened.

The subjects of similar "story" exhibits are Indian cotton and Lancashire looms; Indian mica and its application as an insulator in the electric flat-iron and in the commutator of a motor-car; Travancore beach sand and its numerous applications in modern industry from paint and printer's ink to sparking flints of cigarette lighters; Indian linseed oil, rosin, and jute, as components of linoleum; Indian sheep skins as the material of the "kid" glove;

East Indian kips as leather for army boots; Ceylon plantation rubber in the service of health, communications, transport, and sport; and the versatile Ceylon coconut as a source of coir fibre for matting and brushes, and of copra and oil as the basis of margarine, sweets, soap, and cattle food.

As a further aid to the travelogue scheme of arrangement, relief model maps are introduced in various Courts, or groups of Courts, to show the physical features of the countries concerned and their bearing on the crops grown and consequently on the life and activities of the human populations; whilst the dioramas, photographic window transparencies, pictures, and photographs, bring to the eye of the visitor those scenes which would be met with on an actual tour of the country.

Two Guide Lecturers, with experience of life in overseas countries, are attached to the staff, and their services are available for conducting school parties and others who come to study a particular country or group of countries. The lectures given in the courts are supplemented by films shown in the cinema, and school parties usually combine a visit to the cinema with a lecture tour. That the visual instruction available in the Imperial Institute galleries is appreciated is evident from the fact that some 2,800 organized parties from schools visit the galleries annually, and is further evidenced by the fact that during school holidays children come on their own initiative and, in many cases, bring their parents with them.

Every district in Greater London sends school parties, and some come from much further afield. In order to assist schools in the provinces that are too far removed to be able to take advantage of the facilities afforded by visits to the galleries, specimens of the commoner Empire commodities are supplied, on written application, for a nominal sum, and series of photographic postcards have been prepared and are on sale for use in the epidiascope to illustrate lectures on Empire countries and Empire products. Free literature concerning certain countries is also available, and is sent out with the specimens of commodities or distributed to enquirers at the Central Publications Stand, which is maintained in the Galleries for this purpose.

EMPIRE FILM LIBRARY

A wide public is reached by the films in the Empire Film Library, which was inaugurated by H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester less than two years ago. Some 2,500 schools and other organizations in the United Kingdom made regular use last year of the film service, and the number of films supplied reached the total figure of 23,500, and these were seen by over 4,700,000

persons. There is constant growth in the number of users of the Library, and the revised catalogue of films which will be issued during this year will contain numerous additions.

At present India and Ceylon are represented by 77 copies of films. Here are films which add a touch of romance to the everyday use of tea and rice; elephants and buffaloes are shown toiling in the forests of Burma, and tourists discovering the "Mystic East." There is a wide field awaiting the circulation of more and better films, of which the fullest advantage should be taken by overseas nations of the British Commonwealth.

A JANUARY WEEK IN PALESTINE

By C. E. NEWHAM

I was with His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda when he journeyed by air from Jodhpur to Alexandria (his first long-distance flight) in December and subsequently on a tour in Nubia and the Sudan. While His Highness toured in East Africa I returned to Cairo and took the opportunity to pay a short visit with my wife to Palestine for the purpose of informing His Highness of conditions there, with a view to a later visit. I give the following extracts from my log.

Leaving Cairo at 5.30 p.m. on January 26, we transferred to the Palestine railways by means of the Suez Canal ferry at Kantara and arrived in Jerusalem at 9 a.m. on the following day.

We obtained a good car driven by one Michel Sweda, a Palestine Christian, and a most versatile guide in Harry Hannaux, a Palestine Jew (pre-war), who became Quartermaster-Sergeant of the City of London Regiment during the war, and served much of his four years in this area. We set out to see the Dead Sea, the Jordan and Jericho.

The weather had been cold and wet, following snow, but the sun shone obligingly through our first day after the dismal drizzle which greeted our arrival. We drove comfortably along a good road through the hills on which Jerusalem is built, and Hannaux occasionally broke the thread of his descriptions of historic places of war reminiscences to point out spots where there had been recent skirmishes or armed dacoities—several cars have been held up this month. The dangerous time is apparently about sunset, and, with one later exception, we so timed our trips that they finished before sunset.

The drive was steadily downhill, for while Jerusalem is 3,000 feet above sea-level, the Dead Sea is 1,400 feet below. At last we emerged from a deep cutting to see the Dead Sea, shining and still, at the foot of the Mountains of Moab. Then the road led across a flat plain, once the bed of the Dead Sea, past the potash works and drying pans, to the Lido Restaurant at Kallia, where it is hoped to develop a new health resort. The water is very salty, and the composition and properties appear closely to resemble those at Salt Lake City, Utah, which I visited four years ago.

Hannaux explained all the Biblical associations of this historic area, which is known to be the result of a gigantic subterranean disturbance in primeval days. Then, after an admirable simple meal on a sunny terrace, we motored to Jericho, or rather through it to the Jordan. Leaving the car on the Palestine side of the Allenby Bridge, of which Hannaux told many good war stories as we leaned over the wooden rail and gazed at the turbulent muddy stream, we walked over into Transjordan towards Es Salt, the first

town there. Es Salt is connected with Amman on the railway between Damascus and Maan, the scene of daring exploits of the late Lawrence of Arabia.

Back in Jericho, nowadays a pleasant smiling village at the foot of the peak where Christ was tempted by Satan, Hannaux proved to be a fund of knowledge, whether of ancient history or the current conflict between Jew and Arab. . . .

On the way back from Jericho we made a brief halt at Bethany, crawled down into the tomb of Lazarus, and saw the house of Mary Magdalene. At Cook's the news from Damascus was that the road was still blocked, but we made plans for the morrow on the assumption that there would be no more snow and that the road would be open on Friday. There remained only sufficient daylight for a short stroll to watch a lovely sunset, by which Jerusalem the Golden justified its name. We were glad then to rest until dinner as the guests of Mr. Owen Tweedy, Director of the Press Bureau, who lunched with His Highness in Cairo.

In the King David Hotel were several acquaintances from India, most of them on military duty. His Highness the Khan of Kalat and staff were also there, but we only caught a glimpse of them in intervals of sight-seeing. The hotel is the headquarters of General Dill, who commands the forces drafted into Palestine, and one floor and part of another is utilized either for officers and their families or as military offices. The hotel is one of the chain in which we had stayed in Cairo, Luxor and Assuan, and in many respects the best.

We had tried to see the Garden of Gethsemane on our way to Jericho, but we found the Franciscan Fathers saying their prayers. On our way back we were more fortunate, and saw all its loveliness in a soft fading sunlight. The chapel is beautiful, but the garden appealed to us both far more. The atmosphere is one of profound peace, the only movement being that of the Fathers, moving slowly and noiselessly, tending the flowers, telling their beads, or reading.

There was still no news of the Damascus-Beirut road on the following morning, but the local weather reports were more reassuring. We felt that the roads would surely be opened if no further snow fell, and we decided to speed up our sight-seeing so that we might leave at a moment's notice. Our first objective then was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is such an amazing place that a whole volume would be needed to describe it. The majority of Christian communities of recognized standing have their own chapels within, but the very tiny inner sanctuary covering the spot where the Body of Christ was laid is shared by all, and services are held in strict rotation, each community being allowed the same number of minutes.

Outside we stumbled along narrow, slippery, cobbled streets to the ancient Mosque of Omâr and the Dome of Rock, the original site of King Solomon's Temple. This site has been held through the ages by many peoples and many religions, but now it is exclusively Muhammadan. A short distance away we lingered for a while at the Wailing Wall where many Jews were praying. This historic spot has caused much bitterness and bloodshed in recent years and is now guarded by British police. For obvious reasons,

We were still ahead of time, with half our journey completed, but it was determined to have something in hand in case the road in Syria was skiddy or the surface rough through rain and frost. The sun was shining brightly, and the drive around the northern end of the Sea of Galilee strongly reminiscent of the drive from Ouchy around the Lake of Geneva. Passing several Jewish settlements which did not appear very prosperous we shot downhill again to the Jordan, Michel relating stories of how the Australian Light Horse harried the retreating Turks at this point.

At Roshpina we were halted for passport examination. Then after two miles of no man's land we turned north to a small Palestine police post, and a hundred yards further on the Syrian frontier post at Jacob's Bridge. Then we climbed steeply to a flat, stony, uninviting plain over which towered Mount Hermon and the white peaks of the anti-Lebanon. Snow lay round about us and the air was cold, but the road was clear. After twenty miles of dreary desert, relieved only by the mountains, we began to see villages and cultivation, police posts and French troops.

With a triumphant smile Michel pointed to the faint outlines of Damascus ahead. We had gained nearly an hour on our schedule. We shot past the aerodrome, barracks, parties of Senegalese and Algerian troops, and came rather gladly, to rest in front of the Orient Palace Hotel shortly after one o'clock.



A HIMALAYAN TEMPLE SURROUNDED WITH ITS SACRED GROVE OF DEODAR.

The Deodar Forests of Northern India

Copyright: H. L. Wright.

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THE SECTION OF A LARGE DEODAR LOG, SHOWN AT THE KASHMIR STATE EXHIBITION.

This was cut from a tree nearly 700 years old.
Copyright: H. L. Wright.



A DRY-SLIDE FOR THE EXTRACTION OF SLEEPERS.

Copyright: H. L. Wright.

The Deodar Forests of Northern India.

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THE DEODAR FORESTS OF NORTHERN INDIA

By H. L. WRIGHT, I.F.S.

(Conservator of Forests, North-West Frontier Province.)

WHEN it is realized that each mile of broad-gauge railway line requires 2,000 sleepers, having an average life of little more than twelve years, some idea will be obtained of the enormous amount of timber that is annually consumed by the Indian railways. During recent years iron and steel sleepers have come into prominence, but even so the number of wooden sleepers annually required for replacements alone runs into millions. Yet with all its thousands of tree species India possesses very few whose timber is suitable for use in the railway line. For a sleeper wood must have several special characteristics: durability, hardness and toughness, non-liability to warp and split, and good spike-holding capacity.

Antiseptic treatment is a comparatively recent innovation in India. This has increased the range of timbers that may be used, for previously all sleepers were laid in the line without treatment, and there were then only four species that were of any importance—deodar, sal, Burmese pyinkado, and teak. But teak has never been used to such a large extent as the other species, as it is really too valuable for this purpose, and now its price is almost prohibitive.

Availability is the main factor that decides the choice of a sleeper wood, and for this reason deodar has, ever since the line was first constructed, always been used by the North-Western Railway, which, with its thousands of miles of track, serves the whole of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sindh, and this demand alone would have been sufficient to have placed deodar in the first rank of Indian commercial timbers.

But it is not only its use for sleepers that makes deodar the most important forest tree of the western Himalaya. It is, in fact, like teak, too good to be used for this purpose, as it is an admirable timber for building and bridge construction, furniture, and for any purpose for which durability and immunity from insect attack is required. It is its latter quality that makes deodar timber so valuable for use in the plains, for its sweet-smelling natural oil makes it particularly distasteful to the otherwise voracious termite, and it can thus be used for many purposes for which other conifers would fail.

The deodar (*Cedrus deodara*), which is a first cousin of the cedar of Lebanon, is a fairly widespread species, being indigenous

throughout the western Himalaya, from Afghanistan to Garhwal, at elevations of from 4,000 to 10,000 feet. It is most commonly found from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, but the altitudinal range varies greatly with locality, being higher on the southern than on the northern slopes. The deodar belt is, however, a well-marked one, as the tree is essentially gregarious, though it frequently occurs in a mixed crop with other conifers, such as the blue pine, spruce and to a less extent the silver fir, and with broad-leaved trees such as the Himalayan oaks and chestnut.

Rainfall appears to play a considerable part in the distribution of deodar, particularly the winter rainfall, which at the elevations at which deodar grows is mostly in the form of snow. For while it is found in the dry inner valleys and in the upper reaches of the Punjab's five rivers, where the monsoon does not penetrate, it is never at its best on the outer hills, which receive the full force of the monsoon rains. The climate of Kashmir, with its heavy winter snowfall and rather wet spring, but with only a moderate rainfall during the monsoon, is ideal for deodar, and throughout the State it is to be found thriving to perfection over large and compact areas.

A feature of its distribution, and one which has an important economic aspect, is the relatively small area of deodar forest that is to be found in British India. Only Jaunsar in the United Provinces, the Beas valley (Kulu) in the Punjab, and the Kaghan valley in the North-West Frontier Province are substantial exporters of deodar from Government-owned forests. By far the greater part of the supply comes from Indian States, chief of which is Kashmir, which covers a large area right in the middle of the deodar zone. To the east of this are Tehri Garhwal, Bashahr, Jubbal, Mandi and Chamba States, while to the west are the frontier States, Swat, Dir, and Chitral, which form the northern bulwark to our Indian Empire, and the tribal forests of Indus Kohistan, from which large quantities of deodar are exported, but which no forest officer has ever been allowed to visit. Further west still are the deodar forests of Afghanistan, which up to the present have never seriously been worked for export.

Grown under optimum conditions, the deodar reaches a huge size, for though slow growing it is long-lived. As a commercial crop it takes at least one hundred and twenty years to arrive at maturity, but it will live for many times this period, and in the early days of forest management trees eight to nine hundred years old were not uncommon. It has been known to attain a height of nearly 250 feet and a girth of more than 30 feet, but such grand old trees are now extremely scarce and are rarely found outside temple groves, where, being looked upon as sacred, they are allowed to stand until they die.

For, as its name implies, the deodar is the tree of the gods, and trees growing in temple groves are specially venerable. For these are the personal property of the god, and no hill-man in his senses would dream of cutting one, far less of using the timber for his private needs. Even should one fall from old age, it will be allowed to rot if the timber is not required for repairs to the temple.

For misfortune would certainly result if a house were built of the sacred timber; either the house would refuse to stand, or, what is the more usual form in which a god's anger is made manifest, the owner's family would fall victim to some terrible disease or his crops would fail to ripen. Some of these groves are indeed so sacred, or perhaps it is that the gods who own them are so much to be feared, that the hill-man who has to pass through them will carefully remove even the dry needles that may have stuck to his shoes, so that he may not invoke the god's displeasure by inadvertently removing some of his property from within the sacred precincts.

Although the greater part of the deodar forests lie outside British India, their history is of outstanding interest, for not only were they some of the earliest forests to be examined and brought under technical forest management, but the various stages through which forest conservancy developed give an insight into the lines on which the brains which were directing forest policy in India were then working. The history of these forests is, in fact, the history of the Indian Forest Service, which, within fifty years of its creation, had become the foremost forest service in the Empire, showing the way to less highly developed places where forest conservancy was yet in its infancy.

The history of these forests starts from the annexation of the Punjab in 1847. Previous to this a small quantity of deodar timber had probably found its way down most of the Punjab rivers to the plains below. For in those early days deodar grew right down to the river-banks, and it was not difficult to fell the more accessible trees, to log them on the river-bank, to throw the logs into the river, and to pray for a good monsoon to carry a fair number of them down to the Punjab. Such primitive methods of exploitation are practised to this day by the tribesmen of Indus Kohistan, and there can be little doubt that a certain amount of deodar timber was always available for the better class buildings in the plains of Northern India.

But after the annexation the country developed rapidly. New cantonments began to spring up all over the Punjab, while the railways were rapidly extended. A big demand thus arose for first-class timber, and as deodar was the only wood at all suitable, various adventurous spirits began to penetrate the inner hills

prospecting for deodar. The most notable of these was an individual whose mode of approach was a bag of rupees, which, dangled before one of the hill Rajas, seems to have been sufficient to obtain almost *carte blanche* to take as many trees as he wanted. Naturally the more accessible forests were worked first, and many lying alongside the main rivers were so reduced to ruin that they have never been able to recover.

About this time the Maharaja of Kashmir also appears to have realized that his forests could be made a source of income. It will be remembered that, on the conclusion of the second Sikh war, what is now known as Kashmir was sold to the Maharaja of Jammu for seventy-five lakhs of rupees. It is said that when he first surveyed his purchase, he grumbled and remarked that one-third of the country was mountains, one-third water, and the rest already alienated to privileged persons. How little could he have foreseen that in the time of his great-grandson the gross forest revenue of his domains would exceed the whole of the original purchase money.

By 1851 anxiety was already being felt regarding future supplies of deodar. The demands of the public works departments were constantly increasing, yet little was known of the sources from which supplies were being drawn. For the inner valleys of the Punjab's five great rivers were almost unknown country. Lord Dalhousie, who was then Governor-General, and who will always be remembered as the founder of Indian forestry, therefore appointed a Captain Longden of His Majesty's 10th Foot, carefully to examine and to report on the forests of the whole western Himalaya, eastwards from Chamba to the north of Simla.

To those who know what extensive touring in the Punjab hills entails, even under present-day conditions, a description of Longden's explorations, at a time when there were no roads, no rest-houses, and, above all, no proper maps, must be a source of continual admiration and astonishment. He must have been a man of exceptional powers of endurance, for he covered a vast amount of country and penetrated to places hitherto hardly visited by Europeans. During the course of his travels he visited all the important deodar areas in the valleys of the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi and Chenab rivers, except those lying within Kashmir territory, and as a direct result of his explorations an agency was established in the Chenab valley, where during the next two years he himself organized exploitation works on Government account. This agency worked well, for during the next decade it was able, from its dépôt near Sialkote, to supply the various public works departments with the greater part of their timber requirements.

It was not long, however, before the energy with which railway construction was being pushed on in Northern India again caused

anxiety with regard to future deodar supplies, and in order to find out to what extent the hill forests could meet this demand, Dr. Cleghorn, who was then Conservator of Forests in Madras, was transferred to the Punjab to make an examination of the timber resources of the western Himalaya and to inaugurate systematic conservancy and forest management in the Punjab.

Cleghorn's journeys were even more remarkable than those of Longden, for during the two summers of 1862 and 1863 he visited and recorded most valuable information regarding all the hill forests from the Jumna to the Indus, while during the winters he inspected the timber depôts and examined the scrub forests of the plains. In the course of his report Cleghorn made it clear that neither the Chamba nor the Bashahr forests could continue to be worked at the same rate as they had been during the past decade.

The Punjab Forest Department was initiated in 1864, with Dr. Stewart as its first Conservator, and one of its first duties was to negotiate leases with these two States so that their forests might be worked in future to provide a sustained supply of timber for Government public works. These leases were completed by 1866, and as a lease had also been entered into with the Tehri Garhwal State, Government thus obtained control over all the more important deodar areas outside Kashmir, which resolutely refused to allow any interference with its forest affairs.

The foundations of scientific forest management had now been laid. The Himalayan forests were formed into five forest divisions, each bearing the name of one of the Punjab rivers, and the staff for management and conservancy was slowly recruited. But even more important, the Government of India laid down a definite forest policy, that, however expedient it might be, these forests were not to be worked without due consideration being paid to their future maintenance and reproduction. At the same time emphasis was laid on the importance of replacement by means of planting and sowing. This pronouncement, which was made at the end of 1865, was of great importance, as it was almost the first sign of the awakening of what may be called a forest conscience.

Although enormous demands for sleepers for new construction sometimes made it impossible to avoid anticipating fellings, the policy of Government was loyally carried out by the newly organized Forest Department, and it stands to the lasting credit of those who were then at the helm of affairs, particularly Dr. Brandis, that the forests were able to pass through this period of strain without permanent damage to their productive capacity.

The next thirty years, from about 1870 to 1900, was a period of building on the foundations that had already been laid. During this period, as more technical staff became available, increasing attention was paid to organization and control. The forests were

demarcated and surveyed, the rights of the people were enquired into and settled, while carefully thought out working plans were prepared for all the more important forests. Even the smaller States came into line, and with the advice of Government forest officers organized their forests on similar lines. In 1887 Kashmir, too, began to organize a forest department, and appointed as Conservator an officer of the Indian Forest Service. Since that day forestry in the State has so progressed that the State forests are now as highly organized and as scientifically managed as any in British India.

Since 1900 the main line of progress and development has been in silviculture, which has truly been described as the foundation of all forestry. For it is the science of growing forest crops, and unless the forester knows how to replace the trees that he has felled, nothing but disaster can result. But in its early days the Forest Department had neither the staff nor the time to devote to silvicultural research, for it is a subject that requires uninterrupted study, as it is complicated by the fact that every species must be studied separately. For every species has its own peculiarities, and even the same species may have different silvicultural characteristics in different localities.

In the case of the deodar forests the department were in the happy position of having a large surplus of mature and over-mature trees, which could gradually be realized without seriously depleting their capital. These were taken out from all over the forests, and although artificial restocking was undertaken on small selected areas, it was for the most part left to Nature to fill in the blanks that were caused by felling. The early working plans were, however, very conservative in their estimates, and the mature trees were removed so gradually that it was not until the early years of the present century that it began to be realized that this system of working, the selection of mature trees from large areas of forest, was not resulting in as much regeneration as was expected. For although young deodar plants are capable of standing moderate shade and of persisting under it for some time, they are incapable of making headway unless given complete overhead light, and this was what they were failing to get under the system of management then applied.

This was realized by the present Inspector-General of Forests, Sir Gerald Trevor, who, as divisional forest officer in Kulu, devoted nine years to the investigation of this problem. As a result of prolonged study and carefully conducted experiments, he was able to show that deodar could be perfectly regenerated under a light shelterwood of mother trees, and in the working plan for the Kulu forests, prepared by him in 1919, the Uniform or Shelterwood system of management was applied to deodar for the first time.

This system cannot be applied to forests on very steep ground, but in all suitable localities it is now the recognized method of working both in British India and the Indian States.

Briefly it aims at removing the whole of the existing crop and replacing it with an even aged crop of young trees within a definite period of time, thus ensuring ample supplies of timber for future generations. In most places this system has given wonderful results; and Trevor, revisiting Kulu after an absence of fifteen years, was able to write as a foreword to the working plan that was replacing his own:

"In the profession of forestry, more especially in India, it seldom happens that a man is permitted to see the results of his labours. I have now had the privilege to return to the Punjab and to see areas where I marked the first seedling felling now completely regenerated with magnificent young woods; to see thriving plantations where rubbish cumbered the ground, and I have my reward. Having seen the forestry of the greater part of the world, I can say that the standard of work which has now been attained is in no way inferior to that of any country. The young crops now being nursed up will produce a yield of finest timber, far greater than that obtained in the past, and in spite of bad times there is no reason to believe that this, the only property of the Punjab Government, will ever cease to repay the care and money spent on it."

Thanks mainly to Trevor, the silviculture of the deodar is now firmly established, but though progress in this direction has been great, little has been done to alter the methods of timber extraction, which are still much the same as they were sixty or seventy years ago. But this is easily explainable, for although these methods have often been decried as primitive and old-fashioned, it is doubtful whether under present conditions in the Himalaya they could be improved upon. For labour is cheap and, though uneducated, is skilled and efficient for the work it has to do. Schemes for portable sawmills and mechanical means of extraction have often been mooted but have rarely materialized, for sawmills and machinery, unless they are kept constantly at concert pitch, are apt to prove white elephants, and the average hill-man has little aptitude for machinery.

The story of the evolution of a sleeper, from the standing tree to its final position in the track, is full of interest. First comes marking the trees, for whether a forest is sold to purchasers or worked by the department, it is a cast-iron rule that no tree may be felled until it has been marked at the base with the felling hammer of the department. Next comes felling, and this, whether done with the axe or with the saw, is a skilful operation on which much depends. For deodar often grows on very steep country, and if felling is done carelessly the tree takes charge, rushes away down the hillside, and by the time it reaches the

bottom there is little left to saw into sleepers, most of it having been reduced to matchwood. But if it is felled properly it stays very much where it falls, and, lying along the hillside, is there cross-cut into sleeper lengths, each $9\frac{1}{4}$ feet long. The logs are then squared with an axe, propped up on posts and sawn into sleepers. Sawing is a slow process, two men or a man and a woman working on the saw, one standing on the log and the other beneath. Often a sawing pair consists of man and wife, and it is then invariably the wife who is given the lower position, probably because this is the more unpleasant owing to the falling sawdust.

Conversion is now finished, but by far the most arduous part of the work remains, for many of the deodar forests lie high up on the hillside, far away from the nearest floating stream, which is the first stage on the long journey to the plains. For this part of the work some form of mechanical aid has been invoked in recent years, and in suitable places a simple form of ropeway is used for taking the sleepers down, or where the country is easy dry slides are often built over which the sleepers can be dragged. But from most places the sleepers still have to be moved by human labour, and for this special coolies are employed, who from long practice are able to carry immense loads, for a single broad-gauge sleeper weighs well over a hundredweight. In some places in the higher hills carriage is done by women, and it is not uncommon to meet a strong sturdy hill-girl trotting down the sleeper path with two sleepers on her back and a baby wrapped up in a blanket slung on in front.

Arrived at the side stream, the next stage is to work the sleepers down to the main river. Various methods are used, the most common being wet slides and telescopic floating. These slides are remarkable contrivances; Heath-Robinsonish in appearance and aligned entirely by eye, they are wonderfully efficient, and it is often hard to believe that they can have been built by men with absolutely no engineering training. Telescopic floating can be used only when the streams are swollen by the monsoon rains. A succession of pools is made by damming up the stream, and between these small lengths of slide are made of the sleepers themselves. Sleepers are floated from the back and built up in front, and in this way the whole consignment is gradually worked down to the junction with the main river.

Here the sleepers are taken out and stacked on the bank to wait for the water to return to its normal level, when the *ghal*, as it is called (which may amount to as many as 50,000 sleepers), is launched in the river. Following the *ghal* come a number of men on inflated skins, whose business it is to sweep the river—that is, to push along any sleepers that may be stranded on the bank or

caught on projecting boulders. Sweeping down is another slow process, but in due course the *ghal* arrives at the point where the river emerges from the hills, where the sleepers are caught, made up into rafts, and sent off on the final stage of their journey. On arrival at railhead, they are landed and sorted, and those which, after the buffeting they have received on their travels, are still up to specification are handed over to the railway. But such is the strictness of the railway standard that less than half the sleepers that were sawn in the forest are considered suitable for laying in the track.

In its early days the Forest Department carried out all its extraction work itself, but later it was realized that trained forest officers could more profitably be employed on managing and tending their forests, leaving extraction to private enterprise. Departmental work is still carried out on a small scale, but in most places the trees are sold standing to contractors. During recent years a system has been evolved under which the forest owners and the railways have periodic conferences, at which the price to be paid for sleepers during the next few years is determined and also the number of sleepers to be supplied. A quota is given to each forest owner, and when the trees are sold a collateral sleeper supply contract is given to the purchaser to supply a definite number of sleepers at the agreed price. This arrangement has worked well for a number of years, as it insures the owner getting a fair price for his trees, the railways obtaining their requirements at reasonable rates, and the purchaser having a firm market for the major part of his outturn.

In common with most other raw materials, deodar timber has suffered a very severe setback in prices in recent years, the present rate for sleepers being little more than half what it was in the boom years following the war. The price of deodar, however, depends very largely on the price of wheat, for after the railways the canal colonies form one of its chief markets, and when the price of wheat is low, the villager cannot afford expensive timber for his building. Whether prices will respond to more prosperous conditions remains to be seen. For in India, as elsewhere, other materials now fill many of the needs for which timber was once used. The railways are turning more to metal sleepers, while reinforced concrete and pressed steel beams are being increasingly used for building, even in the villages. But there are still people who prefer wood and many purposes for which deodar has no rival, and, though another boom in timber is improbable, the "tree of the gods" is likely always to find a market and to have little difficulty in maintaining its proud position as the most important timber tree in Northern India.



A SAWYER'S CAMP IN THE DEODAR FOREST.

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The Deodar Forests of Northern India.

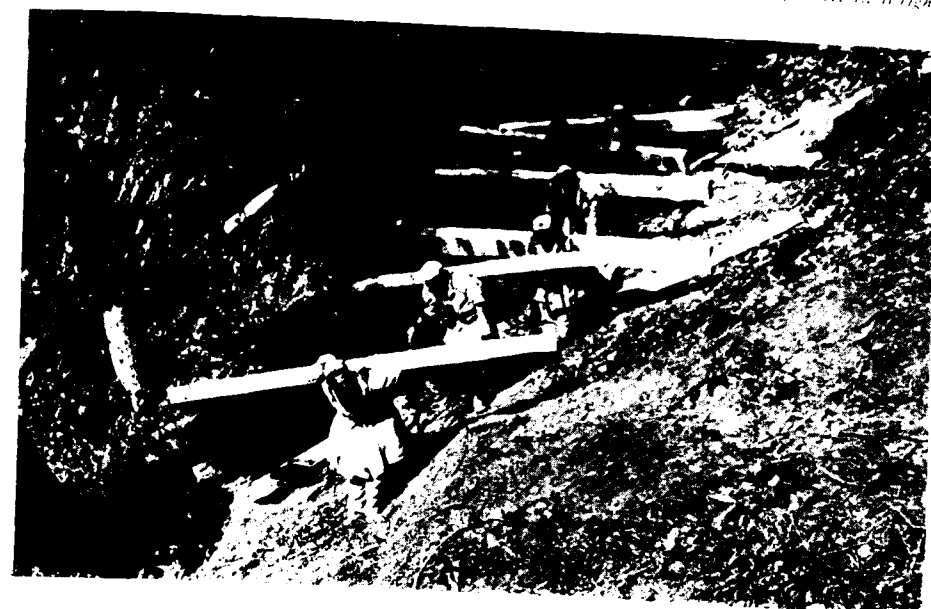
A DEODAR FOREST AFTER THE COMPLETION
OF THE FIRST SLEEPING YELLING.

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SAWING PAIRS MAKING DEODAR SLEEPERS.

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CARRIAGE OF BROAD-GAUGE DEODAR SLEEPERS BY COOLIES.
The Deodar Forests of Northern India.

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THE PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH

BY WILBUR BURTON

(The author, who is an American, has recently left the Far East after a protracted stay, including the Philippines, on journalistic work.)

FILIPINO self-government started in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson during the World War. Even before that time there had been steady steps in this direction. After the phase of military occupation had been completed against both the Spaniards and the Filipino dissidents, in 1902, the legislative functions in the islands were delegated to a Philippine Commission consisting of five Americans and three Filipinos. A Legislative Assembly, giving still greater representation to Filipinos, was started in 1905. And although the exact status of the Philippines in relation to the United States was never defined, all American constitutional rights were extended to the Filipinos, excepting trial by jury and the right to bear arms. This latter right, however, has been increasingly curbed in the United States, and so practically the Filipinos were placed on a position of equality with Americans at home save in the one item of trial by jury.

Here was a striking and perhaps too sudden change from the policy during the some three hundred years of Spanish rule in the islands. Then the Filipinos had to take off their hats when Spaniards passed. A native and a Spaniard could not sit at the same table even if the Spaniard was a guest in the native's home. Whipping was the most common punishment imposed. Catholicism was compulsory, and the natives were largely held as peons of the friars. The friars, indeed, practically constituted the government and did not hesitate to defy Madrid if their "rights" were encroached upon. For example, one governor, Fernando de Bustamante, 1717-19, brought on a friar rebellion, in which he was mortally wounded, through his efforts to reform the treasury after he had found irregularities in it. A more typical Spanish governor was Señor Izquierdo, 1871-73, who declared he intended to rule "with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other."

Most of the Americans, of course, drew a considerable colour line in social affairs, although not quite as sharp as that of the Spaniards, but otherwise the Filipinos were elevated within less than half a decade from virtual slavery to almost the full freedom of American citizens. The rights of free speech, free press, and free public assembly, for example, gave ample scope for agitation by factions favouring independence. No effort was made to curb

such agitation as long as it was carried on in an orderly manner. Further, the most extensive effort at education in any colonial area of the world was inaugurated. Schools were established in even the most remote villages. This was also in direct antithesis to the Spanish policy, which was fearful of any education save vocal instruction in Catholic ritual. Literacy among the Filipinos at the time of the American occupation was not more than 10 per cent. in both the native Tagalog and Spanish. The Americans decided upon education entirely in English, for while Tagalog had been developed (in the Spanish alphabet) into something of a literary language, it was but one of nine major languages (including 83 distinct dialects) in the islands, and was not spoken by as many persons as the Visayan language. Today, in consequence of American educational policy, English is widely spoken and read from one end of the islands to the other; at least 75 per cent. of the population know enough English for simple social intercourse, and 50 per cent. can read some of that language. Many who do not go to school for long find it easier to read their native dialect, the vocabulary of which they learn at home, than English, and it may be conservatively estimated that at least half the Filipinos are literate enough to read and understand a newspaper in some language, even though not nearly so many could write an intelligible letter in any language.

Another aspect of the American education policy was its lack of integration with any definite political policy. Most of the early teachers were American, and some were out of sympathy with the American occupation and others aspired to make one hundred per cent. Americans of the Filipinos. In either case, the teaching of American history, as it was carried on in American schools, tended to create an ideal psychological background for independence propaganda; whatever else any Filipino school-child ever learned, he found out and remembered that Patrick Henry enunciated the battlecry of "give me liberty or give me death" in the revolt of the American colonies against England—but Filipino political education rarely reached the point of appreciating that the "taxation without representation" complained of by the American colonists did not exist in the Philippines. With the development of education there were more and more Filipino teachers, and most of them deliberately used the story of the American Revolution against England to justify and encourage Philippine independence from the United States.

All of the factors outlined were fructifying when President Wilson took office in 1913. He was a member of the Democratic Party that had traditionally opposed American annexation of the Philippines, although under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan the Democratic senators had furnished the necessary

number to make up the two-thirds majority required for ratification of the Treaty with Spain whereby the *de facto* possession of the islands was made *de jure*. The Democrats, however, were committed to the policy of eventual Philippine independence, and adoption of a law to this effect was among the first acts of the Wilson administration. Further, Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, whom President Wilson sent to the Philippines, was empowered to take the preliminary steps to this end. Mr. Harrison had already had considerable contact with the Filipino independence group headed by Manuel L. Quezon, now president of the Philippine Commonwealth, and he entered office with their approval and co-operation; indeed, Americans in the Philippines regarded Mr. Quezon as the real Governor-General.

Under the Harrison-Quezon régime, intensive Filipinization of the island government began. There was assuredly justification for the gradual supplanting of Americans by Filipinos in the government, but the Harrison-Quezon policy was undoubtedly too rapid for efficiency. Rather needless to say, most Americans in the islands were in violent opposition to the new order of things, but those in power there or at home paid no attention to their protests. The World War had started, and American interest was concentrated on Europe, not the Orient. Further, there had never been much interest in the Philippines anyway after their conquest had been completed.

For the American occupation of the islands had been an incongruous incident in the Spanish-American war. Breaking the last European bonds on the Americas—in this case, the ousting of Spain from the West Indies—was in keeping with both the imperialism and the sentimentality of the United States, but a colonial empire in the Orient was a dream only of a few international bankers and the Kipling-inspired Theodore Roosevelt. The average American had scarcely heard of the Philippines before Admiral Dewey's spectacular victory in the Battle of Manila, and the resemblance of the name to the Philippians, who imprisoned St. Paul and to whom he wrote an Epistle, caused considerable confusion.

The annexation of the islands was popular enough and explained as follows in a memorable speech to a delegation of divines by President McKinley: "I walked the floor of the White House night after night, and I am not ashamed to tell you gentlemen that I went down on my knees and prayed to almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came—that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could for them

as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed and went to sleep soundly."

But after the first fervour wore off interest declined. Not many Americans, only 12,000 by 1912, went to the islands. Little American capital was ever invested there, because there were too many opportunities at home or closer home—in Latin America. It was also learned that Christianization had been quite effectively carried out by the Spanish to the extent of converting 90 per cent. of the natives to Catholicism. An efficient government was provided, and education as already described was carried out, and American engineers and health experts made the islands into the garden spot of the Orient—but almost entirely through money and labour provided by the Filipinos themselves and without attracting any appreciable attention at home.

There was never, for example, any organized group of Americans with ties to the Philippines in the United States—such as the associations of Englishmen with ties to India in England—to zealously work for American interests. Instead, the Philippines were always best represented in the United States by those who supported their independence.

So the Harrison-Quezon Filipinization campaign was carried out without check by the time President Wilson retired from office in 1921. With the Republican Party—which had been responsible for the original annexation—in power again some effort was made for a restoration of American authority in Manila. But what had been done could hardly be undone; the Filipino politicians, as Governor-General Leonard Wood discovered, were too entrenched to be easily dislodged, especially in view of American apathy in the matter. Further, an attempt to undermine the self-government achieved inflamed the agitation for complete independence.

Meanwhile a new element entered into the situation during the first post-war decade: agitation for Philippine independence by certain well-organized American groups because of economic reasons. After Cuba became a virtual American protectorate, certain New York banks financed a huge sugar industry there, and since Philippine sugar entered the United States duty-free, while duty was levied on Cuban sugar, a conflict of interests developed. Hawaiian sugar interests also objected to Philippine competition. American dairy farmers found that Philippine coconut oil, from which oleomargarine is made, competed with butter. Southern cotton farmers found that it also competed with cottonseed oil. Hemp, which is a natural monopoly of the islands, competed with cotton in certain manufactured products, and also with sisal which had been developed in Mexico by certain powerful American financial interests. The southern cotton

farmers and the American-Cuban and Hawaiian sugar financiers were the most active groups in supporting Philippine independence; the latter supported Filipino independence politicians, while the former even indulged in pro-independence mass meetings.

With the vocal Filipinos demanding independence and powerful American groups favouring it, and no large, organized group objecting to it, the Tydings-McDuffie Law was enacted on March 24, 1934, to provide for complete independence in 1945. An interim régime known as the "Commonwealth of the Philippines" was to be established meanwhile. Under the law certain limits were imposed on Philippine exports to the United States; the annual sugar quota was fixed at 50,000 long tons* refined and 800,000 long tons unrefined, that for coconut oil at 200,000 long tons refined, and that for hemp at 3,000,000 pounds. These quotas are to enter the United States duty free, but in the sixth year of the Commonwealth a Philippine export tax of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* is to be imposed, increasing 5 per cent. each year to the ninth year when it is to be fixed at 25 per cent. Foreign relations during the Commonwealth are to be in American hands, and the President of the United States through a High Commissioner is given the right to veto any financial measures. A trade conference is scheduled for this year to determine American-Philippine trade relations after independence. During the Commonwealth period the United States is to seek neutralization of the islands by international treaty. American naval bases are not affected, but there is to be a conference about them not later than two years after independence comes into effect.

Following the Tydings-McDuffie Law, the Philippine Constitutional Assembly was called in Manila and a constitution adopted on February 8, 1935. It was modelled in the main after the constitution of the United States, but with some differences. There is only one legislative body, a National Assembly of not more than 120 members. Suffrage is based on ability to read and write. The president is elected for six years and is ineligible for re-election in the following term. Natural resources are declared to be the property of the State and their utilization is limited to Philippine citizens or corporations with 60 per cent. Philippine capital, except that all existing rights, grants, and leases at the time of the establishment of the government are to be recognized and respected. The State may provide for compulsory arbitration in labour-capital or landlord-tenant disputes. After the inauguration of independence the government will be called the "Republic of the Philippines."

A referendum was held on the constitution, approval of which meant approval of the Tydings-McDuffie Law. Over a million

* A long ton, which is widely used in the United States, is 2,240 pounds.

votes were counted, but all reliable observers agree that not more than half that many were actually cast. There were but few votes, however, in opposition. So the Philippine Commonwealth came into being on November 15, 1935, and is scheduled to give way to a completely independent republic on July 4, 1945—American Independence Day. The actual change has, so far, been fundamentally insignificant; Filipinization has merely been carried a little further than it was in the Harrison-Quezon administration. A Filipino, Mr. Quezon, now officially occupies the Malacañan instead of an American, and the continued control by Washington over foreign relations and finances is exercised by a High Commissioner instead of a Governor-General. Only two departments of the government, education and forestry, now have American directors, and except for 125 American school-teachers (out of a total of 2,800) very few Americans are still employed in any capacity.

Up to the present the Commonwealth régime has carried on without giving cause for major criticism. While much of a demagogue out of office, President Quezon in office has proved himself sober and shrewd. Economically, the islands today are one of the most prosperous places in the world. Prices for coconut oil and sugar are exceptionally high, and a huge mining boom is under way. Part of this is due to hectic speculation that may lead to an economic crisis later on, but in actual gold production the Philippines now rank fifth largest in the world. Last year's production was more than £3,000,000, and this year it is expected to amount to about £4,000,000.

But with the imminence of independence there is increasing doubt among responsible Filipinos about its desirability. As a matter of fact, none of them—not even such professional politicians as Mr. Quezon and his chief rival at present, Manuel Roxas—probably ever really wanted independence; rather they agitated for that in hope of thereby getting what they now have: a sort of dominion status under the American flag—but as a permanent, not temporary, measure. However, having got what they asked for they can hardly object to it—at least just yet. And they see a possibility of escape from being entirely cast upon their own resources in the present most uncertain world through the one "loophole" in the Tydings-McDuffie Law: a conference not later than 1947 on the continuation of American naval bases in the island.

On the other hand, the lack of consistency in American policy to the islands, and the constant pressure of groups in the United States to curtail Philippine imports, greatly complicate the situation. This might be best brought out by quoting the replies of both Mr. Roxas and President Quezon to the same question:

"What can the Filipinos get through being independent that they haven't received under the American flag?"

President Quezon first replied by speaking of man "not living by bread alone" and the desire of the Filipinos for a chief executive of their own race, but subsequently he made this very sound observation: "We have no assurance that even if we were a dominion of the United States, Washington would not cut off our exports. We are taking a risk whatever we do. American politicians might change trade relations at any time. For example, despite the Tydings-McDuffie Law, an excise tax was put on coconut oil—which is the same in effect as customs duty on it. Since we have to take a risk, we had better take it on our own responsibility than on the responsibility of others."

Mr. Roxas first replied that "independence is largely a matter of sentiment," adding that an orator could get an immediate enthusiastic reaction by a pro-independence speech, but "in two hours he probably could not make an audience understand that American rule was preferable to independence." Then he, too, advanced a more convincing economic argument, pointing out that a "gentlemen's agreement" had been reached between Washington and Tokyo on Japanese textile imports into the Philippines without consulting Manila. Not only, as he said, had the agreement failed to curb Japanese imports, but the Commonwealth could not pass a tariff law against these imports both because of the agreement and the fact that Washington has the right to veto any financial measure. Further, he offered documentary evidence that a group of Philippine capitalists were prepared to finance a textile industry in the islands provided they could be assured of tariff protection against Japanese textiles.

With or without independence the Philippines face a serious situation if their present market in the United States is more curtailed than by the present Tydings-McDuffie Law up to the sixth or seventh year of the Commonwealth. For example, 60 per cent. in value of all Philippine exports is sugar, and without the American market the sugar industry will be ruined, because there is no other outlet for production. And on an equal basis, Cuban sugar is cheaper than that of the Philippines. In other lines production could continue without a free American market through extensive wage-reduction; today the Philippine standard of living is by far the highest in all Asia, and this has been made possible only through the integration of the island economy with that of the United States. Economically, American rule has been more profitable to the islands than to the United States.

Further, there are very serious doubts in many quarters—non-Filipino as well as Filipino—about the ability of a Philippine Republic to pursue an independent existence in the hectic Oriental

world of today. The Commonwealth Government, of course, must exude official optimism, but absolute certainty is not registered even in the Malacañan. The writer asked President Quezon and Vice-President Osmeña the same question: "Do you believe that the Philippines by 1945 will be able to stand alone in the present Far Eastern world?" and Mr. Quezon answered in categorical affirmative, but Mr. Osmeña replied, "I am not too sure."

So far there have been no economic preparations for independence. The present period is one of great uncertainty, and hence not encouraging for investments of a permanent nature. President Quezon hopes that the trade conference scheduled with the United States this year will remove some of the present uncertainty and pave the way for economic readjustment, but any trade concessions on the part of the United States which are favourable to the Philippines will undoubtedly be opposed by the same groups that have been seeking to get rid of the islands.

Political preparations for independence have included an extensive militarization programme under Field-Marshal Douglas MacArthur, former chief of the American General Staff, who is military adviser to President Quezon. By this programme the entire physically fit male population will be conscripted and trained in ten years. Twenty thousand will be trained at a time, beginning this year. According to Field-Marshal MacArthur, this plan will make the islands so impregnable that their conquest would not be profitable. Other military experts are sceptical. Actually, it is believed in well-informed circles that the real plan is to tie up the Philippine army with a continuation of American naval bases after "independence"—which would provide better defence of the islands than now exists, but would probably also mean some sort of American protectorate. Prior to the Commonwealth there was only a small volunteer Filipino army and not many more American regulars, with the result that the burden of defence rested almost entirely on the Asiatic Fleet of the American Navy.

There are no major internal questions to disturb the Philippines. There is a certain amount of agrarian unrest in consequence of usury and tenancy, but nature generally is kind, and while there is considerable maldistribution of population, there is no overpopulation in the islands as a whole. President Quezon has launched a grandiose scheme of settlement in Mindanao, the sparsely settled second largest of the islands, to relieve overpopulation in Luzon, the largest island (where Manila is located), and the Visayan (middle) islands. There are also political implications in the project, for it is in Davao, Mindanao, that the Japanese have established a large and thriving stronghold.

In parts of Mindanao and the other southern islands, especially

Sulu, there are the somewhat dissident group of 500,000 Muhammadan Moros—the only important non-Christian section of the 14,000,000 population. They were converted to the creed of Islam about four centuries ago, and thereby acquired a higher degree of culture than the rest of the Filipinos then possessed. Further, they started conquest of all of the islands, and probably would have succeeded if the Spanish had not intervened. This was just after Spain's wars with the Moors, with whom the early Spanish invaders in the Philippines confused the Malay Muhammadans: hence the name *Moro*, which is Spanish for Moor.

While Spain prevented Moro conquest of the non-Muhammadan areas of the Philippines, she never succeeded in bringing the Moros under her sway. Nor did the United States do so until about 1910. Thus the Moros acquired a considerable reputation for ferocity and, having regard to their traditional hatred of the Christianized Filipinos, many observers predicted dire consequences if the Americans withdrew from the Islamic areas. Actually, the Moros offer no serious obstacle to the peace of the islands unless they should be stirred up from outside. Compared to the present-day Filipinos, they are backward and disunited, nor is their antagonism to the Christian Filipinos now very pronounced. But they still could be utilized in the same way that the Mongols have been in Manchuria and the extra-mural regions of North China, and in at least some Moro areas Japanese agents have already been active.

This is another important aspect of the fear among most of the politically conscious Filipinos that the island would not be capable of standing alone in the present Far Eastern world. Indeed, one hears everywhere from Manila to Jolo in Sulu this belief voiced: "The ultimate destiny of the Philippines is not American sovereignty or independence, but American or Japanese sovereignty."

Japan's efforts to penetrate the Philippines antedate her present bid for empire by almost 500 years. In 1440, 81 years before Magellan's discovery of the islands, Japanese pirates established little kingdoms in northern Luzon. Shortly after the Spanish occupation, Hideyoshi, famed pirate and war-lord, planned to invade the islands, but he was placated by two Spanish tribute embassies. In 1580 a Japanese pirate fleet did attempt to invade Luzon, but were repulsed. In 1592 an envoy of Hideyoshi came to Manila and entered into diplomatic relations with the Spanish, which resulted in a Japanese-Philippine offensive and defensive alliance, but this was quickly broken through the massacre of several Spanish Catholic missionaries in Japan. Meanwhile, however, Japanese immigrants started coming to the islands, and by 1609 there were 3,000 near Manila. Record of them is lost, but it is

believed they were massacred in the suppression of a native revolt a few years later.

From that time until near the end of the Spanish occupation there was little contact between Japan and the Philippines. The first Japanese consulate was established in Manila in 1888, was closed in 1893, and reopened in 1896. There were then only 16 Japanese in the city. In the same year there was a native revolt against the Spanish, and the Japanese agreed to supply arms to the insurgents, but the rising was crushed before the arms arrived. But in the revolt of 1898 against the Spanish, and in subsequent warfare against the Americans, Japanese did supply the Filipinos with arms, while Marquis Ito urged Japanese intervention to obtain Philippine independence.

Since the American occupation there has been a slow, steady Japanese migration to the Philippines until the Japanese population today numbers from 24,000 to 30,000; exact figures are lacking because there has been no census since 1918. While the number of immigrants is small, never more than about 1,000 a year, they are obviously selected and supported by their Government for definite economic purposes. About 15,000 have settled in Davao, and have there obtained through freehold or leasehold 58,000 hectares of the 120,000 hectares of cultivated land in the area. The Philippine land laws are designed to prevent alien ownership, and Japanese freeholds have been acquired by various devices: marriages with Bagobo (mountain tribe) women, and an arrangement whereby Japanese owners are ostensibly the tenants of Filipinos. However, according to President Quezon, "there is no direct evidence of illegal occupation." Through the Davao development about 45 per cent. of the total hemp production is in Japanese hands and Japan takes about one-third of the total hemp export.

Japanese trade penetration has been pronounced only within the past five years. The Filipinos have never shown much enterprise nor efficiency in commerce, and the bulk of the retail trade was long in Chinese hands without serious competition. The Chinese bazaars sold considerable Japanese goods, but Japanese imports were not large. In 1931, after Japan started her conquest of Manchuria, the Chinese merchants throughout the South Seas started an anti-Japanese boycott. In consequence, Japanese merchants, with the backing of their Government, began entering the Philippines in large numbers in 1932 and opened larger and cheaper bazaars than the Chinese operated. Today fully one-fourth of the retail trade throughout the islands is directly or indirectly in Japanese hands; the Chinese merchants are, in self-interest, now forced to promote the sale of Japanese goods, and some of them are financially backed by Japanese firms.

The greatest Japanese trade advance has been in textiles, which is the largest single import. Up to 1935 the Philippines were the largest foreign market for American textiles, which were imported by Americans and retailed by Chinese. From 1932 to 1935 Japanese textile imports steadily mounted, and the Philippine Assembly prepared to impose a high tariff on them. This plan was halted by Washington, presumably because it would have brought retaliation against American imports into Japan, and the previously mentioned "gentlemen's agreement," effective January 1, 1936, was negotiated instead. By this measure Japan was to be limited, direct or via Hongkong, to exporting 50,000,000 square metres of piecegoods, roughly half of the total consumption, to the Philippines. There was no limit on rayon. Nor could the agreement prevent imports from the Japanese mills in Shanghai. There is also doubt whether it is Japan or the Japanese merchants who have failed to observe the agreement; in any event, 75 per cent. of the cotton piecegoods and 98 per cent. of the rayon now consumed are coming from Japanese mills. Total Japanese imports now amount to more than £2,600,000 annually, while Philippine exports to Japan are only half that amount.

In natural resources the islands are far more tempting than any part of China, even of Manchuria. The Philippines have an area of 114,000 square miles, compared to 148,756 square miles in Japan proper, and probably 60 per cent. is arable while only 20 per cent. of Japan is arable. Thus, according to a Japanese standard of living, the Philippines could support a larger population than Japan's present 70,000,000. On the other hand, there is no room for settlement in China, and the Japanese are much better adapted to the Philippine climate than they are to that of Manchuria. The Philippines have the only extensive forests in Eastern Asia, amounting to 20,750,000 hectares and containing timber worth £2,000,000,000. In minerals there are, besides considerable gold, the largest known chromium deposits in the world, and more and better iron than in the whole of China and Manchuria together. While rubber production is little developed now, enough could be grown for Japan's entire needs. The copra (coconut oil) industry is already well developed, and enough cotton is now grown to indicate that its extensive production is feasible.

In short, the Philippines could be much more of a "life-line" to Japan than Manchuria ever was, and there may be mordant prophecy in the frequent Filipino reference to Davao as "Davao-kuo." But I trust that such forebodings are not justified.

THE DUTCH EMPIRE IN THE FAR EAST*

By MR. CH. J. I. M. WELTER

(Ex-Minister for the Colonies, Netherlands.)

THERE is a remarkable similarity in structure between the British and the Netherlands Imperium. In both cases a comparatively small mother country exercises political and economic control over extensive, densely populated areas oversea. And with both a part, viz., that which is situated in the Far East, occupies a very special place. Both nations call that part "India," the Netherlands frequently with the addition "Netherlands."

I think it was the first Lord Cromer who said that India not only occupies a special place in the British Empire, but also in the heart of the average Englishman; it is just the same with the average Netherlander.

In my opinion this is based on a wonderful blending of practical sense and sentiment. Both Indies are, naturally, of enormous economic significance for the respective mother countries, but besides that, those remote regions have had a fascinating effect on mankind from olden times and certainly, therefore, on the nations that have been destined by fate to exercise a particular influence on the Indies.

It is known that the Spaniards, in seeking India, discovered America, and for a long time after the discovery they believed that they had finally arrived in the mysterious Indies. To this day the indigenous inhabitants of America owe their appellation of Indians to this error.

Spaniards and Portuguese afterwards discovered the real Indies, but, if the Philippines are excepted, their rôle in the Far East has been a transient one.

It has been reserved for the two kindred nations, the British and the Netherlanders, to impress their own, permanent stamp on the economic and political development of the Indies. It is also noteworthy that the growth of the political power in the Far East of the British and the Netherlands has proceeded along parallel lines; with both nations it was a private company, conducted and managed by merchants, which formed the foundation of the political power exercised later directly from the mother countries.

* Based on an address delivered before the Royal Empire Society Summer School at the University of Bristol.

It is unnecessary for me here to conceal the fact that both nations have struggled bitterly for supremacy in the Far East, in the Western as well as the Eastern Seas. That struggle has long been settled, and all that is left of it is the esteem and appreciation that, even in the struggle between the two oldest seafaring nations, has never been lacking.

By a strange freak of history it was an Englishman, Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles, who exercised such a great influence on the political and economic development of the Netherlands East Indies. During the Napoleonic Wars, Netherlands India was temporarily occupied by the British, and in that period, from 1811-1816 until after the Congress of Vienna, Raffles, as Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its Dependencies under the Governor-General Lord Minto, exercised the highest authority over the Netherlands colonies in the East.

Raffles was, undoubtedly, one of the great figures in the colonial history of every nation, a statesman of exceptional stature; only history has learned to know and appreciate him as such.

For us Dutchmen the memory of Raffles is indissolubly associated with Java. Here lay his principal field of activity, both as a scientist and as a governor; here he unfolded his gifts as an organiser and a statesman. It was in Java that he introduced for the first time in the history of the world the principles of modern colonial government, whose application has in many respects survived to this day. For instance, the system of land taxation, known by the name of *landrent*, the right granted to the population to elect the chiefs of the villages, afterwards called by us "the palladium of liberty," his administrative reforms.

There is in the Holy Scripture a word of deep wisdom, like so many others, which says: "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be." And Raffles' heart was most certainly in Java. That is the reason—a reason in my opinion raised far above all political controversies—which joins him to us, which makes him almost one of us. Whoever has read that wonderful book by Raffles, *The History of Java*, must have found on many pages the expression of his love for that beautiful island and its inhabitants. The man who wrote a book like *The History of Java* must have had his pen directed not only by his brains but also by his heart.

When the events coming after the Congress of Vienna cast their shadows before them in this part of the Far East, Raffles wrote to his home Government:

"If I were to believe that the Javanese were ever again to be ruled on the former principles of government, I should indeed quit Java with a heavy heart; but a brighter prospect is, I hope, before them. Holland is not only re-established, but,

I hope, reunited. . . . I will hope that the people of Java will be as happy, if not happier, under the Dutch than under the English. I say happier, because Java will be more to Holland than she could ever be to England; and the attention bestowed by the one country must naturally be greater than that likely to be afforded by the other."

It is impossible to deny greatness of soul to the man who, writing this, knew that the day on which he would be obliged to leave Java would be one of the saddest of his life. I feel it to be my duty to pay the tribute of my respect to that great Englishman.

At the meeting point of two oceans, the Indian and the Pacific, with Malacca and Singapore as junction, Netherlands India extends two million square kilometres, inhabited by 70 million people, distributed over thousands of islands, spreading over a distance as far as from the Azores to beyond the Ural. One of our writers has described the Archipelago as a garland of emeralds twined round the Equator. Economically that situation is extraordinarily favourable, strategically it is very important.

The population of these islands are in the most divergent stages of development. There are to be found among them, as appears from Raffles' description of their character, highly civilized peoples, whose origin, history, culture, and literature are closely connected with the most highly developed peoples of British India; among them are also found head hunters and people that are still living at the level of the Stone Age. They are all included under Netherlands rule, which has made a political unit of the Archipelago, where, under the Netherlands flag, quiet, order, and safety prevail everywhere. The Pax Hollandica which we have imposed on them ensures to everyone the opportunity of development mentally and materially; at the same time their national peculiarities and the existing institutions and customs peculiar to every nation are respected.

The political problems with which we are faced show a resemblance to those with which Great Britain is confronted in British India, even though it must be admitted that for British India they are not only far greater in extent, but also more complicated and more difficult. The educated among the native population follow with strained attention the course of the political reforms in British India, which, and for that reason, are also of great significance for Netherlands India.

It may be considered as a gap in our system that our Government does not send its officials to make a local study of the manner in which the English solve the political problems with which they are confronted. On the other hand, the British Indian Govern-

ment gives too little attention to the course of political developments in our India. I think that it would be useful and advantageous if Great Britain and the Netherlands kept in closer contact with each other concerning the Colonial problems.

The Netherlands colonial internal politics rest on two main principles. The first is that the government of the native population shall be exercised as much as possible by their own princes and chiefs under the higher supervision of European officials. In so far as administration by native princes exists, they are left intact and endeavours are made to raise them gradually to a higher level, and to adapt them to the standards of modern colonial administration. For that purpose beside the native administration, European officials are appointed who maintain continual supervision over the actions of those bodies and endeavour to imbue them with the requirements which, in our opinion, are essential to efficient government. These administrations have their own finances and a budget that is kept apart from the general budget. In the territories where there is no administration by native princes, the population is also governed by their own chiefs, who, however, are our officials and are subordinated to the guidance and supervision of European officials. In order to distinguish these territories from the territories governed by native princes, they are called directly-governed territories.

This system brings with it a sharp distinction between the native and European governing corps. Natives cannot form part of the European governing corps, neither can Europeans enter that of the native governing corps.

The second main principle is that in proportion as the population acquires the necessary fitness, a larger share in the care for the general and regional interests is granted to it. For that purpose a representative body, the "Volksraad" (National Council), was instituted in 1918, which at first had only advisory powers, but which a few years later was raised to the position of co-legislator. All statutory provisions, with the exception of a few which are reserved to the Government legislator in the Netherlands or to the Crown, are now made by the Governor-General, in accordance with the National Council. In urgent cases the Governor-General can make a statutory provision on his own authority, deviating from the opinion of the National Council, which then has the right to appeal to the Crown.

In addition, for a great number of communities and territorial units a system of representative bodies has been introduced, to which a considerable degree of autonomy has been granted. The members of these representative bodies are the electors of 38 of the 60 members of the National Council, in such a way that the European members elect the European members of the National

Council, the native members the native members of the National Council, and the Chinese their own countrymen. Each group of the population, therefore, chooses its own representatives in the National Council.

The remaining 22 members are nominated by the Governor-General, and the President is nominated by the Crown. Of the 60 members of the National Council 30 must belong to the native population, the other 30 belonging to the European and other groups of the population, the principal of which is the Chinese.

In every representative body all groups of the population are represented. Although by virtue of the Constitutional Law of the Kingdom the care for the internal affairs of India must be left as much as possible to the organs established in India, the Colonial Minister has to bear the full responsibility towards Parliament for the conduct of affairs in India. In this manner the people of the Netherlands maintain their control on the course of affairs in India.

The view is fairly generally held in the Netherlands that by these political arrangements, within a measurable space of time the political aspirations of the various groups of the population, particularly the native group, have been met in a reasonable way. In good faith and with the sincere intention of going as far as the circumstances allow, the Netherlands Government has introduced these political reforms during the last 20 years. Naturally, they do not constitute the last word that will be spoken with respect to these reforms, but any precipitancy, any rash step, may lead to undesirable consequences, to delay, and would impede development instead of furthering it. We Netherlands are known for our prudence; I do not think we shall allow ourselves to be tempted to take any ill-advised steps. I do not deny that this prudence is causing a certain peevishness among some elements of the native population. Our feeling in this matter, however, is that they want to reap the harvest before it is ripe.

In general, however, a certain reserve should always be made when judging the effects of our actions and our attitude on the Oriental mind. I fully endorse the words of Lord Cromer, the reorganizer of Egypt, and one of the best experts in Oriental affairs: "I have lived too long in the East not to be aware that it is difficult for any European to arrive at a true estimate of Oriental wishes, aspirations, and opinions."

For 70 years the finances of Netherlands India and the mother country have been completely separated. Under no circumstances does the mother country take any direct profit from her Asiatic provinces. All credit balances of the budget, in the times that these existed, come to the credit of Netherlands India. It is a fixed principle of the Netherlands colonial policy that the Government

of Netherlands India must find its basis and justification in the fact that it is exclusively directed towards promoting the mental and material well-being of its inhabitants.

A powerful means of attaining that aim has for scores of years been education. By founding simple schools on a large scale, where only the most elementary education is given, endeavours are being made to contend with illiteracy. Schools with a somewhat more extensive programme and elementary schools with Netherlands as a medium, are connected with them. By way of secondary schools the three universities can finally be reached, which Netherlands India possesses, the university for law, the university for medicine and the technical university, which stand on the same scientific level as similar institutions in the mother country.

One of the most remarkable problems with which the Government was faced was that it had taught hundreds of thousands to read, and that it then appeared that there was no suitable reading matter. In order to fill that gap, we created reading matter by translating works from the Netherlands and international literature into the native languages and distributing them in great quantities in extremely cheap editions. *Gulliver's Travels* has proved to be a very popular book, and no less the books of Jules Verne, the *Three Musketeers*, and the *Count of Monte Cristo*. Western love stories aroused no interest, apparently because the relations between men and women in the East differ essentially from the West.

Further, the Government also issue illustrated magazines which are, at the same time, made serviceable in spreading the knowledge of sanitation, agriculture, and cattle breeding.

It is evident that this may at the same time exercise great political influence, if only for the fact that if the Government did not fill the gap formed by the lack of reading matter, others would do so, and among them certainly some elements hostile to our authority.

Holland has attached great value throughout the centuries to a policy of independence, to keeping aloof from political intrigues and alliances, because she was of opinion that in this manner she acquired the strongest guarantees for the respect of all for her independent national existence. As a complement to this unyielding policy of independence, Holland has for 70 years followed in India the consistent policy of the open door in her commercial policy. In principle she still advocates this with unflagging zeal, although the commercial politics of other States have compelled her to grant some protection in the way of quotas on a limited scale to the industries of the mother country, which were experiencing great difficulties everywhere else. But with

respect to the import duties as well as to the investment of foreign capital and the settling of foreigners, she makes no discrimination whatever, not even in favour of the mother country. Everyone wishing to participate in the development of our Indies and who is prepared to observe our laws, is welcomed. Foreign capital has made ample use of that opportunity. It is estimated that a total amount of 4 milliard guilders is invested in agricultural and mining enterprises, and that 1 milliard of that is foreign capital, principally British. It may be assumed that at least 100 million pounds of British capital is invested in Netherlands India, mainly in rubber and tea estates.

This in itself already creates close relations between British and Netherlands capital, and no less the circumstance that London is the world market for various staple products of Netherlands India—e.g., rubber, tea, tin, pepper. It may be assumed that 8 per cent. of the Indian export is directed to Great Britain; 8.2 per cent. of the total imports in Netherlands India comes from Great Britain.

The economic position of Netherlands India is governed chiefly by the great agricultural export produce and by a couple of mineral products: mineral oil and tin. She supplies 90 per cent. of the world production of quinine, 80 per cent. of capoc, 80 per cent. of pepper, 37 per cent. of rubber, 24 per cent. of copra, 23 per cent. of fibre, 16 per cent. of tea, 15 per cent. of oil palm products, 5 per cent. of coffee, 5 per cent. of sugar, 18 per cent. of tin, 3 per cent. of mineral oil products.

The first three decades of this century display a rapid, almost uninterrupted rise in the export of these products, both as regards quantity and value. If one takes the graph of the value of the exports since 1900, one sees a line that displays a gradual, but continuous, rise until the year 1929. From upwards of 200 million guilders in 1900, the exports rise to 400 million in 1910, to 800 million guilders in 1918, to 1,200 million in 1922, and 1,600 million guilders in 1928. From 1929 the exports decline, and in 1933 they are about equal to that of 1911, viz., about f. 525 million, in 1934 f. 526 million, and in 1935 f. 465 million.

Parallel with this steady economic development one also sees the growth of the budgetary position of India. The budget of the ordinary expenditure amounted in 1900 to only 137 million guilders; in 1910 214 million, in 1918 442 million, in 1922 759 million, in 1928 784 million guilders. In 1929 expenditure is still rising to 833 million guilders, to decline rapidly to 485 million in 1934, to 471 million in 1935, and 457 million guilders in 1936.

I have participated personally in that economic and financial growth, and I must declare that it was a splendid record. All of us who served the Indies Government in that time had the feeling that we were working at the building up of a young, new country,

where, as a matter of fact, everything was still to be done and where the constant stream of gold from the Indian products made it possible to perform creative work.

In the first place, under van Heutsz, the greatest of the Governors-General after Coen, the founder of the Dutch Empire in the East, Netherlands rule was really established everywhere; the white spots on the map vanished.

Roads were constructed and railways built, education organized and extended, public health was cared for, hospitals built and clinics established, irrigation works constructed, new services aiming at fostering the welfare of the people were instituted; in short, there was great new pioneer work to be done in nearly every field. We felt that we were all builders of a new state, younger, mightier, than the mother country, for it had ampler means at its disposal and offered greater possibilities, giving room for far more energy than was possible at home.

Then, in 1929, the great depression began to set in. The extent of this in our Indies appears best from the fact that the average value of the exports per gross ton amounted in 1928 to f. 163 and in 1935 to only f. 50. If the value of the exports in 1928 is placed at 100, in 1935 this was only 29 (1,588 million against 465 million). It is evident that this enormous fall in the prices was reflected on the entire economic situation and on the budget.

If the volume of the exports in 1928 is placed at 100, this was in 1935 still 98 (9.6 million tons against 9.4 million tons), which certainly accentuates the enormous fall in prices very sharply. The imports have, naturally, adapted themselves to the exports. If the imports according to the value and according to the volume in 1928 are both placed at 100, the value in 1935 is then to be placed at 28 and the volume at 57, a fall, therefore, of 72 and 43 per cent. respectively.

When the catastrophe was realized and it was understood that this was not a case of one of those cycles of depressions, which our Indies has had to endure more than once, the consequences were accepted, and a start was made to demolish that which not long before had been built up with youthful impetuosity.

This has, of course, caused me, and many others with me, to ask: Have we perhaps made the mistake of wanting to build too quickly, too much, at once? Ought we not to have been more thoughtful, more mindful of the bad years that would come? Naturally, in a period of 30 years, in a time of phenomenal prosperity, mistakes have been made by the Government as well as by industry, and certainly by no means everything that happened in that time can bear the test of criticism. With the "perfectionism" peculiar to our national character, we have wanted to regulate all kinds of affairs too nicely and too well,

have introduced all kinds of regulations according to the Netherlands model, which, for a rising Oriental country were certainly not of the very first urgency, have called into being too many services with too many officials. I do not wish to minimise these errors, but nevertheless I am positively convinced that the line followed was, in principle, the correct one.

Colonial prosperity was very closely connected with the prosperity of the great export industries. Those industries were, however, owing to various factors co-operating in a most fortunate manner, established on such a basis that they were able to face the competition of similar industries in other tropical regions with success. Netherlands India was always able to produce at a lower price than other countries; if, therefore, there was over-production of some commodity, other regions would have to give it up earlier than India and, as the world cannot do without the tropical products, we should be able to continue producing until the prices recovered. Economically this basis appeared to be so firm that it seemed justifiable to build upon it a state organization that was beyond the power of the mass of the population, which was small, to support.

In this connection we have not made allowances, and in my opinion could not do so, for a universal depression such as that which has occurred since 1929 and which has led to a general impoverishment of the world; neither could we foresee the universal economic evolution in the direction of self-sufficiency, which has since taken place, and which, in many cases, causes trade and traffic to be impeded instead of fostered, nor that prices have often become of subordinate or no significance for the sale of products, because each country tries to manufacture within its own frontiers that which others can produce better and cheaper.

For these factors: the universality of the depression, economic nationalism, the devaluation of the pound and the dollar, in which the prices of our products are expressed, we have made no allowances, and if this is a fault, then a "peccavi" is befitting upon the part of the generation that built up the greatness of Netherlands India.

However this may be, both the Government and industry, once the permanent nature of the depression was recognized, have adapted themselves energetically and rapidly to the altered circumstances. The Government accomplished this by a stringent economical action, reduction of salaries and discharge of officials, reduction of the rate of interest on loans, postponement of expenditure to the future, where this was possible in any way, and in this manner succeeded in reducing the ordinary expenditure from f. 515 million in 1929 to f. 324 million in 1936. Expendi-

ture, therefore, has declined since 1929 by 37 per cent., revenue by 47·5 per cent.

Probably in 1937 the budget will be balanced, except as regards the redemption of the debt. I would draw attention to the fact that Netherlands India is the only agricultural exporting country in the world that paid interest and redemption on its debts on a gold basis. Gradually we are now occupied in building up again what was demolished or injured by the economic storm. The depression has caused much suffering in the colonies, and much will have to be done before the Netherlands India of today can again bear comparison with that of 1929.

It was Marshal Foch who said that victory lies in the will, in the unconquerable spirit which affirms that a battle won is a battle in which one has not admitted one's defeat. Well, we have had the will to conquer the depression and we have not been defeated.

There is a universal feeling that developments are taking place in the Pacific Ocean which will have consequences for the whole world, for the whole of mankind. The nations of the East have awakened from an age-long lethargy, and a new age in the evolution of a considerable part of mankind has dawned.

This places both Great Britain and the Netherlands before problems that our fathers could not even have dreamed of. We are endeavouring, each in our own way, to solve them with due observance of the historic development and the dispositions of the two peoples. Both are supported in these endeavours by long experience as a colonizing power, by the fitness for the guidance of Oriental peoples who have had their own development in the course of centuries.

There are not a few who think that the rôle of the white races in the East is played out, that the West lacks the strength and energy to give guidance to the masses in the East now that they have once been set in motion, and that therefore it is compelled to witness the genesis of the new world that is evolving chiefly as a passive spectator. On the basis of a thirty years' colonial experience I venture to contest this poor-spirited view with all my might. The task of the white people has changed in the last decades, it has become more difficult than before, often more thankless, too, but he who doubts the ability of his people to fulfil that task, doubts the vitality, the right of existence of his own people.

If the colonial policy of Great Britain and the Netherlands for the last decennia is considered, one cannot escape the impression that, although not faultless, in its general lines it bears witness to a fine sense of moderation and proportion, which has enabled us hitherto to find the right way. A long colonial experience has

caused us to feel by intuition, as it were, what we have to do and what to leave alone. Moreover, the Netherlander and the Englishman carry with them a number of good gifts from home, which serve them well in the government of Oriental peoples: intelligence tempered with good nature, moderation and a sense for authority in the attractive attire of good form. But the most brilliant qualities of the mind, the most refined culture, courage, and self-denial—as history proves—need a framework, and that is tradition.

Our tradition induces us to send our sons to the Indies to aid in carrying out the task of the mother country; long, honourable tradition inspires the administrative officers to persevere, to put personal disappointments aside, because, above all, one's country has to be served even beyond the bounds of our strength.

There are those among the older ones who look back despondently on the past, which, in their opinion, was so much better, in which the Government was so much stronger and more vigorous, and the people who were governed so much more willing and obedient. They are of opinion that this is the consequence of errors committed by inexperienced leaders in the mother country, who in this manner have undermined the foundations of the Government in the overseas regions.

I do not wish to deny that mistakes have sometimes been made, but do not let us forget that the times have changed and the people also. "Change! There is nothing but change. It's the one constant," Galsworthy has said. "Well, who wouldn't have a river rather than a pond?" This is just the symbol I need to indicate the colonial policy followed by both countries. The peoples we have to govern may in former times have been comparable with ponds, now they are that no longer. They have become like rivers, which may sometimes be turbulent, sometimes destructive in their course, and great skill and wisdom are required to guide the course of their development into orderly channels. That task is difficult, but it is certainly of a higher order than keeping a pond of stagnant water in good condition, and if the choice were left to us we should most certainly have preferred the river to the pond.

Finally, which is the higher, nobler task; which will give more satisfaction: the governing of a stupid, inert mass, or the governing of an intelligent people amenable to ideals, slogans, misguidance, but just because of that also to guidance?

Let us therefore not complain about that task but have faith in carrying it out in what I should like to call "the genius of our nation," that indescribable gift of the old democratic cultured nations of being able to distinguish between right and wrong, to practise reasonableness and fairness on great lines. For my part,

I believe in that and I am convinced that the great lines of the Netherlands colonial policy, as outlined by Parliament in the Netherlands, frequently in opposition to the views of the executive authority, have been correct. And this, I have no doubt, will have been the case also in Great Britain. This faith must be our guide, must give us the strength to do what has to be done, calmly, without precipitancy, in spite of criticism, in the consciousness that we are doing our duty in good faith towards the millions that have been entrusted to our care.

THE BARODA CIVIL SERVICE

By STANLEY RICE

It is no small achievement to have created order out of chaos, to have raised a State from the depths of misgovernment to the position of one of the best administered in India, and to have maintained this high standard during a reign of over 60 years. That is the record of the Maharajah of Baroda. It is true that the foundations were laid by Sir T. Madhava Rao, one of the foremost of Indian statesmen in the past, whose name is still remembered in the State. But his work was only half done when he was obliged to hand over the reins, and we must not forget that nothing is easier than for an Indian State to slip back into the old ways. There is the strength of tradition to be fought and mastered; there are vested interests to be overcome; there is perhaps a natural inclination to hand over the work to subordinates. And nowhere more than in India is the saying "Like master, like man" exemplified; as the Collector of a district is, so will be the staff, and it is safe to say that as the Ruler is, so will be the Civil Service, which actually performs the day to day administration.

The Civil Services of Baroda are modelled on the lines of British India and have continued to evolve on them. For purposes of Revenue and Police administration the State is divided into four districts, called in the vernacular which is used for many of the posts, Pranthis. These Pranthis are determined by the geography of the State, which consists of four main blocks, three of which are separated by strips of British India, while the fourth is in the peninsula of Kathiawar. This scattered arrangement of territories has been brought about by the workings of history, into which we need not enter now. It has, however, made the administration more costly and more difficult, inasmuch as boundaries are fixed, not by convenience but by nature. The small peak at the north-west corner of Kathiawar which contains the sacred town of Dwarka, the domain of Sri Krishna, adds to these difficulties. It is inhabited by a race of fishermen called Waghers, who have given trouble in the past but are now for the most part quiet and contented. The main Pranthis are subdivided again on the British Indian pattern; there are Assistant Collectors (Naib Subas) and Tahsildars (Vahivatdars), as well as some small subdivisions under Mahalkaris (Deputy Tahsildars). The police

Subas and Naib Subas control the Police administration and work under the Commissioner at Headquarters.

Revenue and Police, however, do not and cannot represent the whole administration of any country, and so we find Engineers, Doctors, Judges and Magistrates appointed to the several Pranthas and to the more important places in them. But as the calls on the State purse are incessant and always growing, it is natural enough that the salaries can only compare with those of the provincial services. Baroda is under the further disadvantage that being so scattered and interspersed with British Indian territory the extra pay to be obtained there attracts men who would otherwise be content with State service.

The system of land tenure is ryotwari, as one might expect from the close relations of the State with Bombay Presidency, and there is consequently a Survey and Settlement Department with rules modelled on Bombay, which also deals with tenures special to the State. The incidence of land taxation is probably in parts higher than that of British India, but it is not oppressive and remission is generously given when necessary. Quite recently the Maharaja sanctioned the suspension of all re-settlements because of the slump in agricultural prices.

I must pass over in a very few words the principal departments at Headquarters, which are to be found everywhere. The Sar Suba, corresponding to the Commissioner, is the executive head of the Revenue Department. The Varisht or High Court has a Chief Justice and a panel of competent Judges. The Chief Engineer controls the Department of Public Works. There are two or three special departments which if not peculiar to the State, do not seem to have an exact parallel in British India. One of these is the Development Department (under the Pragati Adhikari). This officer was to co-ordinate the efforts of various other departments. Commerce, agriculture, co-operation and ports all clearly fall under the general head of Development. There is, however, now a Development Board which seems to have superseded this single officer to some extent. The Maharaja has for many years been attracted by the idea of fostering industries, but with what results it is difficult to say. Baroda is greatly handicapped in the matter of roads; not only is it difficult to get material for construction, but it is also difficult to find the money to maintain them, in a country where there is hardly a stone to throw at a dog. The Maharaja has always favoured railways, of which he has a large mileage and consequently a special Railway Department.

But perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Baroda Civil Service is its importations from outside and its system of scholarships for State servants. It is quite common to borrow a man

from the Government of India, to improve this or that branch of administration. Not very many of these are Europeans; the State has generally been sufficient to itself and there have been only two English members of the Council; it is rather Indians with British Indian experience that the Maharaja and his advisers favour. And from time to time promising State servants are sent to Europe at the expense of the State, which, however, carefully grades them according to rank. These young men go, usually to England, to study the profession for which they feel themselves most fitted. Some are doctors, some engineers, a few may be lawyers, but the sole obligation they undertake, as far as I know, is to serve the State for a number of years, failing which they are to refund the money spent upon them.

The Maharaja has opened the schools freely to the depressed classes and has provided many for them alone. There are hostels maintained for them at Government expense; special scholarships are provided in all classes of schools, not excepting Baroda College, and a special Deputy Inspector, appointed from the community, is also employed. The Maharaja has gone a long way towards abolishing the outward distinctions of caste among the educated, but he has not found it possible to eradicate entirely the feeling towards the depressed community, though they are treated on the whole with greater tolerance than in South India.

The activities of the State are almost beyond its means adequately to fulfil. Whatever is attempted in British India is reproduced in the State and it may be acknowledged that British India is always ready to help if it can and if it is asked. The anti-malaria campaign is an example of a scheme admirable in its intention and cheap in execution. It was started by the training of the State Sanitary Commissioner at the school for the purpose at Karnal in the Punjab. The Co-operative Department, on the other hand, has not been as successful as could be wished. The figures both of membership and of finance are doubtless imposing, but if there is any real enthusiasm for the movement it is of very recent development. For a long time too much was put upon the Registrar, between whom and the auditors there was no supervising authority. Government were not unnaturally loth to add to the already large Civil Service, but they have now appointed an Assistant Registrar, trained in England, and that is at any rate a step in the right direction.

Municipal and Local Government is perhaps no better and no worse than it is in British India. The Maharaja has hitherto been content to go slow and has kept local government more or less in the hands of the Government by nominating the chairmen who are the real executive officers of such bodies. Though apparently he has no great faith in the existence of such public spirit

as would justify him in leaving these bodies entirely to themselves under the general supervision of the Government, yet there are signs that such a public spirit is gradually asserting itself. It is rather in the rural areas that there is still weakness. Some at least of the smaller units are too weak financially to support the burden of administration. Consequently what little money there is is expended on the pay of a clerk and the maintenance of a band of sweepers and very little else. That is the result of an over-anxious desire to copy British India where, too, it must be admitted, there are many places where the result is not much better. These local bodies were formerly divided into Pranth Panchayets (District Boards) and Taluka Boards, but this it was found tended to create a duplication of work, and it was for this and for other reasons that it was decided to abolish the latter and to concentrate everything in the Pranth Panchayet. The smaller boards were apt to apply all their energies to a few villages which were known to members or where they lived, whereas the Pranth Panchayet, under the chairmanship of the Pranth Suba, could be expected to have a wider outlook.

It goes without saying that to the Maharaja his Civil Service has been and is a constant care. The selection of candidates is made by a committee, most of whom are high officials serving as permanent members, but there is usually one member appointed *ad hoc* for the choice of candidates in a particular branch; if the recruitment is for candidates in the higher ranks of the police, the Police Commissioner will thus be co-opted; if for Education, the Director of Public Instruction or the Principal of the College, as the case may be. There is no Civil Service House as in Hyderabad, nor is there any training in British India. But there are classes for the training of clerks in ministerial duties, presided over by an officer specially chosen for the purpose. It is difficult to say how far this has been successful, since the only way to learn is to do the actual work. Every Civil Servant in British India will acknowledge that the training at an English University, the examinations which had to be passed in India (unless perhaps those in the vernacular language) and the work he was given to do while still *in statu pupillari* were all of little advantage to him compared with the actual experience and the real responsibility when he received his first independent charge. You could learn more in three months of the latter than in three years of the former. Baroda also maintains study circles, not for candidates but to enable officers to become more fully acquainted with the problems of their work.

The Maharaja has delegated very large powers to the Council, which to some extent controls even the Privy Purse, but, as in other Indian States, the power to make appointments is cen-

tralized in himself, with the result that the higher officers have not got the patronage which similar officers in British India have. But the posting of officers to the right places arises frequently and is often troublesome. It is perhaps characteristic of a nature so keen on the welfare of the State and with State affairs that His Highness is prone to change his officers about from one department to another, "in order to give them experience." Opinions may differ as to the advisability of this; it may be said that in fashioning the tools the object for which they are there is lost sight of. But in this and in other directions already mentioned the Maharaja does show that he regards the Civil Service and their training of the first importance, and the changing about of his officers is his own method of getting the best possible service at his command. It is true that they may not be up to the standard of the higher British Services; that for reasons mainly of pay and opportunity may be impossible. Though perhaps lacking in imagination, on the whole the Services are efficient and loyal.

LIGHTER SIDE OF INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE

By FAREED S. JAFRI

(Late Editor of *The Asia*, Meerut)

THOSE who have not gone beyond the purlicus of the metropolis cannot really claim to have any conception of the gaiety and riotous joy that prevails on several auspicious and notable occasions in the Indian villages. The very ignorance of things that lie beyond one's knowledge is largely, if not solely, the cause of all the prejudices and misunderstandings. Such people, for instance, can scarcely believe or imagine that a villager, in spite of the prevailing gloom which really constitutes his limitations in life, has many bright moments when he can be hilarious and care-free. In fact, his ill-trained and unschooled mind has made him an exceptionally genial person with a fine disposition and a fund of natural spirits as are often seen only in school-children let loose from the school or in an animal freed from its tether. He is not "merry and wise," as men with refined and polished manners are, but indulges in mirth to excess and often even to the extent of oddity. It is true that his tastes are not of a classic order and his pretensions are not lofty, but still he enjoys, and enjoys more than the refined and polished folks of the city. Hence it is idle to maintain, as men with fastidious tastes generally do, that only the civilized centres of the world have their invidious fascination and the life in the villages is desolately dull and wretched.

An Indian villager, comparatively speaking, has to labour strenuously hard to find the wherewithal to support himself and those dear and near to him. More often than not he has to discharge manifold and monotonous duties all the day long with practically little or no rest. Thus after a hard day's labour, when he repairs home quite spent out, he naturally yearns for some sort of recreation that will rightly serve as a relaxation. If he be a superannuated man with senile shortcomings, his principal occupation is to sit in the company of his friends, by the side of a fire during winter, and carry on a merry but harmless conversation. This is the village club, which is more familiarly known by the name of "alao" and is rather a poor counterpart of those social institutions which are found in some of the modern cities. The "alao" is the rendezvous of the village populace who collect in large numbers to discuss frivolous topics and hear some intelligence not only of the village, but also of its neighbouring parts, and even from far-off lands. In a way, the club serves as an

effective medium of communication of a variety of information—good and bad—to the villager. At times it is also a "school for scandal" where topics which are calculated to mislead and inflame are discussed in a light vein. In such a club the place of honour is usually assigned to the oldest man of the village, who, by common consent, is regarded as being endowed with a sagacious and catholic frame of mind. He speaks agreeably and familiarly of several things and makes many of his friends the butt of much clumsy ridicule. At one time he talks of the political situation of the country with vehemence and predicts a world war. At another time he laments the depression in trade and the sharp fall in the prices of commodities. He chides the young folks of the village for their immoral and extravagant habits and finally delivers a sermon on political economy.

There are a number of rural games in which the youngsters of the village with buoyancy of spirit engage themselves frequently. The strongest and those gifted with a herculean constitution delight to vie with one another in strength. On a day when all the village is at rest the two men renowned for their strength and valour are selected to exchange friendly bouts before a small but orderly crowd. This is generally known as "kushti," or a wrestling match. The victor and the vanquished are equally applauded in their performance, and the gathering finally breaks up without any manifestation of rancour or ill-feeling. There are several other games which a villager plays. In fact, some of the games are of such a peculiar kind that it is difficult for one with refined tastes to understand how any pleasure could possibly be squeezed out of them. Thanks to the recent and energetic endeavours made by the Government to ameliorate the conditions of the villagers, several associations have been formed in the villages to develop the physical culture of the rural folks. Though these associations have introduced certain innovations in their methods, still sufficient care has been taken to encourage the villagers to play their ancient and popular games. Even to this day the urchins of the village generally play what is known as "gulli-danda." This is something analogous to the golf played in Scotland. "An elongated piece of wood with pointed edges on either side has to be struck with a club and then struck again in the air. Each side usually consists of three players. The game starts with one of them striking the 'gulli' placed within a square. The best scorer travels from hole to hole in the minimum number of strokes." This is indeed an amusing game and is not so much meant for physical exercise as for the mere joy of playing it.

Another well-known game and which is universally played is called "kabbaddi." This is principally an Indian version of the

English game called "Tom Tiddler's Ground." Two teams, of ten each, play. The field consists of three parts, and the central portion is known as no man's land and the remaining two portions are at the disposal of the two teams. They attack in turns, sending a man who runs across the central line into the defenders' ground shouting "kabbaddi!" "kabbaddi!" and must return to his own side before losing breath. If after touching a defender he succeeds in crossing the middle line, his side wins a point. If he is held back, his side loses a point. The success or failure is determined by the number of points gained. It will be clear that this is a roughish game in which only the strong can participate with advantage.

Another game which is common in the villages is that of "goli," which is nearly akin to the English billiard minus the table and the cues and the balls made smaller and of crude material. The ball is held between two fingers of the one hand while the first finger of the other hand pushes it with strength to aim at the opponents' ball. This game develops concentration and aim and is most popular among the young folks of the village.

Children of more tender ages play what we call hide-and-seek, and the hiding-places are the cowdung hills, haystacks, and hollow places on the earth. Grown-up people are not debarred from partaking in this sport, but the elders are scrupulously excluded.

Since most of the villagers earn their livelihood by manual labour, their one supreme concern is to retain a vigorous constitution, and it is to achieve this end that they delight to play games that would be of real benefit to them.

A frequent visitor to the village, who is given a cordial reception, is the itinerant juggler. His arrival in the village is received with transports of joy and enthusiasm, particularly by the children, who delight to see the man's miraculous and novel feats. Before a motley crowd he exhibits his skill and all the tricks of which he is master. His most common trick, which is absolutely transparent, is to toss two brass balls, to keep up the movement by sleight of hand, and increase the number to four and more. When he is certain that the onlookers are interested, he proceeds to show a variety of tricks which all elicit universal admiration. The juggler is able to succeed partly because of his ingenuity and mostly on account of the fact that the villagers as a class are unsophisticated and credulous.

The acrobats and rope-dancers also are much-favoured people. The hair-breadth escapes, the dextrous feats, and the deft movement of the rope-dancers are watched eagerly and followed with awe and wonder. There is another type of diversion in the villages, rather a grotesque performance, which needs more than

passing mention. Some buffoons, clad in tattered finery, move about in the villages showing their oddities in a way that makes them the cause of much laughter.

A "lilli ghorī" is another welcome visitor to the villages. This is a man with a clay horse head and humps tied in front and back of him, the nether limbs being concealed by a frilled petticoat. The man strikes a lash in the air and runs and dances, exciting mirth and applause among the spectators.

The snake charmer with his basket of snakes and his pipe is a very common sight in the villages. He can be seen sitting at a door playing his pipe, and the snake with its hood raised looking straight at the pipe. Young, old, and children of both sexes gather round him, and he collects a respectable amount in cash and grain on the completion of the performance.

"Gulabo, sitabo," and "indar sabha" parties also visit the villages. The former hold two wooden dolls on their fingers and move them to and fro to the tunes of their songs or in response to their words, while "indar sabha" is a more elaborate device with a small tent and man standing behind the curtain, moving the dolls with strings and making them dance to the tunes of music played by others of the party outside the tent. The hidden man also answers in a strange whistling voice all questions put to the dolls by the music party.

Then there are also other professionals with monkeys and bears, all trained and made amenable to their orders. The monkeys are always in pairs, and they are so cleverly trained that they enact in public the bickerings between the husband and wife, much to the amusement of the rural folks. They are made to dance and do other fantastic movements of the body which send the crowd into peals of laughter. Young children love to see bears, and so they are often brought to the villages. These animals are made to wrestle, and they are taught to dance on their hindlegs. It is indeed a unique sight, mostly of interest only to the urchins of the village.

It is said that music is a fine art, and that to understand or appreciate a melody or symphony one must needs have refined and polished tastes. This is not the whole truth. Even savages and those living in a semi-civilized state of society have often shown remarkable aptitude for music. In the oft-quoted lines of Shakespeare:

"The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

Alas, how true is this in life! So it is far from right to suppose that the illiterate and uneducated villagers are not visibly moved

by melodious tunes. The village bards entertain them with pleasing ballads, eulogizing the deeds of their forefathers and representing them as men of stainless virtue. Mr. F. L. Brayne, in his book on village uplift, has said that most of the village songs are composed in plaintive numbers and are indicative of the sorrow and grim life of the villager. This is not quite correct. The song of "Alha Udai," which describes the military feats of two brothers of that name and which is very popular in villages, is an example of the incorrectness of this assertion. One has only to witness a party singing this song and its exhilarating tunes to see how the village people delight in them, and are fired by the great feats of the heroes of the song.

Again, the songs at the village well by women who draw water will readily show even the most superficial observer how merry are their tunes and how happy the villagers feel to hear them. The well is the principal meeting-place of the women of the village, where they indulge in gossip and sing their popular songs in chorus. To this day their voice can be heard, like some far-off melody, in some distant field where they sing loudly in order to lighten and lose their irksome load of water buckets. During the rainy months, when there is not much work in the open fields, women spend their time in some indoor recreations, the most important of which is "jhula," or swing. Two ropes are hung from the roof of the house or from the branch of a tree and a small plank of wood is sustained at the end. On this plank they sit and swing high and low and sing with rapturous emotion songs specially composed for the rainy season. One such song that has been rendered into English is as follows:

"So thou art a hermit in desert place,
But I shall try your home to trace with matted locks, appearance made,
Save for a girdle, body nude.
I, too, will take a hermit's oath,
The life of yog will suit us both.
Far from the garden you pray, but I shall be there,
Take of your alms a partner's share.
We shall build a hut and together live,
Then Swan will its pleasures give."

A delightful spectacle that one should never miss in a village is the street dance. Especially on festive occasions, the young and old, men and women, dressed in gaudy colours, come out into the streets and to the accompaniment of an incongruous music played on instruments indulge in fantastic dances, though it is admittedly true that these dances have neither the grace nor charm of some of the most highly developed modern dances. But what is

notable is the exuberance shown on such occasions. It is to "ginger-up" these ancient and Oriental dances that Mr. G. S. Dutt in Bengal has been making recently indefatigable efforts. Thanks largely to his efforts, the folk dances in the interior of Bengal, which were for quite a long time partially observed or muffled, have been brought into prominence and vogue. These folk dances originally existed in many of the Indian villages, but now certain changes have been brought into it simply with a view to give a colour of modernity and attract wider attention. The dances are conventionally classified into two kinds: one is "the Kathak dance" and the other "the Jori dance." The former bears a striking resemblance to the sword display as practised to this day by the Highlanders in Scotland, and the latter is more or less the same as the modern Morris dances. But the most interesting aspect of the folk dance that must command our attention is the "Brattachari movement"—which, in fact, is the principal innovation that has been introduced. This needs a word of explanation. Like the Knights of the Round Table, those who take part in these dances are pledged to a life of chastity, cleanliness, self-sacrifice, and other ideals of life. These vows are called "Brattas," and those who scrupulously observe them are known as the "Brattacharis." In order to give a touch of sanctity to the folk dances and to raise them from their low level, these "Brattas" have been introduced. Perhaps the day is not far off, provided Mr. Dutt and others of his school of thought show a sustained interest, when these folk dances, which are reminiscent of India's ancient art and tradition, will occupy a pre-eminent position in some of the best opera-houses of the West.

A crude sort of theatrical performance commonly known as "Nau-Tanki" is also very popular in villages, especially in those of the United Provinces. The play consists of religious stories of Hindu mythology, such as the Ramayana, and is accompanied by music and songs which commonly appeal to the villagers. These "Nau-Tanki" players, like Gilbert and Sullivan players of England, roam about from place to place and sometimes are invited on festive occasions. They generally come from Muttra and Rajputana.

No account of the Indian villages can really be complete if no mention is made of the "Nathargali" performance on the west coast of South India. This is to be seen only in the villages of Malabar and Travancore. A legend or a chapter from Hindu mythology, such as the Ramayana or Mahabharata, is selected and is enacted in public. The interesting feature is that all the dialogues are omitted and there is no speech-making whatever. The entire show is a pantomime. By gestures the story or the sense is brought out, and since most of the people are well

acquainted with the theme, the movements are quite intelligible to them. Music is no doubt played, but that is only to synchronize with the actions. It is said that this used to be a court performance during the days of the ancient Hindu kings; and, oddly enough, like a peak in a submerging world, it has still survived in its original form in many of the villages in Malabar. By far the most able exponent of this ancient art is the famous Indian dancer Udaya Shankar, whose performances in Europe and America are well known and widely admired. It will thus be clear from all accounts that a villager enjoys life in his own way like city people and considers relaxation from his hard work necessary.

In conclusion, it may be said that with more education and contact with modern civilization, due to the development of communications, modernity is slowly penetrating into villages in many spheres, including the resources of physical culture, and occasionally we find the villagers playing even such modern games as football, hockey, and cricket.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA*

By PIERRE TAP

II

THE EDUCATED MAN

IF domesticity is the resource of the mass of the Annamite population, public duties and, failing these, sedentary commercial occupations are the resource of educated Annamites.

There are officials in a position of authority (assistant prefects, prefects, governors), usually called mandarins, whose business is the administration of the country under the control of the French authorities. They are indispensable assistants of the latter, not only in protectorate territory, but also in regions which are directly administered. The absence of any French authority over vast areas, even in the over-populated delta of the Fleuve Rouge (Red River), where village after village, close together, lies hidden behind its bamboo defences, demands the presence of many native officials for the maintenance of order, for postal services, and for the distribution and collection of taxes. Under the old régime there were no hereditary feudal rights, and those which powerful governors sometimes assumed were often put an end to by the caprice of the Sovereign. The system of examinations and competitions, so popular in imperial China, flourished in the country of Annam. Every mandarin was therefore, and remained, primarily a man of letters. He took every possible step to accentuate this impression; slender in his long flowery tunic, emaciated as an ascetic through indulgence in opium, despising the people and manual labour, he exercised, with his soft voice which he never raised and without the use of a gesture, a pitiless despotism largely fortified by extortion and the use of the rattan.

French control, assisted in its task by the people, has imposed restrictions on these thoroughly indigenous methods, but has not entirely done away with them. Certain mandarins of today blame the French for having brought them into disrepute by appointing candidates for posts who are not men of letters, such as ex-soldiers, former "boys," ex-orderlies or clerks. They also blame the French for sapping their authority by providing a form of education which tends to give the individual an appreciation of

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his own worth and of his own rights. Their real grievance, however, rather than these specious wrongs of which they complain, is that they have been deprived of certain of their profits, fixed salaries having been substituted and mercenary administrative measures prohibited. Under this régime they are compelled to reduce their demands and are only able to exploit with caution and in moderation those over whom they are set. Every grade of employee receives a *douceur* from the peasant, the orderly who opens the office door to him, the clerk who draws up a receipt, the mandarin who welcomes him when he brings a petition, when he pays a tax or when he applies for justice. He pays when he enters a hospital, which is supposed to be free; the coolie drawing his weekly pay gives a gratuity to the clerk who is paying out; if he buys a stamp at the native post office he pays one *sapeque* (one half cent) more than the price printed on it. The French authorities do their best to cope with this universal exploitation of the humble peasant and strive to hasten the moment when they will be able to stop it.

Annamite Government officials are very numerous under the French administration; about fifteen thousand are to be found in the offices of the Governor-General and in the Residencies, Customs and Excise, Post and Telegraph Service, Education Office, etc. . . . In the many departments of the States of Indo-China they make excellent junior clerks, are rather slow, but careful, methodical, more attached to the letter of the regulations than to their spirit.

The faculty of deduction and reasoning, of logic and of constructive and creative imagination is generally lacking in them. They are good assistants, but poor managers.

Regular mechanical work, which is always the same, suits their tastes. On the other hand, the Annamite as an accountant sometimes requires to be watched. As soon as he is in possession of funds, he finds it necessary to restrain himself; gambling, opium, and dancers are expensive amusements, and his pay is not enough for the purpose. As a result every year there are at least a dozen cases of cashiers taking flight with the till, to mention only the postal service.

Their loyalty is beyond reproach, but it would not be safe to reckon that it would stand the test of all circumstances. Undoubtedly they are not satisfied with their condition as subordinates. Further, they are inclined to comment ironically and sometimes angrily on any little mistake which we may make. They think themselves quite capable of forming the nucleus of an independent Indo-China, because they carry out the less important work involved in the administration of French Indo-China. But unfortunately neither diplomas nor competitions can in them-

selves provide qualities of character without which the finest intellectual gifts are worthless.

On the border of Annamite society is the educated man who, not having succeeded in securing a mandarin's post and not content with being an employee, becomes a schoolmaster, journalist, publisher or writer, awaiting the day when he can be a member of parliament. He may be a republican in Annam, where there is a king, and a communist in Cochin China or Tonkin, where there is already a republican form of government. Though inclined to vanity, he will ask for grants of money, stipends and honorary distinctions without exhibiting any particular hesitation in the matter. The classic type of the man of letters, a philosopher and lover of opium, an anachronism left over from the Chinese régime, was at least picturesque. The educated man of today, taking pride in a science which he barely understands, perhaps seen to be wearing patent leather shoes at eight o'clock in the morning, dressed like a European, does not arouse much sympathy, unless in exceptional cases.

It is just this class, insignificant in numbers and importance, to which the public authorities both in France and Indo-China are inclined to listen. The Annamite is a clever critic, but does not possess constructive faculties. The projects for constitutional and administrative reform, put forward by their inexperienced doctrinaires, are apt to be crude and childish in conception. It is only the people of the towns, workpeople and servants, who can be persuaded by their theories.

THE PEASANT AND THE LABOURER

These constitute the great mass of the population of Indo-China. The labourer, bricklayer, navvy, miner, farm labourer is recruited almost entirely in Tonkin, where the delta does not afford enough rice land to feed the population. The Tonkin labourer is long-suffering, strong, and skilful; he feeds himself on twenty cents a day and has two meals which include fish, rice cooked in water and covered with *nuoc-nam*, and a cup of tea without sugar; he is contented with insignificant pay ranging from twenty-five cents a day for a labourer and one piastre for a qualified workman. It is difficult to keep him to a piece of work; he vanishes on some slender excuse when he has drawn his pay, and thus delays the completion of work in hand without regard for undertakings signed. His output is poor, about half that of a European workman. As a result the industries of Indo-China—sugar factories, tanning work, glass factories, metal works and coal mining, which are mostly conducted under very favourable conditions—show profits which are poor and intermittent. Only those prosper

in which the individual output is a secondary matter, such as transport enterprises, railways and tramways and electricity works.

The peasant or *nhaqué* is the typical Annamite, the man who remains in his element. He is occupied in cultivating one thing only, his rice which serves both as bread and potatoes, and he breeds one animal only, the buffalo, which is his indispensable assistant in rice growing. The remainder is merely accessory production: maize, sugar-cane, cassava, and tobacco. Fruit trees grow indiscriminately and nearly always without any attention: bananas, pineapples, papaws, areca nuts, cinnamon fruit grow freely in the villages, and the ancient pagodas seek coolness and mystery amid the thick shade of mango trees.

The Annamite is rarely the owner of the rice-field, where he wallows with his buffalo for part of the year. Anyone travelling in May or November by the fine roads of the Tonkin delta will see everywhere crops extending over infinite distances without a tree, a hedge, or a meadow. Yet the peasant seems less happy here than elsewhere. It would seem that on this enormously fertile soil he cannot succeed in gaining an easy livelihood.

The reason is that he farms the land, but does not own it. To raise money for a lawsuit, a fête, a game of *baquan*,* he will sell his field, his buffalo, his hovel to some mandarin or tradesman or state employee. The latter lends him, at an interest of 10 per cent. per month minimum, fifty piastres which the poor wretch will never be able to repay. So gradually the rice-field becomes the property of some comfortably-off town dweller, who continues to extract from it a revenue commensurate to that of his money.

The Annamite tills the soil as in the early days of the world. Mud from the river, conveyed through innumerable channels, takes the place of phosphates and manure. His plough consists of two pieces of bamboo set at a sharp angle. The never-ending programme of the seasons demands the ritual tasks of planting out, weeding, and harvesting. The crop is poor enough, but this alluvial land is so favourable to spontaneous germination that, except in case of floods, a pittance is ensured throughout the year.

Peaceable and easily led, the *nhaqué* would be an admirable subject for European rule, far kinder and more equitable than that of his fellow-natives, if he knew anything about it. But, credulous and superstitious, he listens to the native bonze, doctor, or schoolmaster who, when explaining events to him, attributes all misfortunes and exactions to France and all progress and benefits to the sons of Annam. This propaganda is favoured by the fact that there are few Frenchmen outside the towns and by the difficulty of coming into contact with them. Further, political parties in the mother country have put into circulation formulas

* A game of chance.

which are not applicable, but which wear a liberal aspect, such as the evolution of the native inhabitants within their own form of civilization. But if the West no longer believes in its moral superiority, it cannot achieve results in the Far East.

RELIGION OF THE ANNAMITES

Religion, as it is understood and practised by the people, is a form of polytheism at the head of which is Buddha, the god, or rather the man-god, with countless spirits, good or bad, which people the waters, the woods, and the mountains.

This god must either be beguiled or conciliated if his anger, which perpetually threatens, is not to be incurred. Prayers and rites consist essentially of brief invocations, accompanied by mechanical gestures indefinitely repeated.

Ancestor worship runs side by side with the cult of Buddha; it originates in the instinctive fears of all primitive races connected with the dead and the mysteries of the beyond. The spirits of the dead make their influence felt with those members of their families who are not zealous with gifts and expressions of regard. They must be propitiated continually. Incense, food, prostrations, all these are to be found at the family altar erected in the humblest hovel to the shades of dead relations. Annam is essentially the country of "outward marks of respect."

The form of morality resulting from this type of worship induces a certain family and social sense of fellowship, but does not go beyond this. Ideas of disinterested sympathy, which the Christian world of the West calls charity and the positivist philosophers altruism, are not the custom in Indo-China. Under the kings of Annam every beggar or cripple was to be cared for by the village of his birth; this practice having been abolished, wrongly as it seems to me, many of them would starve within sight of the unconcerned passer-by, were it not for the fact that the missions have established shelters, workshops, and centres for free meals in the vicinity of the large towns and with the support of the Government.

During recent years there has rapidly developed, especially in the southern provinces, a new religion called *caodaïsme*. It is a curious mixture of the Christian doctrine and the rites of Buddha. In Cochin China, where the neutrality of the French authorities enables proselytizing to be undertaken without restraint, its followers are numerous and active; the kings of Annam and Cambodia, however, do not allow any *caodaïste* propaganda in their states.

Warmly attached to his family traditions and little inclined to metaphysical speculation, the Annamite, like all the yellow peoples

of the Far East, does not take to the religions of the West. Only the Catholic missions, firmly rooted in the country since the end of the eighteenth century, have any considerable numbers of believers in the three Annamite countries of Cochin China, Annam, and Tonkin. Churches, schools, orphanages, agricultural enterprises, all are evidence of their widespread activity and of their powerful hold upon the country.

The Annamite loves the ceremonies of worship when they are enthusiastic, elaborate, and followed by sumptuous feasting. He lives in the present and is attracted by the concrete. Disputes as to dogma leave him cold, but he takes an interest in the form of even the most ordinary rites. Unlike the Arab and the Hindu, any form of mysticism as a rule repels him. But he lives in continual fear of the demons who haunt his house, his garden, the marshes and the woods. He must rid himself of them, therefore, by force of stratagem. Hence the explosion of bombs which is always a preliminary to native fêtes. And hence the attempts, rarely successful, to run quickly in front of a motor-car at full speed in such a way that only the demon, who follows close behind one, is crushed.

The Catholic Annamites, who in some places form bodies of considerable importance, should be mentioned separately. They are very faithful, not so much to France as to their Church, and thus afford valuable support when the interests of France coincide with those of the Church, and this event is fortunately the most frequent. It is therefore not only humane and just, but also politic to protect the existence and work of the missions, which the Government have not yet succeeded in Gallicizing completely. The whole of the most populous part of the delta of the Fleuve Rouge, from Than-Hoa to Moncay, is served by Spanish priests and bishops.

THE NON-ANNAMITES

I shall not say much about these, as my experience of them is smaller. The Laotians and Cambodians are lazier and more backward than the Annamites. Their activities are exclusively concerned with the search for the day's food. They are patient people, fatalistic and easy to handle; they arouse no apprehensions, but encourage no prospect of any rapid progress. Cambodia, however, seems to be entering upon a period of revival, agricultural, industrial, and artistic.

Indians are found in considerable numbers in the towns; those from French India are minor employees: postmen, policemen, assistant registrars, Customs and Excise clerks. Those from British India, almost all Mussulmans from the northern provinces

are shopkeepers and pawnbrokers, watchmen or cashiers. They have a great reputation for honesty.

The Chinese swarm throughout Indo-China. How many are there of them? About three hundred thousand, but on this point it is useless to rely on official figures. They live in communities rigorously closed to others; they are a busy people, unapproachable, unassimilable; in the present state of the economic life of the country they are indispensable in Indo-China. The Europeans themselves, traders or bankers, require their services as intermediaries, and it is not unusual for the Chinese *comprador* (buyer) to be the most important and best paid employee of a large French company. A Chinaman will open a hotel or run a grocer's shop in centres of population where no European would be willing to set himself up. A first-class trader, he buys, deals in and exports almost all the rice of Indo-China, and successfully carries out every imaginable kind of business.

Filled with pride in the civilization of his country, the Chinaman in Indo-China in most cases despises the man of the West and hates him. He is too polite and too much a realist to show this except in his own home, but there is no room for doubt in the matter. One would have to be very innocent to imagine that the Chinaman displays a preference for any particular European nation. He is inspired solely by his own interests; his affection is for his family only and, in some degree, for his fellow-Chinamen.

The Chinese of Indo-China are aware that it is France alone which safeguards their lives and their wealth. In no more than four days' rioting at Haiphong in August, 1927, the Annamite populace massacred a large number of them. This threat of a pogrom, possible at any time, has made the Chinese the allies of the authorities, and docile taxpayers. The Chinaman is, in fact, an enemy who must be dealt with as such; he must be treated justly, generously but firmly.

EDUCATION

The Annamite is studious and keenly interested in European sciences. France makes every effort to satisfy his legitimate desire for education. Among 20 million inhabitants there are 435,000 scholars, about 45,000 of whom are educated in private schools and the remainder in State schools. The education provided includes:

1. A complete French course of instruction (primary, higher primary, secondary) exactly like that of the mother country. This instruction is open to European children, of whom there are about 4,500, and to a small number of selected natives, about 1,000.

2. A complete French-native course of instruction, given in the native language in the elementary stage and in French in the three other stages. It covers 390,000 pupils.

3. Professional instruction, not yet fully developed, which is given to about 2,000 scholars.

4. Higher education (School of Medicine, Law School) with about 600 pupils.

The staff of teachers consists of 700 French professors and of 12,000 native masters. Further, about 200 native pupils are taking their secondary or higher educational courses in France.

In each French academy the natives are admitted on the same terms as the French. In fact, of a total of 2,000 pupils one half consists of Annamites and Chinese. This mixing has never resulted in any difficulties. Among the living languages included in the courses of instruction—English, Spanish, and Italian—the principal native languages are taught—viz., Annamite, Cambodian, Laotian, and Chinese.

To summarize, there are two parallel organizations, one for the Europeans, the other for the Asiatics, which give a complete education, the European branch being open to Asiatics considered to be sufficiently advanced. Fusion of the two forms of instruction is complete in higher education.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In Indo-China France affords protection to three sovereigns—the Emperor of Annam, the King of Cambodia, and the King of Luang-Prabang. The Protectorate system consists essentially in the government of the country by the King and his officials, under the control of the representative of France, who also takes charge of foreign affairs.

French Indo-China further includes:

Tonkin, in theory part of Annam, but actually directly administered;

Laos and Cochin China, which are colonies;

The territory of Kouang-Tchéou-Wan, in Southern China, which is ceded to France under a ninety-nine years' lease.

Each of the countries forming this Federation of States, except the territory of Kouang-Tchéou-Wan, has political institutions adapted to the stage of its evolution. Cochin China, which has been French for the past eighty years, has a Colonial Council which fixes taxes and prepares a budget and consists only of elected members, French and native. The President may be a native. In the other countries, except Laos, there is a double form of representation, one for the French and one for the natives, both classes being selected. Finally, above these local assemblies there is the

Grand Council of the Economic and Financial Interests of Indo-China, its duties consisting in the preparation of the budget of the Federation and in the examination of all questions of general interest, with the exception of purely political problems.

This Grand Council consists of 28 French members and 23 native members, of whom 6 French and 5 native members are selected by the Governor-General from among the leading men of the colony who are not Government officials. The other members are elected by the local assemblies of the various countries of the Federation in the following manner.

The French members are:

1. For Cochin China—

Three members of the Colonial Council.

Two members of the Chamber of Commerce.

Two members of the Chamber of Agriculture.

2. For Tonkin—

Three members of the Tonkin Council of French Economic and Financial Interests.

One member of the Hanoi Chamber of Commerce.

One member of the Haiphong Chamber of Commerce.

One member of the Chamber of Agriculture.

3. For Annam—

Two members of the Annam Council of French Economic and Financial Interests.

One member of the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of Central Annam.

One member of the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of Northern Annam.

4. For Cambodia—

Two members of the Cambodia Council of French Economic and Financial Interests.

One member of the Combined Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture.

5. For Laos—

One member of the Laos Council of French Economic and Financial Interests.

One member nominated by the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture.

Until the Council of French Economic and Financial Interests has been established at Laos, the Governor-General, on the recom-

mendation of the Higher Resident at Laos, is to nominate from among the leading Frenchmen in industry, commerce, or agriculture the member required to act on the Grand Council in place of the delegate thus provided for.

The native members are :

1. For Cochinchina—

Three members of the Colonial Council.
One member of the Chamber of Commerce.
One member of the Chamber of Agriculture.

2. For Tonkin—

Three members of the Native Chamber of Representatives of the People.
One member nominated by the native members of the Tonkin Chamber of Commerce.
One member of the Chamber of Agriculture.

3. For Annam—

Two members of the Native Chamber of Representatives of the People.
One member nominated by the native members of the Annam Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture.

4. For Laos—

One member of the Native Consultative Chamber.
One member of the Combined Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

A great number of official establishments have been founded for the improvement of the sanitary, moral and social condition of the native populations. There is a large body of civilian doctors throughout Indo-China, even in the most remote provinces, the hospitals for Europeans being still in charge of military doctors. The Pasteur Institute has also several institutions equipped with all modern improvements.

The present French Government is anxious that the natives of Indo-China should have the benefit of the social laws in force in France, but with the restrictions involved in the Asiatic position of the country; modified liberty of assembly, of association, and of the Press; working day to be reduced from ten hours to nine hours and then to eight hours; prohibition of night work for women and children. In the country districts the French Government is endeavouring to cope with money-lending, the plague of the Far

East, by repressive penalties and the institution of agricultural loans.

A recent decree grants automatically the rights of a French citizen to all natives possessing certain university diplomas or who follow certain professions. Further, the process of naturalization upon demand and after enquiry is much facilitated. We are therefore rapidly coming within sight of a law similar to that of Algeria with this difference, that in Algeria it is the immigrants of all races and the Jews who have formed a powerful group of new French citizens, while in Indo-China they will consist of a purely Annamite body of selected intellectuals, included with some five thousand citizens of French origin who alone today, with a thousand naturalized Hindus and Annamites, elect the representative of Indo-China to the Parliament of Paris.

The political dogma most cherished by French democracy is *equality*—equality of individuals and races and consequently equality of rights of individuals and races. This dogma, if applied in all sincerity, leads inevitably to complete *assimilation* as the sole democratic policy in the colonies.

But the Annamite people, like Cambodians and the Laotians, has been organized for thousands of years in accordance with an unchanging formula, the formula which the French economist, Le Play, quoted as the ideal for a civilized society: monarchy in the State, aristocracy in the province, democracy in the commune. France has hitherto respected this tradition; the form of Supreme Government is a monarchy with a representative system in which a parliament, elected in two or even three stages, is authorized to express opinions rather than to adopt decisions. The provinces are administered by a double oligarchy: a selected body of natives which supplies the provincial governors, and a French élite consisting of the Residents and their assistants, engineers, professors, and local officials.

Finally, the commune administers its own affairs through councils freely elected. It is here that the people of Annam may be seen deliberating and acting, exactly as in any assembly of the European democracies. But here the effort to assimilate should, for the moment, stop.

Democracy, as practised by the French Republic, will never suit Indo-China. This luxurious feature of advanced forms of civilization and of prosperous countries is nourished, in the political sphere, by the strife of parties, and in the social sphere by the strife of classes. This is certainly not the moment to introduce into Indo-China new motives for internal quarrels. The system which successive governments have constantly practised seems therefore the best. Since the French cannot administer direct the affairs of the peoples of Indo-China, they have exerted themselves

to substitute for a tyrannical and extortionist mandarinat, through which originally they had of necessity to act, a new élite composed on Western ideas, more closely connected with the people by its origins and aspirations.

(Translated.)

IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

By F.G. PEARCE, B.A.(HONS.), F.R.G.S.

(Principal, the Scindia School, Gwalior State.)

THE Federal Constitution so soon to be inaugurated in the continent of India is not likely in itself to give rise immediately to any new situations in the field of education, for the simple reason that education is even now a provincial subject controlled by Indian ministers. But there can be little doubt that the advent of provincial autonomy will intensify in steadily increasing measure the urgency of certain of our educational problems. Fundamental those problems have always been: of recent years they have been seen to be pressing; under the new conditions they will become immediate. The purpose of this article is simply to underline those which seem to the writer to be of the most far-reaching importance, and to suggest lines along which their solutions may possibly be found.

There have been in the past not a few who held that problems would be created rather than solved by the spread of education on Western lines in India. It may be that there still exist a considerable number who are privately of that opinion, but few express it, because it is perfectly clear that willy-nilly the tide will rise and, unlike King Canute, they prefer not to get wet feet. But, also unlike Canute, they have the advantage of modern scientific knowledge and should be able to ensure not only the avoidance of a ducking for themselves, but, in due course, that the tide shall be the source of useful power. Herein lies, however, a great danger, and one which has only been unmistakably demonstrated during the last few years. Education, not only extensive but even intensive, does not always make people intelligent. Sometimes it makes them gullible. It is no doubt really a misnomer to apply the term "education" to any process which leads away from intelligence rather than towards it, but, so long as the word is generally used to cover the business of conditioning the minds of the masses, the best that can be done is to distinguish between the "penny plain" and the "two pence coloured" varieties—between education and "education."

Does "education" help to make people gullible, then? Surely the answer is that, in so far as it does not make them able to think for themselves—whether of set purpose as in totalitarian states, or through inefficiency as, for the most part, in India and many

other countries—it undoubtedly renders it easier for determined men to gain power by using the literacy of the masses as the soil in which to sow propaganda and from which to reap the crop of blind devotion. Germany, the most intensively “educated” nation of the West, has proved this to the hilt. Japan, Russia, and Italy provide additional evidence of it.

This, it seems to me, is the problem of problems of our age, not of India alone, but for all nations; to “educate” or not to “educate”? No: it should not be stated so. For, the true alternative to “education” is not lack of “education”; it is *education*.

To be educated, if it means anything at all, surely means not merely to possess carefully tested information upon a fairly wide range of facts, but also to be eager and able to enlarge that range, and to form judgments with discrimination and tolerance, if not with impartiality. Even in a country like England, where schooling has been universal and compulsory for decades, it is now being realized that to make people literate, or even to make them book-learned, is not by any means to immunize them against intellectual dope, or positively to render them more capable of considering current problems in an objective manner. So serious are the implications of this, in fact, that a special organization, the “Association for Education in Citizenship,” has recently been brought into existence through the efforts of a large number of distinguished British educationists, with Sir Henry Hadow as their President. The avowed object of the association is “to advance the study of and training in citizenship, by which is meant training in the moral qualities necessary for the citizens of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in everyday affairs and the acquisition of that knowledge of the modern world usually given by means of courses in history, geography, economics, citizenship, and public affairs”; in short, to promote *education* as against “education.”

If such efforts, such safeguards, are deemed necessary in the most firmly established democracy in the world, how much more are they essential in a country like India, just about to embark upon a great experiment in self-government! It is this consideration that will colour, throughout, the brief presentation of India’s immediate educational problems and the possible solutions of them set forth in this article.

Three such problems will be here presented, one belonging to each of the main stages of school education—viz., primary, middle, and secondary.

The fundamental and immediate problem of primary education in India is not, in the opinion of many, its extension but its improvement in quality. It is true that out of nearly fifty million of children of school-going age in India only about thirteen mil-

lions are now receiving instruction, and figures such as these tend to make one feel that the obviously immediate necessity is a tremendous drive to open new schools everywhere, to begin to make up the enormous leeway at once. The matter is not so simple, however—if opening schools for thirty-seven million children can ever be called a simple matter! For, actually to open the schools might be a less difficult task than to ensure that they were capable of performing their work of establishing even a secure standard of literacy, let alone of *educating* their pupils. This is the deduction that can be drawn from the figures given in the official quinquennial report on the *Progress of Education in India, 1927-1932*, by Sir George Anderson, the then Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. From 1917 to 1922 there was an increase of 15,351 primary schools, accompanied by a corresponding increase of 529,404 pupils; from 1922 to 1927 the increase in schools was over 38,000, the increase in pupils being 2,776,146. It is clear from this that there *was* a big push in the latter quinquennium; but another set of figures will show what the increase was really worth. In 1927-28 no less than 4,022,418 children discontinued their education *before they attained literacy*; over three millions discontinuing after actually only one year of primary schooling! This means that in the case of nearly one-fourth of the total number of children at school, the attempt made to educate them was practically wasted. The statistics from another point of view are even more appalling: out of every hundred children who entered a primary school in 1922 it is found that only eleven reached the fifth class in 1926, and it is certain that even of these some must have drifted back into illiteracy because the life of poverty they live gives them so few chances of reading.

It seems obvious that so long as the primary schools enable only about one-tenth of their pupils to attain even literacy, the mere multiplication of such schools is largely waste; and unless steps can be taken simultaneously to make primary education more effective the opening of more schools is unjustifiable. It follows, therefore, that the chief problem is the one stated at the commencement of this section—viz., how to improve the *quality* of primary education. On the answer to this all authorities are agreed: there must be a vast increase in the number of well-trained vernacular teachers. From where are these to come?

To English readers the training of teachers probably suggests up-to-date arrangements for the demonstration of new methods, the latest equipment, a model practising-school, or at least the academic atmosphere of a dignified training institution in a city or country town. It is perhaps in part due to such preconceptions that trained teachers have hitherto in many cases not been as effective as they might have been in Indian village schools. The

clue to this is to be found in the following passage from a report of a recent committee of American experts dealing with the educational work of Christian missions in India. It runs as follows (the italics being mine):

"We would get further in the end if we closed one-half of our village schools and spent money in training teachers for the other half. . . . What we need for village teachers are not foreigners nor even urban English-trained Indians of city schools. The one has never had, and the other has lost, the ability to think along the furrows cut by the Indian tradition. The need is for young men and women who, *having grown up in a village, are used to its ways of living; and who have been given an education which opens their eyes to village and agricultural problems* and suggests the means of dealing with them."

It is from the vernacular middle schools that primary school teachers must in nearly all cases be recruited, and as the vast majority of primary schools must be rural schools (India being a country of scattered agricultural hamlets), it is in the improvement of the *rural vernacular middle schools* and the development of *rural vernacular training schools for teachers* that the crux of the whole matter lies. This was the opinion expressed by the Hartog Committee (the Auxiliary Committee on Education working under the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928): it is endorsed by Sir George Anderson in his Quinquennial Report, as well as by the missionary experts whose report is quoted above. The Hartog Report ran:

"Money spent on expansion or improvement of middle vernacular schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on almost any other of the many objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist."

Good work has been done in this direction, particularly in the Punjab and the United Provinces, since the Hartog Report was written, but the fact stated is as true now as it was in 1928, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The solution of the fundamental problem of primary education is therefore the immediate problem of middle or lower secondary education. To that we shall now turn.

The middle stage of Indian education is generally taken as comprising the three (in some provinces four) classes between the completion of primary education, in class 4 or 5, and the commence-

ment of High School education in class 9. It is, in other words, the first portion of the secondary course, of which the concluding portion is the High School course.

This middle stage is in several respects the most important of all, in the present condition of India, partly because the vast majority of teachers from primary schools are recruited from the middle schools, and also because it is the critical stage at which for the vast masses of the population their cultural background, their civic outlook, will be formed. This is so, not only because middle education is the highest stage of education that can be expected to be made universal and compulsory in India within a reasonable period of time (and even that period may extend to half a century unless the rate of progress is greatly accelerated), but also for the more fundamental reason that it covers that stage of the child's psychological growth when the emotions are the dominating factor. It is, broadly speaking, true that whatever the child learns to love and whatever he learns to hate, at this stage, he will continue, more or less consciously, to love or to hate throughout life. His later intellectual training, whether in educational institutions or in the school of life, may help him to repress or to develop those loves and hates, but it cannot wholly counteract or change them. It is therefore of far-reaching importance, from the point of view of the child's own harmonious growth, as well as for the sake of society in the country where he lives, that he shall at this stage be helped to love those things which may lead to his own all-round peaceful development and serviceableness to others, and to be averse to things tending in the opposite direction. The influences which can guide him in those directions (or away from them) are very largely those of the middle stage of education. It is not for nothing that Mussolini has compelled all Italian boys of this age to enrol in his corps of "*balilla*," and Hitler has suppressed all youth movements in Germany except those of the Nazi party.

The problem of the middle school is a problem of emotion, because the middle stage is the stage of development chiefly through the emotions. The problem then is to arouse the right kinds of interests and desires; the suggestion and discussion of means to satisfy them belongs mainly to the next stage.

What are the "right" kinds of interests and desires? Your answer to that depends, surely, upon your ideal for the country, as well as on the possibilities of the people you are dealing with. Macaulay's famous Minute on Indian education envisaged "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." Much water has flowed down the Hughli since then, and few Englishmen and no Indians would now subscribe to Macaulay's idea. The Hartog Committee

naturally advocated the aim of "producing a competent electorate," or, in wider terms, "the training of broad-minded, tolerant, and self-reliant citizens." But even this aim needs qualification according as it relates to the citizenry of a rural or of an urban electorate, and this is particularly the case in a country like India, where the difference between rural and urban conditions is so marked.

One thing is perfectly certain: it is of the greatest importance that the interests and desires awakened during the middle stage of rural education should be such as may lead to the service and uplift of the villages and *not to their neglect and desertion*. As Sir George Anderson has said in his unofficial capacity, collaborating with Bishop Whitehead in the book *Christian Education in India* (Macmillan, 1932):

"What India needs more than anything today is a new and wider system of education; a system which will be in harmony with village conditions and requirements, which will train up boys and girls desirous of remaining a part of the village and of spending lives of service to the progress of the countryside."

It is in the Punjab, where Sir George himself was Director of Public Instruction for a number of years, that (no doubt largely as a result of his efforts and encouragement) the most effective steps have been taken towards the realization of this ideal. There Rural Science (embracing instruction in agriculture, village sanitation, co-operation, and elementary civics) has been introduced into the curriculum of vernacular middle schools, and, in order that the work should be eminently of a practical nature, five-acre farms and one-acre garden plots are attached to the schools. Moreover, "the training given to vernacular teachers has been revolutionized and is now closely related to village conditions" (Quinquennial Report, 1927-32, p. 123).

Unless the last-mentioned precaution is taken, simultaneously with the modification of the curriculum to cover the "right interests and desires," the latter will be of no avail, and this is why one of the most immediate requirements of Indian primary and middle education in most of the provinces and states is the establishment of many more vernacular training schools for teachers, attached to vernacular rural middle schools, on the lines of those in the Punjab. The tendency in some parts is to centralize training schools in the towns: not only does this deprive the students-in-training of the opportunities of learning how to deal with the rural problems which most of them will have to face, but it accustoms them to urban amenities and thereby renders them

sometimes unwilling to serve in places where such amenities cannot be had. There is, moreover, a very definite contribution to the central life of the village in having a training school in its midst, as has been pointed out in a recent publication of the Board of Education of the United Kingdom, entitled *Education and Countryside* (H.M. Stationery Office, London).

The middle stage is, as already mentioned, the most crucial because it is the stage in which loves and hates, interests and aversions, are most deeply formed. It is the stage when the seeds of adventure, of desire for knowledge, discovery, and invention, can most readily be either cultivated or killed, and when enthusiasms and devotions can be most easily aroused and directed, for good or ill. This is the time, therefore, when the curriculum should be as wide as possible, and scope and encouragement should be given for the immediate application of newly acquired information to affairs of daily life. In short it is the time for Practical General Knowledge, or Citizenship Training in its most attractive guise, such as collective projects, scouting, and school outings. In India, owing to the fact that high-school teachers are generally better paid than middle-school ones, the more capable men are generally found in the high classes, where, instead of their initiative being encouraged through time being made available for activities of the kind mentioned above, they are expected to devote practically all their energy to cramming their pupils for the High School or Matriculation examination, from the results of which their efficiency and that of their school is very largely judged (by the public as well as in most cases by the educational authorities). Here, then, it is perfectly clear on what lines reforms must proceed, but the problem is how to make a start; for the headmaster who gives his best teachers to the middle classes and takes the risk of showing poorer matriculation results is also risking the loss of his job through flying in the face of public opinion. Public opinion needs first to be changed on this matter, and that is a question of time and steady educational propaganda.

Even in middle schools the same problem exists to some extent because of the Middle Examination. But this difficulty will be gradually overcome when the curriculum of the middle schools is widened and adapted to local conditions (as by the introduction of Rural Science in the rural middle schools of the Punjab), provided that (as also in the Punjab) the teachers' training schools are at the same time re-oriented so that the wider curriculum may be effectively taught.

My own opinion is that there is great scope in the middle schools of India for a more complete reform of the curriculum on lines parallel to those suggested for British schools by the Association for Education in Citizenship. It is quite possible (as I have

fruit- and dairy-farming, bee-keeping, poultry-farming, and market gardening. The object is to divert as many boys as possible to such lines of productive work, so that only those who can really benefit from a higher stage of academic education should proceed to the high schools. The Sapru Committee recommends, too, that the high school course itself should branch out in at least three directions (not necessarily all in the same institution)—agricultural, commercial, and for University entrance—so that at the end of this stage again there may be diversion of the stream into channels of productive work, only one of the channels leading to still higher academic education and to the professions and administrative services. Only along some such lines, it would seem, can the problem slowly be solved.

Another aspect of the same problem is visible in the growing demand on the part of the middle-class government officials, land-owners, and merchants for a type of school corresponding roughly to the smaller public schools and better grammar schools of England—the schools which till recently have produced most of the leaders and administrators of the public services, wholesale trade, and big industry of the nation. Until a few years ago there existed in India practically no school even remotely resembling a “school of leadership,” except perhaps the expensive *Chiefs’* Colleges which were exclusively for the sons of the Ruling Princes and the higher aristocracy, and the hill-station residential schools of the missionaries, which were mainly for boys of British and American parentage. Between these and the ordinary high schools (which are all day-schools with, occasionally, a more or less makeshift hostel attached to them) there was absolutely nothing. The few who had ambitions for their sons, along with money to spend on their education, sent them to England; the rest had to be content with the local high school.

During the last few decades isolated efforts have been made in different parts of the country to meet this growing demand for good residential schools. In this Dr. Annie Besant and some of her colleagues of the Theosophical Society did valuable pioneer work, as also did Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. From the boys’ school which Dr. Besant founded, in Benares, the Hindu University has grown; but the original plant also still flourishes there and has branched forth into a girls’ school on similar lines; while in other parts of India schools of the same type have sprung up under many other auspices, public as well as private. Such are the residential schools at Madanapalle, at Adyar, at Rishi Valley at Delhi, at Udaipur; and in many of the more salubrious spots such as Poona, Nasik, Bangalore, and the hill-stations, residential schools of the preparatory type have been established either by particular communities for their own children or by public bodies

A similar move in the same direction, from another angle, was the step taken by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, when in 1933 it converted a school for the sons of local Sardars (nobles) into the Scindia School, a residential school for Indian boys, run on more or less public school lines.

The force of the demand for this type of education is perhaps evidenced best of all, however, in its most recent and most prominent manifestation, the opening of the Indian Public School (now called the Doon School) at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces, under practically Government of India auspices. This institution had been projected years ago by the late Mr. S. R. Das (then Law Member of the Government of India), and collected and promised funds were waiting to be used for it. Public demand was not, however, at that time powerful enough to operate as a catalyst as it has now done. The Doon School is staffed largely by English public school men and run on English lines. There is no doubt it fills an immediate need (as is shown by the rush for admission), and that need will continue to be felt for some years to come; but it is not unreasonable to speculate whether this type of school will meet the needs of the next generation. Provincialization will proceed far more vigorously and rapidly under the Federal Constitution, and the demand will undoubtedly soon be for provincial rather than central “schools of leadership,” not merely on account of geographical distance, but more on grounds of language and culture. Even then there will be room for one or more central institutions, but only, it seems to me, if they show themselves willing to conform to Indian requirements and do not cling too rigidly to English manners, customs, and possibly even language. It may be argued that if a school adapts itself to that extent it will no longer be worthy of the name of “public school” in the traditional sense of the word. That depends. If the public school tradition is really capable and suitable of transplantation and acclimatization in India, I believe that by that time it will have sufficiently embedded its really vital roots in our soil, and we should be glad rather than sorry if the fruits are different in colour and flavour from those which the tree bears in its original clime. The main thing is that they should be identical in their essential characteristic, their nutritive value for a virile breed of young men, to make them liberal in outlook, enterprising and courageous in mind and heart, keen and capable inheritors of a great responsibility and a great opportunity, the future leadership of the world’s latest and greatest political experiment, the government of a federal democratic dominion, which shall unite the cultures and traditions of the ancient East and the modern West.

CHANGING SIAM

By SIR ROBERT HOLLAND, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.

FROM north to south Siam is about 1,130 miles and from east to west about 508 miles, the area being about 220,000 square miles. The great Mekong River runs for a thousand miles along the northern and eastern boundaries, roughly speaking, though certain territories on the right bank were ceded to the French more than thirty years ago. The western flank of the upper part of Siam is formed by a range of mountains which continues southward to form the backbone of the Malay Peninsula.

The north part of Siam is a series of parallel ranges of hills lying north and south, between which flow four rivers which unite in the centre of the country to form the main waterway, which is known as the Menam Chao Phya. The eastern part of Siam is a low-lying plateau, unhealthy and sparsely inhabited, because it is subject to heavy floods in the monsoon and is very arid in the hot weather. Central Siam is the heart of the kingdom, and is the most thickly populated and wealthy area. It is a great plain bordered by high mountains on the west and sloping gently to the sea on the south. In the flood season the Menam and other rivers overflow their banks and deposit a great deal of silt over the country, perpetually renewing the fertility of the fields, and thus is maintained the high reputation which Siamese rice has gained in the markets of the world.

Southern Siam, the part in the Malay Peninsula, is generally speaking a narrow, mountainous strip, of which a good deal is covered with dense forest, though there are small alluvial plains between the lower slopes. The coast on both sides of the Peninsula is studded with islands.

The Siamese have long called their country *Muang Thai*, or "the country of the Thai race," Thai meaning "free." The origin of the Thai race is very obscure, but there seems to have been a movement of the Thai peoples from south-west China at least two thousand years ago, and there were probably later waves of invasion from the same source, notably one about the middle of the thirteenth century, under pressure from Kublai Khan.

The Thai peoples absorbed a good deal of their remarkable culture from the Khmers, a mysterious race whose ancestors probably came from the plateaus of Central Asia. The Khmers built up a large empire, with its capital at Angkor, and kept the Thais in subjugation for centuries, building all over Cambodia

and Siam, and farther afield still, the magnificent Hindu and Buddhist temples whose ruins are still visible today. Eventually, however, they were overcome, and perhaps largely exterminated or driven southwards, by the Thais, who by the end of the thirteenth century had extended their dominion over most of the country to the west of the Mekong River.

But it was not till the middle of the fourteenth century, so far as we know, that the various Thai principalities were consolidated into a kingdom with its capital at Ayuthia on the Menam River. Four hundred years later, Ayuthia was stormed and destroyed by the Burmese, and in the sack of the city there undoubtedly perished most of the ancient historical records of the kingdom. Some few survived, however, being carried to the new capital which was established at Bangkok, where the present dynasty of Rulers, called the Chakri dynasty, was founded by a successful general.

The Portuguese were the first of the Western nations to establish intercourse with Siam. They arrived in 1511, after the conquest of Malacca by D'Albuquerque, and they exerted a powerful influence for over a century until they were gradually ousted by the Dutch. English traders arrived and were favourably received early in the seventeenth century, but it was not until 1824 that, after the conclusion of a treaty with the Dutch, British interests became paramount in the Malay Peninsula and Siam. The first treaty of friendship and commerce between Britain and Siam was signed by Captain Burney in 1826. Intercourse between France and Siam began in 1680, when a Siamese embassy was sent to Louis XIV., at the suggestion of a Greek adventurer named Phaulkon, who had raised himself by sheer talent to a position of great power at the Court of Siam, but eventually suffered a painful death on being suspected of forwarding French intrigues. The ruins of his splendid house are still visible at the old capital of Lopburi.

Japanese commerce was active in Siam from 1592 to about 1632, when many Japanese settlers were murdered or expelled.

Through the medium of Siam's early relationships with foreign nations, fascinating sidelights can be obtained on the history of the country before the beginning of the nineteenth century. A book recently published under the title of *Siamese White* is well worth reading, since it gives a remarkable account of the career of an Englishman who became *de facto* Governor of the Tenasserim Province of Siam under Phaulkon, and eventually, by his filibustering propensities, embroiled the Siamese Government with the East India Company. Most of the Englishmen in the Tenasserim port of Mergui were massacred by the Siamese in 1687, largely in consequence of White's overbearing and ruthless

behaviour, but White himself escaped to England with a good deal of loot.

Trade between British possessions and Siam grew rapidly during the nineteenth century, and in 1855 a treaty was made, signed by Sir John Bowring, under which Siam agreed to the appointment of a British Consul in Bangkok, and to the exercise by him of full extra-territorial powers. Similar treaties were soon made with the other Powers whose subjects were represented in Siam, with the result that foreigners in Siam, with the exception of Chinese, who have never been represented by a Consul, could only be tried for criminal offences or sued in civil cases in their own consular courts.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the French complained that the Siamese were occupying territory which belonged to Annam, a part of French Indo-China. The dispute at one time seemed likely to have very serious results for Siam, but eventually the Siamese Government gave way and made various territorial and other concessions, and an Anglo-French convention was concluded in 1896, by which the central portion of Siam was neutralized, and in effect the independence of Siam was guaranteed by the two great Powers.

Further treaties were made with France in 1904 and 1907, by which the frontier between Siam and French Indo-China was finally settled and the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by France in Siam were to some extent modified.

By a treaty made with Great Britain in 1909, Siam ceded her suzerain rights over various Malay States situated in Southern Siam just north of British Malaya, containing in all about a million inhabitants, but obtained large concessions in the direction of the abolition of extra-territorial rights in respect of British subjects.

By treaties made after the Great War, mostly in 1925, the Powers agreed individually to their nationals being subject to the jurisdiction of Siamese State Courts, though certain jurisdictional limitations were to remain in effect until the publication of the Siamese codes of law, and for five years thereafter. In the case of Great Britain, for instance, there was an understanding that Siam would continue to employ a staff of British legal advisers, with a British judicial adviser at their head, who would sit in the special courts in which the cases concerning British subjects were heard, and also in the Appeal Court and the Supreme Court, during the interim period before all foreigners residing in Siam became subject to Siamese law administered in Siamese courts by Siamese judges.

Anyone who intends to visit Siam may be interested to have this slender foundation of knowledge before entering the country.

The best way to go to Siam is by sea via Penang, unless you travel by air. Crossing to the mainland from the island of Penang,

you enter a comfortable international express train which takes you to Bangkok in twenty-seven hours. You pass at first through interminable rubber plantations, and paddy fields amid cocoanut palms, and dense jungle, with here and there the tidy villages of British Malaya. On entering Siamese territory, the scenery changes gradually and the line runs through endless cultivated plains and meadowlands, studded with groves of trees and villages and isolated limestone peaks that rise abruptly like forts from the plains. These are often honeycombed with caves which have gained a sacred reputation. Then comes a region of dense jungle and mountains, until the line returns to the seacoast and you get glimpses of sandy beaches and the blue waters of the Gulf of Siam. Inland are limestone cliffs which fringe the mountain barrier between Siam and Burma down the northern part of the Peninsula. At daybreak the international express reaches a little seaside station called Huahin, where the King has a fine palace, and there is also a charming hotel close to the sands with a good golf course close by.

If time permits, it is very advisable to stop off at Huahin and spend a few lazy days bathing in the warm sea, if the jelly-fish permit. They are sometimes very numerous, and an exudation from them causes painful and long-continuing sores. Besides the golf, there are some pleasant and interesting excursions to be made from Huahin.

Before a visitor arrives at Bangkok it is desirable that he should have some idea of the political situation in the country.

After the capital was moved to Bangkok, Siam was ruled by a succession of extraordinarily capable and intelligent kings, of whom the best known was King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910). In his reign the Government of Siam was modernized, and a reasonably efficient system of administration was extended over the whole country. Railway construction was begun, telegraph services were organized, the army and navy were greatly improved, a proper police force was constituted, social and educational reforms were inaugurated, the finances of the country were placed on a sound basis, arts and sciences, and in particular drama, were stimulated, and in fact Siam began to follow the example of progress which Japan had set for Eastern nations by opening its doors to Western civilization.

But the Government of Siam continued to be an absolute, though benevolent, monarchy. The King had a Cabinet Council consisting of the ten Ministers of State and a nominated Legislative Council of forty-five; but he was an autocrat in practice as well as in theory, he had an absolute power of veto, and the initiation of measures rested largely with him. When King Prajadhipok came to the throne in 1925, he made some moves in the direction of delegation

of powers and decentralization of work, and from royal announcements it is clear that he contemplated changes in the method of government which would enable his people to have a voice in matters affecting their interest and welfare.

But there were serious obstacles to be surmounted, and before the King was able to promulgate a scheme which he was understood to have prepared for introducing constitutional government, the so-called "Bangkok Revolution" took place on June 24, 1932, and a democratic body seized the reins.

The leaders of the revolution at first behaved somewhat discourteously to the King and the Royal Family, but later on they apologized for this, when they realized the King's readiness to play his part as a constitutional monarch and his sympathy with democratic aspirations, and when they remembered all that the country owed to the statesmanship of the Chakri kings and to King Prajadhipok in particular. The Princes of the blood royal were deprived of the many high offices which they had held, new Ministers were appointed, members of the Royal Family were declared to be above politics, in the sense that they could not hold political posts, and a Constitution was framed on scientific lines, following the most liberal models. A few months later, however, the Cabinet, dominated by some older and more conservative members, brought about the suspension of certain clauses of the Constitution and the prorogation of the National Assembly, and sent a prominent leader of the democratic party to Europe in virtual exile. These moves caused marked discontent among the younger politicians in Bangkok, and also in certain army circles, and a *coup d'état* was accordingly prepared.

It happened to be so timed as almost to coincide with my own assumption of my duties as judicial adviser to the Siamese Government. On June 19, 1933, I paid my respects to the State Councillor in charge of the Ministry, who seemed to me to be a charming and cultured man, but rather depressed and distraught. I never saw him again, and his depression may have been due to the shadow of coming events, for the *coup* came off on the next day, June 20, and when I went to the Ministry in the morning I found a lorry full of soldiers and machine-guns at the entrance, and the State Councillor had been removed from office.

The change-over was accomplished without actual violence. One set of Ministers went out, overawed by bayonets and machine-guns, and another set with more advanced ideas assumed office under the Premiership of a distinguished military officer, Colonel Phya Bahol. The Constitution was reintegrated, the National Assembly was summoned to meet again, and the leader, Luang Pradit, who had been exiled to Paris, was recalled. We immediately settled down to hard work, as the Government had a long

list of reforms for every department of the administration which it was anxious to introduce as soon as possible. But a few months later there was a rude interruption when a rebellion broke out, led by Prince Bovaradej, who had a considerable number of supporters both in the army and navy. We foreigners in Bangkok were aware of a pitched battle proceeding on the outskirts of the city, but otherwise the even tenor of our daily lives went on as usual. The gunfire and the rattle of musketry gradually died away, as the rebels were pushed northwards, and after a week or two it was clear that the insurrection, which at one time had seemed likely to succeed, had definitely failed.

But on its collapse the Government found themselves confronted with some very difficult problems. The King, with his Court, had withdrawn southwards to Singhora, a town close to the British border; many officers in the army and navy and in the civil administration were known to have sympathized with the rebels; the gaols were full of prisoners of war and suspects; some of the most experienced members of the Cabinet had resigned on the plea of ill-health; and there was a general spirit of uncertainty abroad as to what the future might bring forth. If the King were hopelessly antagonized there might be a revulsion of popular feeling in his favour, because the sentiment of loyalty to the Ruling Family is deep-rooted in Siam; if the prisoners were treated with ruthless severity, those responsible could expect no mercy, if a turn of fortune's wheel were to bring them into the same predicament later on; if the army and navy and the administrative departments were purged of all officers suspected of leanings to the Right, on the ground of their association with the old régime, the machinery of government would be seriously weakened and a new body of malcontents would be created; and finally the Assembly, which consisted of seventy-eight nominated and seventy-eight elected members, was not sufficiently representative of the people of Siam to confer any mandate on the State Executive.

The State Council dealt with these problems zealously but discreetly. They sent a delegation to the King, composed of the ablest Prince of Siam, who had thrown in his lot with the People's Party, by name Prince Varnvaidya, and the Minister of Justice, Phya Nitisastra, and these two, after long negotiations, succeeded in bringing about His Majesty's return to Bangkok and his resumption of the rôle of constitutional monarch, which he played with the same spirit as before. A few of the prisoners were sentenced to death and many to long terms of imprisonment, but the death sentences were not executed, either at the moment or later, and many suspects were released. Many officers in the armed forces and in the civil administration whose loyalty to the Constitution was doubted were replaced, but they were retired on

pension and not dismissed. Skilful propaganda was started in order to educate the people to a realization of the advantages of the new era, much needed reforms were pressed on, and the full ventilation of grievances was encouraged in the Assembly, while at the same time any movement which seemed likely to be subversive of the Constitution was rigorously suppressed. Copies of the Constitution were conveyed to the more important towns throughout the country with ceremony that partook of religious ritual; and every effort was made, especially by means of wireless talks, to kindle in the minds of the common people a real interest in democratic government and social reform. The movement had, of course, originated in Bangkok, though there were paler reflections in the larger up-country towns, but the country folk were politically apathetic, conceiving that the even tenor of their daily lives would be very little affected by changes in the personnel of the Central Government. Shortly after the second upheaval had taken place in Bangkok, a European who was travelling in Northern Siam was asked by a farmer to explain to him "what these people in Bangkok are quarrelling about, and why they seem to be getting so excited."

It is not easy to arouse enthusiasm for abstract political ideas in regions where communications are difficult and where the people are not under an oppressive yoke and can extract a sufficing, though slender, livelihood from the forests and the mud of the rice-fields.

There is no doubt, however, that a political change was necessary for very substantial reasons.

Before the revolution took place the King, with clear-sighted statesmanship, had planned the creation of a Constitutional Government on the same lines as in Western countries, so that the people should by right have a voice in the administration and in matters of policy affecting the general welfare. He realized that the Princes of Blood had gathered to themselves more than their fair share of power and privilege and reward, and that the administration, already top-heavy, was in danger of collapse. His Majesty's good intentions were, however, thwarted by the natural disinclination of his relations to divest themselves of prerogative, and his hand was forced by leaders of the People's Party whose patience was exhausted.

Those leaders were highly intelligent men who had imbibed deeply of Western education, many of them having been actually trained at the expense of the State in Europe or America. They deemed themselves wholly competent to occupy the highest positions in State service, from which they must assuredly be excluded so long as the Departments were in the grip of bureaucratic Princes, and they were filled with burning desire to save the

country from decline by introducing long-needed reforms. The new wine was fermenting in old bottles, and it was inevitable that pent-up feelings should find a release in order that greater danger might be avoided. There were already signs of the subtle workings of communism in the larger cities.

The requirements of the situation and the nature of the ills which existed may be gathered in some measure from the terms of the Constitution which the revolutionaries set up, and from the six "Principles" which they declared would govern their policy. These "Principles" were concerned with—

1. Equality of Rights.
2. Liberty.
3. National Independence.
4. International Law and Order.
5. Economic Progress.
6. Education.

The Government hold that equality of rights and liberty for the people are assured by the Constitution itself, with its fundamental declarations and the charter which it gives to the People's Assembly. The State Council have been hammering away at the remaining points during the past three years by administrative measures and by a spate of legislation.

I will not at the moment attempt to assess what measure of success they have achieved.

To resume the narrative; the King spent some months in his garden palace in Bangkok, and his presence, while affording invaluable support to the Government during the consolidation of their victory, undoubtedly restrained the hotheads of the People's Party from pressing for stern vengeance upon those captured in the insurrection. The King's visit to the capital at this critical time proved to the leaders of the movement, if they still entertained any doubt on the subject, that he was opposed to any attempt to reinstate the absolute Monarchy (a plan which Prince Bovaradej is believed to have entertained), and the loyalty and veneration displayed during his public appearances probably convinced them that, for the time being at all events, the Sovereign was a necessary feature in the Constitution. The King's retirement to the proximity of the British frontier during the fighting was probably a wise step, since he would have been a pawn in the hands of any party that could have controlled his movements at the time, and he would have been compelled to descend into the arena of politics, thus perhaps imperilling the existence of the Monarchy.

But His Majesty's health was giving cause for anxiety; he had been warned that an operation for cataract would shortly have to be performed upon one of his eyes, and the whole affair of the

The machinery of administration functioned with reasonable efficiency, the people observed their usual feasts and holidays, the life of the countryside flowed in its usual peaceful channels, foreigners in Bangkok pursued their avocations undisturbed and held their customary social functions, but there were at first many complaints of a slackening of trade on account of doubt as to the stability of the new régime.

An attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, on the life of the Minister of Defence, Luang Bipul Songgram, and an abortive conspiracy which had for its object the assassination of members of the Government and prominent officials, darkened the horizon for a time, but by the spring of 1936, after the remodelling of the State Council, again under the Premiership of Colonel Phya Bahol, the atmosphere seemed to have cleared and public confidence was in process of being restored.

Two things in Siam are of particular interest to the student of politics.

The first is the slow but steady penetration of the country by the Chinese. The Western movement of population from China which, through a long period of years, has set like a tidal current on the coast of Malaya, and which finally expends itself in the backwaters of Siam, is comparable in effect with the more spectacular migrations of the Thais from Southern China which began 2,000 years ago. Already there have been results of great importance from the ethnological, commercial, and sociological points of view, but these cannot be described within the limits of a short article.

The second point is the effect produced upon Siam's relations with foreign powers by the nationalistic developments of the past few years.

The Siamese have always acknowledged with courteous gratitude the advantages that they have reaped from the assistance and tutelage of Western Powers. At the same time, they have been well aware that the benevolence of foreign nations could not be wholly untinged with self-interest, while the entertainment of foreign advisers proved sometimes an expensive method of acquiring experience. One of the foremost ambitions of the new State Council has naturally been to free Siam from any semblance of domination by foreign interests. A Government which can demonstrate to the people that its régime has improved the country's status among the nations is likely to reap a harvest of enthusiastic support, and thus incidentally to ensure its own continuity. This it must naturally believe to be of the highest importance to the salvation of the country.

Again, there may be commercial profit or other aggrandisement to be gained by diplomatic adventure in paths which were not

frequented by those who were formerly responsible for Siam's foreign policy.

It was not to be expected that Siam's foreign relationships would remain, after the *coup d'état*, upon precisely the same footing as they were before. But whatever new friendships may be cultivated and whatever new obligations may be undertaken, it may be regarded as certain that the leaders of the People's Party which is now controlling the destinies of the country will never desire, by any action of theirs, to loosen the ties which have united Siam and Great Britain in interest and affection for so many years past.

I once heard a Siamese gentleman say: "Of course English is our second language," and by many Siamese England is undoubtedly regarded as their second home, while in matters of international moment there is a solidarity of thought and a community of interest which make for harmony of action. English people who live for any considerable period of time in Siam find themselves greatly attracted by the unique charm of the country and entertain a very real and lasting affection for the many friends they make there.

The Englishman feels more quickly at home in Siam than in any other Eastern country, because he soon realizes that in the present-day representative of the Thai race, of both sexes, he will find true comrades who will share all his amusements and interests, whether in sport or in the serious affairs of life, and will gain his respect and affection by their dignity and amiable courtesy, and by the many remarkable talents which they possess.

December 10, 1936.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

BY DAVID G. MANDELBAUM

(Fellow of the National Research Council of the U.S.A.)

THERE was Emeneau waiting for me at the Hyderabad station. We had made the appointment half a year before that morning in January last, made it by correspondence when first I knew that I was coming out to India. We had known each other only casually at Yale, for two storeys of the Hall of Graduate studies and considerable academic distance intervened between his department of Indo-European linguistics and mine of social anthropology. But now Yale had sent both of us out to conduct research in India. Emeneau had come the year before and was making considerable progress with Toda, Coorg, and other Dravidian languages. I was fresh off the boat when we met, having arrived just in time to attend the meetings of the India Science Congress.

Hyderabad's Osmania University was host to the Science Congress, and Osmania's Professor Speight had graciously extended his hospitality to the two lone Americans.

At the Town Hall, where the Congress was to take place we saw a cluster of men at the entrance bowing and smiling and executing "... but you first" gestures before each other. But soon they went in and we tagged along directly behind them. We hadn't gone ten paces before we found ourselves between two files of soldiery, drawn starchily to attention. For it was no collocation of lay mortals that we had followed, but the formal academic procession itself. So we came into the Science Congress in great style and were the cynosure of all eyes.

The Congress was opened by the representative of the Government, Sir Akbar Hydari, under whose ægis both education and finance have flourished in the Nizam's State. There was some little delay while microphones were being adjusted, and Sir Akbar took advantage of the time to step from the platform and greet friends whom he had noticed in the audience. Even in the United States a stiffness of manner adheres to large scientific meetings, and it was striking and pleasing to see the honoured guest of the occasion dispensing with formality.

Then came the presidential address by Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman. The president exemplified the working union of the practical and scholastic spheres in India, for Mr. Venkatraman is eminently a man of practical affairs, being a sugar-cane expert. His address, "The Indian Village," displayed an erudition worthy

of the presidential chair. The theme of his speech was a vitally important one. The prevailing urbanization of Western countries has turned attention away from village life. In India it is the village that contains the great majority of the population and represents the beating heart of India itself. Research in all fields—agricultural, physical, industrial, sociological—must turn more and more to the problems of the villager.

We had our first look at the Osmania University later that afternoon. The present buildings lie long and low and white along the campus. We soon discovered that they are only temporary structures and that the truly fine Indo-Saracenic buildings going up nearby presage the Osmania of five years hence. The hostels are nearly completed. So lavishly designed are they that one visiting professor questioned the wisdom of buildings them. For a student who spends several years in those palatial residences will find it hard to become reconciled to the narrower dimensions of his own home.

Osmania is distinctive among Indian Universities in that Urdu is the official language of instruction, English being a required secondary language. It is no easy task to secure textbooks and competent instruction in the language of the country. Moreover Urdu, or its close relative Hindustani, is not known to most South Indians. Even in Hyderabad itself a good proportion of the population speaks a Dravidian tongue, Telugu, and not Indo-European Urdu. Yet the wisdom of placing the academic world on the same linguistic plane with masses of the people cannot be questioned. Only in such wise can the benefits of modern scholarship permeate the social fabric of the country.

We had intended to join a tour of the buildings under the guidance of the University engineer, but the scent of a library had reached Emeneau's nostrils. He had been isolated from books and scholarly periodicals too long to have an interest in mere architecture. Although it was a scant month since I had been in the company of scientific literature, I, too, couldn't resist, and spent the rest of the afternoon with the *American Journal of Sociology*. In the evening there was a popular lecture on Nepal.

On the next day the Congress got down to business and the first papers were read. The days which followed all adhered to the same pattern. Scientific meetings in the mornings, excursions and "at homes" in the afternoons, popular lectures in the evenings.

Anthropology is a science relatively new to India, and Indian anthropologists are all too few. There were never over a dozen attending the ordinary sessions of the anthropological section and often there were but half that number, and these few had to cope with the myriad problems latent in the cultures of India's twenty-five million aborigines. They were the men whose works I had

read and whose special field of anthropological endeavour I was about to enter.

Illness prevented the president of our section, Dewan Bahadur L. K. A. Iyer, from attending the ordinary sessions, and Dr. B. S. Guha, of the Calcutta Museum, officiated in his stead. Harvard trained, Dr. Guha is the foremost physical anthropologist in India. His skilful treatment of the Gargantuan problem of physical types in the population of India, recently published in the 1931 census, has aroused the interest of physical anthropology the world over. I may parenthetically remark that anthropology is subdivided into four disciplines, and most anthropologists specialize in one or other of the four. Physical anthropology has to do with the problems of race, growth, bodily types, and other matters connected with the physical structure of mankind. Ethnology studies the habits and customs of the various social groups, limiting itself largely to the lives of primitive peoples. Closely allied to ethnology is archæology, the study of ages past as revealed by buried evidence. Finally, there are linguistics, a knotty subject with rules and a technical jargon of its own.

Mr. T. C. Roy Chaudhuri of Calcutta aided Dr. Guha in carrying the banner of physical anthropology. His paper on the Radhiya Brahmin community of Bengal indicated that the group is a physical as well as a social unit. The interests of Lucknow University's young Dr. D. N. Majumdar were closest to my own. His alert ethnological perspicacity has been quick to see the advantages of Benedict's new theories. I heard him discuss cultural patterns and configurations in terms scarcely grasped by American anthropologists among whom these ideas had been evolved. Briefly stated, Benedict's position is that every civilization chooses a certain preferred arc of behaviour from among the vast array of human social patterns. The personalities of members of any social group are moulded to fit within this arc. Those individuals whose personalities are congenitally congenial to that cultural configuration rise to high position. Thus the Zuni tribe of New Mexico places a premium on quiet, orderly, middle-of-the-road behaviour. Those individuals who are impulsive, aggressive, non-conformist, have their impulses and aggressions and rebelliousness squashed. Zunis who are complacent, balanced, self-contained, are models of manly carriage. Dr. Majumdar's forthcoming book on the Hos of the Chota Nagpur region will, for the first time, apply this concept to a tribe of India.

Mr. M. H. Krishna is State archæologist for Mysore, but his two papers dealt with subjects of an ethnological nature. The rise and growth of caste is by no means clear to the social scientist, and the very functioning of the caste system is but hazily understood by the anthropologists and sociologists of the Western

world. Mr. Krishna showed that castes are not static social entities, for there are many instances of the rise or fall of a caste in the social scale. The history of some of the royal dynasties of the Deccan bears this out. The Satavahanas were Brahmins who intermarried with the Sakas of Surastara. The Kadambas were Brahmins who became Kshtryias. The Vardhana dynasty of Kanuj were Vaisyas who became Kshtryias. The other paper read by Mr. Krishna illuminated yet another influence in the formation of castes, the geographical factor. The lack of means of communication has often divided a single caste into several sub-castes. Many of the endogamous sub-castes of Mysore were originally parts of a larger caste which became separated from each other geographically and so came to be separately crystallized socially.

My friend Dr. Emeneau had not confined himself to the languages of the tribes he encountered, but made observations on their customs as well. Among other papers which were of special interest to me was one by Mr. L. A. Krishnan of Trivandrum. Pygmy people have a wide distribution, being found in scattered and wild localities from Central Africa to the Philippines. It seems that this Negrito strain crops up in South India also, for some individuals in the hill tribes exhibit the frizzly hair, short stature, negroid features that are characteristic of the Negrito stock.

The Khasis of Assam have been studied by Mr. David Roy. These people still erect megalithic structures, as did the ancient inhabitants of Britain. Now many theories have been spun about the use of the huge stone monuments whose builders have long been forgotten. But all are sheer armchair hypotheses. Testimony as to the function of these monuments among contemporary primitives gives us an insight into the motives for raising the megaliths in the past. The Khasis erect the stones to mark the place where a deceased's bones are interred. Stone represents strength and permanence in the mind of the tribe. Hence the permanence of the living spirit in the afterworld is represented by stone structures. They form the material symbol of the connection between the living and the dead.

The final anthropological session was devoted to the address of the sectional president Mr. L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, doyen of Indian anthropologists. He had been confined to his bed throughout the week of the meetings. But the same tenacity of spirit which had carried him through many ethnological studies brought him from his sick-bed to deliver the address in person. Long before scientific anthropology had been established in India he had carried on ethnological studies. Now, over seventy years of age, he is still actively enquiring into the manners of mankind.

His subject was the ethnography of the Coorgs, a people who have lived in the isolation of the Western Ghats from times beyond the reach of memory or written tradition. They are a hunting people, of a happy yet warlike disposition. Even now they are a proud people who keep to themselves and hold Brahmins and other castes at arm's length. Orthodox Hinduism has made but little impress on their custom.

The grand finale of the Congress was the annual banquet, served in munificent style by the Nizam's catering service. The difficulties which confront the managers of a Science Congress in India became apparent when I saw the guests seated according to the particular cuisine they followed. One long table was served with South Indian food, a second with North Indian dishes, the third with European fare. Banquet dress was diversified. The thin line of black-and-white was dotted with red fezes, lavish long coats, open shirts, Bengali scarves, as well as by any-hued *saris*.

I came away from Hyderabad richer for having met those in the van of Indian anthropology, and made acquaintance with the current problems in the field. I still wonder at Osmania, a well-equipped and even sumptuous University rising in a country where the percentage of literacy is still pitifully low, whose faculty includes men of high calibre, one of whom is a savant of Japanese art, another a disciple of Einstein, whose dramatic association produces in Urdu Shaw and Shakespeare.

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

HIS VISIT TO RANJIT SINGH

BY PHILIP MORRELL

IN the spring of 1831—nearly two years after his arrival in India—Victor Jacquemont set out upon his visit to the Punjab as the guest of Ranjit Singh, an expedition which was probably the most interesting part of his whole journey.* Certainly it was the most picturesque. Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, was the last of the great independent Princes who had threatened the dominion and sometimes even the existence of the East India Company.

Already in less than twenty years three of the greatest powers had fallen or given way before it. On May 4, 1799, by the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tipoo Sultan, the half-civilized kingdom of Mysore had been destroyed, apparently for ever, though it was to be revived, as if by a miracle, eighty-two years later in the modern progressive State. In the following year the Nizam of Hyderabad was compelled to submit to the protection of the Company, and the independence of his State was for a time almost extinguished. Eighteen years later, after a long series of wars, the Peshwa Baji Rao, the chief of the Marathas, the most formidable of the Indian Confederacies, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, and the Maratha power was brought to an end. After this the Company's power, however insecurely established, extended in unbroken succession to the mouth of the Indus. But Ranjit Singh still remained unconquered, the ruler of the great district in the north-west through which from time immemorial the conquerors of India had come.

He was now in his fifty-first year, and, though prematurely aged and partly paralyzed by the excesses of his youth, was still at the height of his power. His rise had been swift and extraordinary. In 1792, when he was only twelve years old, his father died, and Ranjit became the nominal chief of one of the smaller branches of Confederacy of the Sikhs, one of the great fighting races of the country. Ten years later, before he was twenty-one, he had become possessed, whether by fraud or force, or some mixture of the two, of the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, the two principal cities of the Punjab, and the acknowledged head of the whole Sikh

* *Letters from India, 1829-32, of Victor Jacquemont.* Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips. (Macmillan.) 21s. net.

Confederacy. For a little while it had seemed likely that, following the example of other Indian Princes, he would sacrifice the independence of his kingdom in a hopeless conflict with the Company. But in the end prudence had prevailed. By the treaty of Amritsar, which he had been induced by the young Charles Metcalfe to sign in 1809, and which he observed faithfully until his death thirty years later, Ranjit Singh had entered into a bond of perpetual amity with the Company and had thus maintained his independence. From that time onwards he devoted himself to the consolidation of his power. The golden Temple at Amritsar which he restored and beautified and the Burning Palace at Lahore still remain in proof of his magnificence. But he himself was always a mysterious figure; it was seldom that any Europeans, except the few employed in his service, were allowed to enter his territory.

JACQUEMONT'S ARRIVAL

Jacquemont arrived with the best possible credentials. A Frenchman named Jean François Allard, who had previously served under Napoleon, but for the last ten years had been employed in the training of Ranjit's army, had written to offer him hospitality and protection; and with this invitation and a letter of recommendation from Lord William Bentinck he was sure of a favourable reception. In fact, it was even better than he had anticipated. He had been represented to Ranjit Singh as a man of extraordinary learning, the Plato of the modern world, and for learning Ranjit Singh, who could neither read nor write, had a profound respect. On March 2, 1831, the sage crossed the Sutlej—the river that was now the frontier between British India and the Punjab—riding on an elephant and accompanied by a troop of Sikhs; and on the right bank of the river was received with military honours by a squadron of cavalry and escorted to his tent. There his "guardian," Fakir Shah-ud-Din, accompanied by a number of officers, met him.

"He used," he writes, "the most imploring forms of speech as he placed a gross bag of money in my hands, while part of his theatrical chorus was filing past my tent, each depositing a great basket of fruit or a pot of cream or preserves at my door."

From Captain Wade, his English host, he had received a lesson in Sikh etiquette, and found that it was necessary to refer to himself not as "we," but in the third person as the Sahib or Lord. So his conversation ran like this:

"The *Sahib* (that is, the lord) is not tired. The lord is charmed to see your lordship. Express the lord's respects to the King. The lord invites your lordship to mount upon the lord's elephant," etc.

There were more "seigneurs," he said, in a quarter of an hour of his conversation than in all the tragedies of Racine. Next day and the day after there were similar presents. If Ranjit Singh felt obliged to treat all his guests like that, it was easy to understand that he was not anxious to receive visitors. A march of six days brought Jacquemont to Lahore, where he was met outside the city by Allard and the other French officers.

"We all leapt to the ground and I gave M. Allard a hearty embrace (*une rude accolade*)," or "a great hug," as Mrs. Phillips rather crudely translates it.

He was conducted to the gate of a delicious oasis in which he was to be lodged—a little palace furnished with extreme elegance and set in the midst of a beautiful garden in which a multitude of fountains were playing, like a magic palace in the Arabian Nights. There he found fresh presents from the King of the choicest fruits awaiting him and a bag of five hundred rupees.

HIS FIRST AUDIENCE

Next day he was admitted into the royal presence. The interview, which lasted two hours, was interesting but difficult.

"His conversation," he wrote, "is a nightmare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have seen, but his curiosity makes up for the apathy of his whole nation. He asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the English, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the other one, hell and paradise, the soul, God, the devil, and a thousand things besides. Like all persons of quality in the East, he is a *malade imaginaire*, and . . . is particularly annoyed at not being able to drink like a fish without getting drunk, or eat like an elephant without choking. Women no longer give him any more pleasure than the flowers in his garden, and for good reasons; and that is the most cruel of his ills."

He was also, like most other despots, extremely suspicious. He was even suspicious—after ten years of experience of their devotion—of the four "Frenchmen," two of whom, however, were Italians, who were at the head of his armies, and at first was still more suspicious of his new guest, of whom he had heard that he was an English spy. But at the end of the first audience he exclaimed that Jacquemont was certainly not English.

"An Englishman, he said, would not have changed his position twenty times or used so many gestures in speaking; he would not have spoken in such a variety of tones, now high, now low; he would not have laughed when occasion arose," etc.

After this they had many conversations together, and soon became almost intimate friends. On the whole Jacquemont was, as he said, extremely pleased with him; all the more so because he heard that when he was not at Court Ranjit Singh spoke of him with the highest praise.

THE KING'S CHARACTER

Of his public character Jacquemont wrote :

"This model Asiatic king is no saint : far from it. He cares nothing for law or good faith, unless it is to his interest to be just or faithful; but he is not cruel. He orders very great criminals to have their noses and ears cut off, or a hand, but he never takes life. He has a passion for horses which amounts almost to a mania; he has waged the most costly and bloody wars for the purpose of seizing a horse in some neighbouring State which they had refused to give or sell him. He is extremely brave, a quality rather rare among Eastern princes, and though he has always been successful in his military campaigns, it has been by treaties and cunning negotiations that he has made himself absolute king of the whole Punjab, Kashmir, etc., and is better obeyed by his subjects than the Mogul emperors were at the height of their power."

About his private life Jacquemont was less complimentary.

"He is a shameless rogue," he said, "who flaunts his vices with as little embarrassment as Henri III used to do in our country. It is true that between the Indus and the Sutlej this is hardly looked upon as even a peccadillo. But what gives shocking offence to the public morality of these good people is that, not content with the women of his own seraglio, the King frequently indulges his fancy for those of other men's, and, what is worse, for public women too."

His cunning and duplicity were notorious.

"Ranjit Sing is an old fox," Jacquemont had written on February 25, just before he went to visit him, "compared with whom the wildest of our diplomatists is a mere innocent."

Five months later, after getting to know him, he confirms, almost in the same words, the opinion he had formed :

"There is nothing straightforward or simple about the people of this country. They resort to craft in everything. It is idiocy for a European to play the same game with them; we are always sure to be overreached. The sublimest of all rogues among us is, I am convinced, a mere innocent compared with Ranjit Sing."

But of his kindness to Jacquemont there could be no question. From the moment of his arrival and throughout his stay he treated him with the highest possible distinction and showered gifts upon him.

A VISIT TO KASHMIR

Best of all was the permission which the King gave him to go to Kashmir, which no European had yet visited except in disguise. He was to go to any part he liked; the King would have him guarded everywhere. He would enjoy the same security as in the English possessions. He decided to go there immediately.

At a farewell audience which lasted two hours Ranjit Singh heaped more presents upon him; four great Kashmir shawls, two of which were valued at five thousand rupees; seven pieces of silk or muslin, and an ornament of the country "in badly cut precious stones" and a purse of eleven hundred rupees, which added to previous gifts of thirteen hundred rupees, amounted to more than a year's grant from the Jardin des Plantes, his employers in Paris. He also promised him an escort of horse and foot soldiers, with camels to carry his luggage to the foot of the mountains, and porters to do the same when the camels could go no further; and further purses to await him on his journey.

On March 25 he started from Lahore; and some six weeks later (on May 8), after various adventures and some dangers, arrived at Kashmir. There he found that orders had been given for his table to be supplied regularly at the King's expense. He found also a splendid state barge with thirty oarsmen at his service to take him on the lake and river; and a letter from the King bidding him to behave in Kashmir as though he were at home.

"'This country is yours,' wrote the King, 'so take up your quarters in whichever of my gardens you prefer. Command, and you will be obeyed.'"

After the wandering and laborious life he had led ever since he left Europe, it is not surprising that Jacquemont should have enjoyed his new dignity or should have felt grateful to the "fine fellow" who had treated him so generously.

A RUTHLESS DESPOTISM

But much as he enjoyed the honours conferred on him and appreciated the King's generosity, Jacquemont was under no illusion as to the character of the Government. It was a cruel and ruthless despotism. At Koteli, on his way to Kashmir, he saw by the side of the road the corpse of a man who had been hanged, so it seemed, that very morning. He asked who it was and why he had been hanged, but no one could tell him; everyone was completely indifferent.

"The life of a poor man," he reflects, "how small a thing it is in the East. . . . One has to have travelled in the Punjab to realize what an immense benefit the domination of the English in India is to humanity! What misery eighty million men are spared by it!"

About a week later at Kohouta there were a dozen men hanging from the trees close to his camp on the river-bank.

"While the Governor was calling upon me," he wrote, "he told me in a perfectly unconcerned tone that he had two hundred hanged during his first year of office, but that by this time it sufficed to hang one here and there to keep the country in order: observe that the 'country' in question is a

wretched and almost deserted little region. For my part, if I had to govern it, I should start by placing the Governor and his three hundred soldiers in irons as the worst robbers of all."

An incident that occurred in his own camp confirmed his view. One of the soldiers in his escort was accused of having stolen a shawl belonging to Jacquemont's secretary. Jacquemont went to the spot, and, having examined both the accuser and the accused, was easily convinced of the man's guilt. The officer in command then enquired whether it was his pleasure that the man should be hanged or have his nose and ears cut off. Jacquemont refused both these alternatives, but substituted a punishment which, though less cruel than death or mutilation, was nevertheless according to our notions abominably severe. He ordered that the man should receive a hundred strokes with a stick and be dismissed from the army with ignominy. But he went on to suggest to Gulab Singh, the Governor of the province, the establishment of prisons in his territory, and the substitution of forced labour for the cruel mutilations which were then so frequently inflicted by Oriental "justice." In fact, in these lands the very notion of justice hardly existed. Justice in one strong enough to be unjust was "a miracle," and therefore at first incomprehensible to their inhabitants, though they were not slow to understand and appreciate it. Through the whole Viceroyalty of Kashmir there was no sort of tribunal for settling private disputes, and people came to Jacquemont, even from a distance, to ask him to act as arbiter between them. They spoke of his "justice," and this gave him even more pleasure than their praise of his wisdom. As to his wisdom he had recently been promoted. Ranjit Singh now addressed him as "Aristotle" over and above the former allowance of the titles of Plato and Socrates.

THE NEED OF EDUCATION

It was during his stay in Kashmir, on May 28, 1831, that Jacquemont wrote to his friend, Count Antoine de Tracy, "Peer of France," in Paris, one of the most interesting of all his Indian letters. After telling him of the wanderings and how he came to be in Kashmir, he sums up in a few sentences his impressions of Indian life, and of the benefits which the English Government had brought:

"In these vast regions the condition of humanity does not seem to be capable of any improvement or change so long as the religious ideas in them remain the same; and Hinduism seems immovable. How deplorable is the condition of mankind in this vast Orient! The English Government in India, though it still calls for reforms, deserves nevertheless high commendation. Its administration is an immense benefit to the provinces subject to it. I had not appreciated it at its full value till I travelled through this

country, which has remained independent—remained, that is, the scene of atrocious acts of violence and continual brigandage and murder."*

Society in the East is vitiated, he says, from its very foundations. The upper classes, which set the example for the rest, practise a polygamy which makes fathers indifferent to their children and stirs up horrible jealousies and hatred between brothers. Woman, too, is regarded as an impure creature with deplorable results. And this state of things—"the domestic morality of India, which is its greatest source of misery"—seems to admit of no improvement so long as it retains its existing religious institutions.

But here gradually his tone brightens. May there not, after all, be a hope of change? "These religious institutions," he says, "are perhaps too generally believed to be immutable."

It was true that hitherto all direct attempts at conversion had completely failed. The Indians, though sounded everywhere, had nowhere been willing to exchange Mohammed or Brahma for Jesus Christ or the Trinity. But lately a new policy had been adopted.

"For some years past the Government has wisely withdrawn its support from the missionaries (and courageously too, for it takes some courage for the East India Company to provoke the stupid or hypocritical wrath of Parliament) and opened free schools in Calcutta, Benares and Delhi, to which it attracts children of the middle class by every means of influence in its power, for the purpose of instructing them in the languages and science of Europe without ever telling them about our follies."

He had himself visited these schools, especially in Calcutta, and had talked with a number of the young men who had "quite naturally" been converted from Mohammed or Brahma to reason by this method. Many of them, he said, complained to him that the possession of this treasure only made them more wretched by cutting them off from their own people and giving them the desire for happiness under forms forbidden by their caste; and none of them had yet had the courage to cross that infernal barrier. And yet if there was any hope of ever civilizing the East it was by this means alone that it could be done. It was for the Government then to encourage the learning of English in every possible way. Let them substitute the use of it for that of Persian—introduced by the Mogul conquerors—in the courts of law and in all public transactions; for

"Persian is of no use to those who know it except in the routine of their professions; whereas English would be a key to the whole of European knowledge."

* In this and several other passages I have given my own translation of some of the words and phrases used by Jacquemont in preference to Mrs. Phillips's version, but the difference in each case is one of phrasing only and does not affect the general sense.

He was sometimes asked, he said, what would become of the English rule in India when European enlightenment was widely enough disseminated to allow the Indians to govern themselves.

"‘What does that matter to you?’ I would reply. ‘By that time you and your children will be long dead, and your English domination will have ceased to be of use to this land.’”

And with a fine confidence he concludes :

“There are plenty of narrow minds and hearts which are hostile to this generous project; but I have no doubt that within a very few years it will be adopted by the Government. It will spread throughout this country the light of European civilization, and will enable it one day to govern itself.”

Written at a time when the right education to be provided in India was still an open question, Jacquemont’s letter anticipates with remarkable precision the course which the controversy took. The narrow minds and hearts were not wanting; but the Government took, as this letter foresees, the larger and more generous view. In the year 1835, nearly four years after the date of this letter, and three years after Jacquemont’s death, Macaulay, on February 2, published his well-known minute in favour of making English the basis of Indian education, and a month later, on March 7, Lord William Bentinck declared that “the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.” But nearly a hundred years were to pass before the self-government to which they all looked forward was brought into being.

A FINAL AUDIENCE

In October, on his return to the Punjab, he had another audience of the King at Amritsar, and liked him even better than when he had seen him at Lahore six months earlier. That was no doubt, he said, because of the fuss Ranjit made of him. He offered him—“only guess”—the viceroyalty of Kashmir; but Jacquemont was convinced that the offer was a trap which the King laid to find out his ambitions, and laughed at the idea. At the festival of Desehra he sat near him in a magnificent tent and watched the army file past, “like the armies described by the historians and poets of antiquity,” and a few days later rode side by side with him on an elephant, discoursing with him “like an oracle.” At last, on the evening of October 21, he took his final leave of him. The interview was long and extremely friendly. Ranjit took Jacquemont’s hands and pressed them several times, while Jacquemont turned upon him his richest broadsides of flattery. But an English officer who happened to be present was not so fortunate.

“I was embarrassed to find from his neglect of the English officer in command of Wade’s escort, who was calling upon him with me, that his attentions were all for me; but the English are so awkward with the Asiatics, and so unsociable, that I was not surprised. They have no reply to make but ‘yes’ and ‘no’; and Ranjit likes to be amused.”

It was pitch dark before Jacquemont parted from the King, “leaving him all my best wishes for fame and prosperity in this world and the next, if it exists”—and when he reached his tent he found a further present of five hundred rupees awaiting him.

HIS RETURN TO BRITISH TERRITORY

He was delighted, however, when he found himself again in British territory. On November 9 he crossed the Sutlej, “with a joy which I can hardly express.” To his friend, Prosper Mérimée, in Paris he wrote :

“In spite of the crescendo of Ranjit’s attention, I find it charming to be back among the perfidious islanders. . . . After eight months of absolute solitude I find any gaiety good, even that of the English.” (November 28, 1831.)

But it soon became evident that this observation about English “gaiety” was no more than a stock joke to amuse his correspondent; for the letters that follow—as I shall show in a concluding article—are filled with praise of the Englishmen he met in those northern stations, and his pleasure in getting to know them.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

GENERAL

ALL ABOUT TEA. By William H. Ukers, M.A. Two volumes. (New York: *The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Co.*, 79, Wall Street.) 25 dollars per set.

(Reviewed by H. D. RICE.)

This encyclopedia, which must surely embody every known fact about tea in its 1,100 pages is certainly a work of outstanding merit and will be welcomed by the tens of thousands of people engaged in the tea industry as a valuable work of reference. The reader will be amazed at the vast store of knowledge possessed by the author on his subject—which equals, if it does not surpass, his knowledge of coffee on which he has recently published a similar treatise. *All about Tea* is treated in such an attractive manner that there is something of interest in every chapter, not only to the man or woman engaged in the tea trade, but also to the ordinary student in search of new reading matter. The writer of the present review on Mr. Ukers' book finds it difficult to do justice to a work of such merit, but he has endeavoured to extract a few items, of general interest, and must leave it to those anxious to learn more to study the book themselves.

It is generally known that there are only three important non-alcoholic beverages known to civilization—viz., tea, coffee and cocoa. All three are true stimulants. Coffee is said to be more stimulating to the brain, cocoa to the kidneys, whereas tea possesses a happy medium between the two, being mildly stimulating to most of our bodily functions.

The legendary origin of tea, according to Chinese sources, we are told, dates back to the year 2737 B.C. with the earliest reliable reference in 350 A.D. and many allusions, authentic and otherwise, during the years between. By the fifth century tea became an article of trade. A Dutch physician in 1648 and following years is credited with having done more to promote its general adoption in Europe than anyone else. This physician advised the use of eight to ten cups a day and found no reason to object to even fifty or more! In those days the present-day belief that it is unwise to take tea with a meal when meat is eaten, on account of the tannin contents, probably did not exist; nor probably was tannin generally looked upon as the main source of mischief in excessive tea drinking as it is now, owing to the non-existence in those early times of any research work on the properties of tea. Tea drinking in England became fashionable in 1662, gained popularity and came into common use in 1715.

We are told that although there appears to be ample corroboration that tea had its genesis in China, nevertheless there has been much controversy as to whether the tea plant originated in China or India. There are interesting particulars in the book as to how India came to dominate the tea markets of the world.

As might be expected, all the most important tea-producing areas lie within a restricted range of latitude and longitude. Although tea is now successfully grown in twenty-three countries, only nine produce it in such marketable quantities as to render them commercially important—these being India, China, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Japan, Formosa, Indo-China and Nyasaland. It is of interest to read that experiments in the cultivation of tea have been tried in Europe—in Sweden, England, France, Italy and Bulgaria. This indicates how wide-flung the attempts have been to introduce this popular and profitable leaf for which there is, and always will be, a never-ending world demand.

The tea bush is fortunate in that, although it is subject to attack by a variety of pests and blights, the greater number have proved comparatively harmless. The coffee bush has not been so fortunate! It appears that the trade divides teas into three great basic classes—black, green and oolong, and that the average production per acre is nearly 600 lbs.

The virtues of tea and its "healthfulness" have been handed down from ancient times and extolled by eminent writers ever since it became a popular beverage. It is said to purify the blood; ease the brain; prevent dropsy; clear the sight; strengthen the memory; drive away fear—also to produce many good effects and few bad ones; to have a strange power of changing one's outlook for the better; to contribute to the sobriety of a nation; to be the most beneficial gift that the West owes to the Orient—truly a panacea for all human troubles! The Dutch physician's advice referred to earlier should, however, be followed with caution, since excess of anything is known to produce physical and mental disorder!

In conclusion, a word on the preparation of tea. Use freshly boiled water and do not allow infusion for more than five minutes.

CLASHING TIDES OF COLOUR. By Lothrop Stoddard. (*Scribners.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, whose work on *The Rising Tide of Colour against White Supremacy* attracted no little attention, has returned to the subject in his present work. He begins by postulating a "comity of Europe" which existed in one form up to the fifteenth century and took on another after the Renaissance. In both cases Christianity was the binding cement: in the first a Catholic Christianity with subordination to Rome, in the second a more diluted Christianity, but a comity still founded on unity of religion and unity of culture. And so "Down to 1914 Europe's many wars retained a certain limited character. The balance of power in Europe might be altered, but the comity of Europe would not thereby be destroyed." This comity was shattered by the Great War. He proceeds to elaborate this idea by discussing the secession of Russia which tends to become more and more Asiatic, the aloofness of America which holds her back from white-Western solidarity, the policy of France in calling in black hosts to fight for her, and the hyper-nationalism of Fascist and, it may be added, of all other States.

In Asia, with which this review is more directly concerned, Mr. Stoddard finds more alarming symptoms. The Chinese are attempting to Westernize their country, with the result that they have cast away their own ancient civilization and have put nothing in its place. The consequence is chaos. Even Japan is not an organic growth but a synthetic product. He is harping continually on the theme that though you may adopt Western manners, Western dress, and Western material inventions, the only way to become Western is to adopt the whole Western outfit, and this involves the complete transformation of the people. He admits that a country like India has been profoundly penetrated by Western ideas and that you cannot go back on that, but he contends that the real issue is "whether Westernism can become effective." It is natural that an American writer should devote the longest chapter to the problem of Japan, and on the whole this is perhaps the most suggestive chapter of the book, having regard to the place of Japan in world politics. The Japanese are increasing at such a rate that they must either "suffocate or explode." Their main problem is population. It is certain that they will not suffocate; and it is very doubtful that they will explode.

When he comes to India Mr. Stoddard finds very little to relieve the gloomy picture of an Asiatic world trying to be someone else. He leaves the impression that he has no first-hand knowledge of the country. His sketch of early history is superficial, and Tilak's organ was the "Kesari," not the "Yugantar."

It is perhaps hypercritical to object to Mr. Stoddard's frequent use of the word "literally." Thus "the first shots of Armageddon saw the comity of the West literally blown from the muzzles of the guns"; and again, "Asia is literally in the melting-pot." We know what he means, but English practice may be different from American.

Mr. Stoddard offers no solution. The world as he sees it is in a state of transition, trying to adapt itself to the new civilization of the machine. Perhaps it will, perhaps it will not; we must hope for the best. Not a very comforting conclusion. The book is, however, suggestive and very well worth reading. It provokes criticism no doubt, but it also provokes reflection.

animals. He enters even into legends referring to migration; he writes of fishermen and hunters, always in separate chapters, and of the nomads. The magical and religious motives throughout the world form a most interesting subject, and a special chapter is devoted to the gipsies. The number of references to previous works is simply overwhelming, the list of authorities quoted comprises forty-five pages, and there is a complete index to the volume. One feels certain that this learned volume will receive wide attention.

FICTION

LOCUST FOOD. By Hilton Brown. (*Geoffrey Bles.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

It is refreshing to read a novel dealing with India from which political questions are completely excluded: and in which there is only incidental mention of Governors, A.D.C.'s, and other suchlike pillars of the administration. Mr. Hilton Brown, so the publisher's dust-cover informs us, has been a member of the Indian Civil Service: but he has nevertheless avoided the temptation of viewing India simply as a country to be governed. He has taken for his subject, not the life and work of the official hierarchy, but the existence (to employ the more modest expression) of the business man. The tragedy of an early blunder, due to pure quixotry, threatens to ruin the days of Martin Armory: but he is strong, as well as self-sacrificing, and the story leaves him on the verge of a happiness which he has well deserved.

Mr. Hilton Brown is to be congratulated upon this book. It is a touching story, told with restraint and without exaggeration. It moves against an Indian background, depicted with obvious love for the country and its people. But the background is merely incidental: the characters live and breathe. As a picture of the life of the British commercial community in India during the recent depression, it stands for the successful accomplishment of something which has never been attempted before.

NEAR EAST

MOSLEM WOMEN ENTER A NEW WORLD. By Ruth Frances Woodsmall. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by E. ROSENTHAL.)

This work is a most comprehensive and interesting survey of the emancipation of Moslem women which has taken place of recent years. As the author stresses in her foreword, the "integral connection between the change in the position of Moslem women and the present fundamental change in Islamic life and thought makes a study of Moslem women today more than a study in Eastern feminism. Rather may it be interpreted as the index of the change in the whole Islamic social system."

Miss Woodsmall's basic knowledge of her theme was acquired during
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nine years' Y.W.C.A. service in Turkey and Syria. A travelling fellowship of the Rockefeller Foundation afforded her opportunity for journeying farther afield to observe the altering conditions in the lives of Mohammedan women. Consequently her book was born of her experiences in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Iran, and India. The work is of special value because it is so up-to-date that it deals with events which occurred as recently as the earlier part of 1936.

Amongst the countries passed in review, Turkey is the most advanced with regard to the position of women. "Whereas elsewhere in the Moslem East there are merely definite trends of change toward the fuller economic participation of women, in Turkey the full process of change has already been accomplished under the new régime." In some respects the modern Turkish woman has an advantage over her worker sister of the West. In Turkey there is as yet no overcrowding in the professions selected by women and promotion is rapid. For example, women physicians have only made their appearance in Turkey since the new order of things—the first Turkish woman doctor, having studied in Germany, began her practice in Istanbul in 1922—yet unusual recognition has been accorded them. The first medical Director of School Hygiene was a woman doctor, and a young woman surgeon is the head of the Istanbul Children's Hospital. Turkish women doctors are "regarded by the public as professionally equal to men and are received on a basis of cordial equality by their colleagues."

Part II. is entitled "Education: The Key to Progress." The opening chapter treats of the educational awakening in Iraq, where nowadays, according to the Director of Girls' Education, "there is universal interest in girls' education—not one in a thousand would oppose it." Conservatism has been disarmed because instruction is advancing within the traditions of Islam. In the principal girls' school in Baghdad, as in many similar institutions in India, purdah regulations are in force. Yet the motivation is markedly progressive. In 1928 the Government of Iraq founded foreign scholarships for girls, and there are now several Iraqi women students in the British and American Colleges in Beirut. The thirst for education amongst their women is displayed by certain semi-nomads of the desert. Sheikh Bani Hassan, the chief of a large tribe, told Miss Woodsmall of his request to Government for a qualified teacher who, by moving about, would be able to give instruction to the girls of his whole tribe and prepare them to become intelligent mothers.

In Iran, girls' education is scarcely yet in its adolescence, modern school methods having been introduced only within the last ten years. A significant tendency towards the severance of education from religion is apparent. Schools are allowed to choose between religion and ethics, and the scale turns in favour of the latter. In 1935 the Shah decreed that only girls who appeared unveiled could receive diplomas and honours, and this order catapulted forward the emancipation of women.

In her chapter "The Road Ahead in Girls' Education in India" the author stresses the retardation of the education of Moslem girls owing to purdah, early marriage, and the conservatism of the Nationalist Movement. Fear of absorption has frequently caused Indian Moslems to choose to leave their

girls without instruction rather than to unite with Hindus in scholastic matters. This reaction is similar in character to that of the Moslem community in Palestine in relation to Zionism. When giving evidence before the Education Committee of the Simon Commission, one Moslem leader, an Oxford graduate, summarized his and his co-religionists' attitude as follows: "We desire education for girls under proper Islamic discipline, but otherwise we would prefer to keep them out of school." Miss Woodsmall also throws a searchlight on to the reverse side of the picture, revealing that the few Moslem women in India who are highly educated often occupy positions of unusual prominence. Reference is made to that majestic figure Her Highness the late Begum of Bhopal, whose vision transcended all obstacles of the veil and other disabilities by which Indian women are hampered. The great work accomplished by the Girl Guide Movement in India is also emphasized.

The dangers attending the rapid introduction of Western manners and methods and the drastic readjustments necessitated thereby are envisaged, and Miss Woodsmall's refutation of the arguments that social freedom has a deleterious influence is clean-cut and convincing. With reference to Turkey she writes as follows:

"As to the effect of social freedom on morals, it is probably true that the first few years of the new freedom were characterized by difficult personal adjustments, which resulted in a certain inevitable amount of serious moral casualties. The transition period, however, is rapidly passing or has already passed in the larger cities, where social life has settled into the normal social atmosphere of a European city."

Egypt ranks only second to Turkey in the recognition of women's education as a basis for economic independence. Opinion is divided as to whether it is possible to cater for the special needs of girls without some sacrifice of the principles of equality between the sexes. It is recognized, however, that the objectives of education for girls are not adequately met by the curriculum designed for the needs of boys. As a whole, general vocational training for girls has not been introduced because the openings of Western Europe are not yet available to Egyptian womanhood.

With her telephoto lens Miss Woodsmall has focussed on to the paradoxical curtailment of women's economic and civic liberties in Germany, which movement has had repercussions in other Western countries. However, Turkish and Indian women whose opinion is worth while consider that such retrograde measures will not prove a deterrent to the progress of Moslem women towards their double-barrelled goal of freedom and equality with men. National Socialist ideas seem beyond the skyline of the leaders of the women's movement in Asia.

Nobody concerned with the present-day developments and activities of Moslem women in the Near and Middle East can afford to ignore Miss Woodsmall's book, with its wonderfully lucid pictures of an important cross-section of the world of Islam. In her preliminary remarks, Miss Woodsmall explains that it was impossible for her to incorporate in her survey any views of almost unaltered Arabia, to serve as background for the quick

changes in other Moslem lands. Such a background undoubtedly would have been of interest, yet without its assistance the author has achieved a masterpiece which, chronicling as it does the parting of the old ways from the new, will be as useful for future as it is for present study. That the author could not include in her range all Moslem countries does not detract from the value of her work.

A valuable supplement to Miss Woodsmall's comments on the angle from which the education of Moslem women is regarded in India is afforded by the Presidential Address of H.H. the Princess Durru Shehvar, at the Tenth Session of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference, held on October 30, 1936. In alluding to the Osmania University College for Women, the Princess emphasized that Hyderabad is one of the few states having such a women's college. She also paid tribute to the Women's Association for Educational and Social Advancement which sends ten Hyderabad delegates to the sessions of that important central body, the All-India Women's Conference, with which it is affiliated. The Princess, who is the daughter-in-law of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and the wife of the heir to the throne, is an ardent educationist, as evidenced by her advocacy of the spread of free primary education throughout H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. She underlined that Indian women must be taught the dignity of work, adding that "every woman ought to be in a position to support herself by means of an honourable livelihood should the occasion arise." The discriminate acceptance of foreign culture, in accordance with the needs and circumstances of Indian women, rather than blind imitation leading to sterile mediocrity, was another point of this admirable discourse. By her patronage of the Women's Association for Educational and Social Advancement in Hyderabad State, the Princess has furnished yet another proof of the unfailing support afforded to the women's movement by the ruling family of Hyderabad.

HISTORIC CYPRUS. By Rupert Gunnis. (Methuen.) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by A. HAROLD UNWIN.)

For the first time an intrepid and persevering author has had the courage and persistence to visit all the 1,800 churches, chapels and mosques in the Island of Cyprus. *Historic Cyprus* enshrines the results of this great quest. To say the task was a labour of love is an under-statement of fact. Mingled with great pleasure, satisfaction at achievement, there runs through this guide book, also incidentally officially blessed, a rich vein of humour.

In 495 pages this gifted writer has managed to give the salient features and facts of the Island's history, including that of the six chief towns, Nicosia, Famagusta, Larnaca, Limasol, Kyrenia and Paphos. A good index satisfies the curious and serious inquirer as to the whereabouts of all Agia Marina or Agia Harvara or other named churches.

Most clearly is the history of the Church delineated and sculptured by its monumental structures. Alas, as the author so often points out, these are often spoilt by recent additions, such as a belfry in modern style. The clear map at the end of the book invites the reader to follow the author in

his lonely and hazardous journeys over rough mountain paths to explore the last chapel or pagan shrine. The seven plans show quite clearly the most interesting places to be visited.

In a scholarly introduction Professor Talbot Rice gives a detailed account of the Icon and the Eastern Church. A foreword here is most appropriate, and adds much to the knowledge of this unknown subject.

All through the book the influence of Asia is seen and felt. Ancient pagan shrines vie with Christian cathedrals and chapels for a share of the reader's attention, so strongly held by the author's appeal to every emotion. From the dim past there gradually emerges the Christian Church laid on the foundation of Aphrodite's and Astarte's shrines.

The half-tone plates only whet the appetite to see the places in their own local setting.

Though the author says the book should only be "taken" in small doses, yet as a guide book it would be difficult to find another which has such a variety of fare really suitable to every taste. Quite apart from the cleverness of the author in using the material at hand, yet the fact that Canaanites, Hittites, Assyrians, Persians, Phœnicians, Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Arabs, English Crusaders, Lusignans (Franks), Genoese, Venetians, Turks and English conquered, settled or invaded the Island, makes its history so chequered and so full of colour and drama.

Although always belonging to Asia geographically, even today many readers do not realise how Asiatic is the Island of Cyprus and its people. For this reason, anyone interested in the study of Western Asia should not fail to place this book in a public or private library. So much has come from Western Asia that it is most refreshing to find that the little Island of Cyprus (3,584 square miles in extent) also played its part in the destinies of empires long since passed away. Cyprus, like Asia, being early peopled, in Phœnician, Roman and especially Turkish times, was denuded of its forests and trees for the mining, building and naval needs of all its conquerors.

As in recent years attention has been focussed on the ruins of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, so from a study of this delightful "vade-mecum" there springs a keen desire to further the cause of archaeology here. In *Historic Cyprus* the author has done a service in the field of Asiatic studies by inviting attention to the attractions of Cyprus with its unique collection of buildings, sites and shrines of all ages.

Ten years ago Captain Gunnis came to Cyprus and during the last three has been engaged, in addition to his other work, in writing this book. Although it was a pleasure to him to write it, yet it is also as much, if not more to the reader. Glimpses of the East, as it has been and as it is still today, appear all through. The writer has truly brought out the charm and mystery of Cyprian legends, stories and history. No other country of so small a size can boast such serried ranks of tales. Health and religious cures and miracles all vie with one another in the unfolding of the Island's destiny from the beginning of time. The monasteries alone provide ample material for a separate study, as also do the Turkish mosques, many of which were erstwhile Christian churches. Again the autocephalous char-

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acter of the Cyprus Eastern Orthodox Church is explained. This little book tells the story why the Archbishop writes and signs his name in red ink, wears a purple robe and carries a sceptre. Bones of saints, martyrs and prehistoric animals are inextricably mixed in the Island's beautiful myths.

"Faith" still abounds in the "miracle working" wonders of shrine and monastery. Previously scarcely known, Cyprus through this book will become a mecca for all interested in Asiatic as well as English history of Richard Cœur de Lion's time and since 1878.

This British Colony of Cyprus has now found in the author a very dear friend, as well as a most capable and humorous writer. Well printed, tastefully bound in black and blue, of convenient (octavo) size at 8s. 6d. this most readable book is cheap and good value for the money.

May it arouse further interest in Asia both at home and abroad.

A DICTIONARY OF ASSYRIAN CHEMISTRY AND GEOLOGY. By R. Campbell Thompson. (Clarendon Press.) 21s. net.

This new and important volume adds to the renown of Mr. R. Campbell Thompson. Oriental science is an intriguing subject, and has aroused, especially within the last few years, the special attention of scholars. One should only think of the fundamental work on the *History of Science*, by Dr. George Sarton. It requires special knowledge to compile a Dictionary of Assyrian science and calls for special training not merely in Assyriology which the learned author possesses by common consent—he has already issued a work on Assyrian medical texts—but it calls for knowledge of chemistry and cognate sciences, and for those he has received the help of well-known authorities. From the tablets Mr. Thompson has been able to read texts on botany, on the animal kingdom, on glass and beads, on the staining of stones, and on geology. He has combined the results of this particular study into the present volume, which is of great value to the Assyriologist, as well as to the archæologist and the historian of ancient science.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DANCES. By Irena Lexova. With drawings from reproductions on Ancient Egyptian Originals by Milada Lexova. Translation by K. Haltmar. (Prague: *The Oriental Institute*.)

Within recent years great progress has been made in the study of Oriental dancing. Performances have been given in public of Indian, Japanese and Javanese dancing, and books have been issued to the delight of artists. No monograph has so far been published on ancient Egyptian dancing, although chapters have been devoted to it in different books. This is quite understandable, as Egyptian dancing requires great knowledge of this ancient literature. But here we have a happy father, Professor of Egyptology, F. Lexa, of Prague University, and here are also his two intelligent and cultured daughters who have combined to fill an actual gap in the literature of Oriental culture. Miss Irena has undertaken to compile the text and has

turned it into a perfect textbook. There is nothing dry in the beautiful volume; there is life and rhythm, there is artistic feeling, and in addition there is serious and solid study behind it. Miss Irena has gone deeply into the subject, as the bibliography proves, and her judgment on previous writings shows decided independence of thought. The treatise discloses—and this will surprise the reader—that there have been eleven kinds of dancing, and each is adequately described. Miss Irena has discovered the three movements of the dancer, man and woman; she also describes the costumes.

Miss Milada has done the other part of the book; she has copied the seventy-seven plates from older publications accurately, and these illustrations are bound to be of great use to the artist; they should really render the learning of the dance perfectly easy. The two Misses Lexova will, by their combined efforts, earn the gratitude of men and women of culture for explaining the ancient Egyptian art of dancing to a hitherto uninformed public.

FAR EAST

PRINCE ITO. By Kengi Hamada. (Allen and Unwin.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

This is an ideal biography of one of the greatest statesmen that the modern world has seen, combined with all the essential history of the amazing transformation of Japan from mediæval feudalism to the rank of a first-class Power. Mr. Hamada has done his work exceptionally well, avoiding too much repetition of well-known facts—for example, the wars with China and Russia, so far as the fighting goes, are dismissed in two or three lines—filling in many unknown details, and presenting his hero, as it were, in a series of acts in a great drama. Incidentally, the fact that Mr. Hamada can criticize his hero makes the picture all the more telling. Ito's pleasures in moments of relaxation—the old ones of "wine, women and song"—might be deemed undignified in a statesman of such lofty vision. Yet without this occasional unbending of the bow, it is questionable whether he could have borne the tremendous strain that policy imposed.

The amazing thing is the grasp of essentials and realities which Ito revealed while still a youth. The first section deals with the quarrels between the Court at Kyoto and the Shogunate, due to the latter's pro-foreign tendency. Ito was an ardent Imperialist, which, of course, at that time implied that he was violently anti-foreign. He actually took the lead in burning down the British Legation at Gotenyama. Yet within a year or two he had seen the folly of resisting the foreigner, had slipped secretly abroad to learn some of the foreigner's wisdom, had laboured desperately to bring the Lord of Choshu to reason and thus avert the bombardment of Shimonoseki (particularly interesting chapters these), and by the time he was twenty-eight was a trusted counsellor of the Emperor and Governor of the important centre of Hiogo.

Mr. Hamada throws a useful light on why Ito strove so hard (virtually

in defiance of his own Government) to achieve an *entente* with Russia, even while Hayashi in London was working out the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Ito foresaw war with Russia and meant to avert it, though in fact his conversations in St. Petersburg here transcribed suggest that a hundred Ito's could never have prevented the war. He was neither pro-Russian nor anti-British, but for equal friendship with all; and when the Alliance had been concluded, he exhorted his fellow-countrymen not to allow it to lead them into unfriendliness with any country.

Of course, Ito was misunderstood again and again by men of less vision than himself. That comes out clearly in the pages describing the introduction of parliamentary government, and particularly in connection with his creation in 1900 of Japan's first real party, the Seiyukai. The House of Peers thought that he was trying to convert the House of Representatives into a tool with which he might rule as a dictator, and obstinately refused to vote the credits for the army in North China (it was, it will be remembered, the Boxer year). Eventually the Emperor intervened and the Peers gave in at once. The incident is an interesting one to recall in connection with General Ugaki's recent failure to form a Cabinet in face of the army's opposition.

Most tragic of all misunderstandings was that of Korea for the one man who might have saved her from annexation. These last pages, describing Ito's heroic efforts to make Korea a self-respecting, independent State, are of the most poignant interest. And a Korean "patriot" shot him down at Harbin. What an ending for Ito, and for Korea!

CHINA'S NEW CURRENCY SYSTEM. By T'ang Leang-li. (*China United Press.*) Gold \$2.

CHINA FACTS AND FANCIES. Edited by T'ang Leang-li. (*China United Press.*) Gold \$3.

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN CHINA. By T'ang Leang-li. (*China United Press.*) Gold \$3.50.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

These three books contain a vast amount of interesting reading, the product of Mr. T'ang Leang-li's tireless industry. Sometimes his enthusiasm for New China tempts one to question or retort, but this is understandable and pardonable by the well attested progress which China has made in the past few years.

The volume on currency gives an illuminating account of events leading up to the "managed currency" that was introduced with such startling success in November, 1935. The practice of every province and almost every bank to issue its own notes inevitably led, in the T'uchun era, when China was virtually split up into a series of petty military baronies, to appalling depreciation, when the value of the copper cent, nominally 100 to the dollar, dropped to something like 1,800. The National Government had done much to improve matters by introducing a sound dollar coinage when the American Silver Purchase Act fell upon it like a blizzard. The

immediate outflow of silver may be gauged from the fact that between August and October, 1934, the excess of exported silver over imported amounted to \$183,566,659. Attempts to check this outflow by an export tax had very little effect. Hence the bold step of "going off" silver altogether, the success of which is in itself a conspicuous tribute to the confidence which the Central Government has acquired in China.

The second volume, *China Facts and Fancies*, is a collection of little essays on many subjects, mostly putting the Chinese point of view on issues where China meets the West. One rather regrets the section devoted to Shanghai, betraying a bitterness which, though one may understand it, might be suppressed, if not forgotten, especially when many foreigners are doing their best to obliterate its causes. The essay on "Advice to Curio Hunters" is most amusing: and one admires the boldness of the writer who claims that Chinese ought to be the universal language of the world.

By far the best of the three is *The New Social Order in China*, which puts in admirable form the background of China's history, philosophy, and social institutions. Without some knowledge of these it is impossible to understand the tremendousness of the undertaking when Young China, twenty-five years ago, decided for the first time for a revolution, as distinct from the many rebellions China had known. And, further, it enables the reader to appreciate the hopefulness of the present tendency to revert to China's own best perception of things and theory of life, while grafting on to it what she can most suitably borrow from the West. The influence on these lines of such leaders of thought as Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, Dr. Hu Shih, and Mr. Wang Ching-wei is very interestingly shown. Altogether a stimulating and suggestive book.

RETURN TO MALAYA. By Bruce Lockhart. (*Putnam.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by A. G. MORRILL; *Malayan Civil Service, retired.*)

No place has changed so much in recent years as British Malaya. Its natural wealth has enabled changes to take place more rapidly than they do elsewhere. The life and work of an Englishman is totally different from what it was twenty-five years ago.

The author calls attention to some of the chief changes. "The huge increase in the number of white women and the passing of the directing force of social life into their hands. . . . Even admitting its inevitability, I cannot consider that it is a change for the better." To it he attributes the absence of intellectual interests which is a defective feature of British Colonial life in tropical countries. He might have added that this now prevailing suburban life has been one of the causes which tends to keep the Englishman out of touch with the Asiatic population in country districts. First, there is the problem of Asiatic membership of English clubs. In the second place, the social activities of the headquarters club tempt a man to jump into a car and go there, when his day's work is done, instead of pottering about his district and getting to know his people.

The author stresses the change in outlook which has been brought about

by the naval base. He gives the impression that our prestige has visibly declined, suggesting as causes the Great War, the cinema, the behaviour of white women, and the tendency of white men to put comfort before dignity. But has our prestige really declined? I prefer to look at it this way. In early days we rescued the people from internecine warfare, piracy, debt-slavery, and other abominations of Malay rule. We brought new inventions, hospitals, schools; naturally we were hailed as deliverers by an illiterate and oppressed people. But this people now includes men and women who have distinguished themselves in commerce, law and medicine, men who are as well educated as the best of us, some with Cambridge degrees, others with English wives. The Asiatic community owns a good half of the tin and rubber. The Asiatic level is merely rising in all these spheres, ours is not declining. There is no longer any mystery about us, but the respect accorded us has not on that account departed.

Many of us would agree with the author when he says: "The pioneer days are ended, and to many, including myself, the loss in attractiveness of life in Malaya is immeasurable." All the same, good communications and better health conditions have enabled the Englishman to do more than he did and to last longer: life should still be enjoyable even if it has lost some of the spice and romance of yesterday. The Malay is still the delightful fellow he has always been.

The author mentions the problem of finding employment for the product of the higher schools and Raffles College. We are turning out, he says, thousands of clerks for whom there will not be sufficient jobs, and who sooner or later will form a discontented white-coated native proletariat. Alas! too true. But the demand for an "English education" comes from the people and is insistent. He rightly says that Civil Servants are not to blame for education, and that the real educationalist is the international trader.

On his arrival at Pantai the survivors of his old football team were there to meet him—after twenty-five years. Incidents such as these surely prove that there cannot be much wrong with our relations with the local people. The solid rock of friendship and mutual esteem is a surer foundation than prestige.

I am inclined to join issue with the author in what he says about the Selangor succession.

Few Europeans in the East have time to study the customs and traditions of Asiatics. Governments possess records of such customs and traditions received direct from the elders and chiefs, and also records of the application of them in the past. In Selangor the most suitable member of the ruling house has in each case been selected during the last century—the circumstances of the time indicating the qualities necessary for the successor. It should have been obvious to a writer of such experience as Mr. Lockhart that the action taken in Selangor must have been very fully considered in the highest quarters before anything was done locally, and any suggestion that decentralization had any bearing on the succession is therefore groundless.

The author's account of his visit to the Netherlands East Indies is most interesting. We learn that much of the discontent in that country is among

the poor half-castes. The Dutch strike the author as having more dignity than we in Malaya have. It has not saved them from worse political troubles.

The Eurasians in British colonies tend to side with the English. It is interesting to read that there were half-castes in the Volksraad and that they sat with the Javanese in the nationalist bloc. The problem which confronts the Dutch in Java resembles that which faces us in India, being largely economic and due to the pressure of a teeming population on the food supply. When times are bad the Government is always blamed.

Besides being excellent reading, being full of colourful descriptions of people, scenes and places, and interspersed with good stories, the book stimulates thought on the all-important question of colonies and expresses some sound views on these questions which so deeply concern each one of us.

His description of Malaya as "a whole hotch-potch of Oriental races living happily together and working side by side under British protection" is about right.

The author revisits the scene of an early romance. The story of this pilgrimage and of his meeting with the Malay lady is told with dignity and sincerity.

REPORT ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS IN JAPAN. (H.M. Stationery Office.) 2s. 6d. net.

- This report shows that industrial production continues to rise. The tendency towards official control of both industry and trade also continues. To this end the Staple Industries Control Law has been amended to strengthen the export guilds and generally to widen the scope of official intervention. There is no evidence of production costs having risen. Wage rates, too, have remained unchanged.

As regards the various industries, the production of motor-cars and parts has been placed under licence and subjected to Government control. The electric power industry has expanded. Total paid-up capital invested in it was, at the end of 1934, 4,000 million yen. In May last there was evidence that the existing Government control of the industry was to be intensified with a view to eventual nationalization. The prospect has not been greeted with satisfaction by the companies concerned.

In the cotton industry Japanese shippers have, as a result of the world-wide action to limit imports of Japanese origin, found themselves obliged to increase shipments of the lower grade cloths in order to offset decreased exports of bleached and finished goods, against which types the restrictions have usually been directed. No compensation can be found in the home market, where rayon and staple fibre fabrics are preferred. The organization of the industry has also been modified of late. The necessity for control of exports has shifted the power to a great extent from the hands of the big spinners (who are in many instances also weavers or controllers of weaving concerns) to the export associations, and the need of controlling production has vested authority in yet other associations. Rayon and staple fibre both show increased production. Rayon yarn exports have leapt from

9 million pounds in 1933 to 30 millions in 1935 due to production much beyond the needs of the weavers. Staple fibre has benefited by the curtailment regulations of the rayon producers. There has been a slight export of staple fibre fabrics. It has, however, been stated that the product is not entirely satisfactory. Wool yarns and tissues maintained their position and there has been only a reasonable expansion of production. Spinners did well at the end of 1935, when raw wool prices rose, since they held ample stocks. By the middle of 1936, however, these stocks were exhausted, but the tariff dispute with Australia, foreshadowing control of wool imports from that country, sent both yarn and cloth prices up, and prospects for the rest of the year were rosy. 1935 was a better year for raw silk than any since 1930. Exports and prices both rose. High prices in the end turned consumers away, but the following year, when prices declined, business again looked up.

The most important buyer of Japanese goods is still the British Empire. The percentage in 1935 was 28.1 of total exports against 23.6 (U.S.A.) and 17.1 (Manchuria and Leased Territory). The U.S.A. leads the importing countries, supplying 33.7 in 1935 against 31.4 (British Empire). The United Kingdom took 121.4 million yens' worth of goods out of a total supply to the British Empire of 704 million yen, and exported to Japan 82.2 million yen of a total British Empire export figure of 780 million yen. Generally speaking, Japan, in trade with the United Kingdom and her colonies, sells more than she buys, while, as regards the Dominions and India, the position is reversed.

BEHIND THE SMILE IN REAL JAPAN. By E. K. Venables. Illustrated from photographs. (Harrap.) 10s. 6d. net.

There are numerous books on Japan written by visitors for entertainment; there are others written by residents which are often more instructive: the beautiful volume before us belongs to the latter class. Years of experience have allowed Mr. Venables to observe the public and private life closely. He describes the people, their houses, housework, and dress. In other chapters he deals with town life and the craftsmen. Mr. Venables contradicts the generally held opinion that Japan is the children's paradise; he writes of the great mortality amongst children which in a way is remedied by an exceptionally high birthrate, nor does he speak favourably of student life, though the photograph shows smiling faces. It is interesting to learn that the author's views of Japan as a trade rival contradict those expressed in European newspapers, and it is explained why the export trade must be limited, as the chief natural products consist of rice and silk.

Mr. Venables is convinced that Japanese military power also is much exaggerated, and he believes in collective action against the soldiers' determination to obtain a greater foothold in China.

GLIMPSSES OF OLD JAPAN FROM JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS: BIRDS AND FLOWERS.

By C. G. Holme. (*The Studio Office*.) 5s. net.

The famous "Studio" has for many years past contributed very largely to our knowledge of Japanese art. The same office now issues a series of monographs on the same subject, containing chiefly reproductions from Japanese prints. A selection of eight plates in colour has now been carefully made by Mr. Holme, being reproductions of Imao Keinen, Bairei, Sugaku, Hokusai, and Hiroshige, to which a brief note is given by way of explanation. We recommend the lover of art to read the introductory matter which tells us much about these flowers and birds and their connection with the poet and artist.

INTRODUCTION TO LITERARY CHINESE. By J. J. Brandt. Second edition. (Peiping: *Henry Vetch*.) 21s. net.

This most useful work was first issued in 1927 and the reissue some ten years later is sufficient guarantee of its value. The number of modern books in literary Chinese is not large, and the student is therefore fortunate in getting into his hands one which makes his difficult task more easy. With this help the beginner is not required to have much knowledge; he can study at once. The book is divided into short stories, fairy tales, documentary papers, newspaper articles and family letters, and a grammatical section—all practical subjects with which the student is concerned. The Chinese text is given; the vocabulary, rendering each word into English, is added; valuable notes follow, and, finally, a perfect translation, providing the readable English version with the altered Chinese way of expression.

THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN. A Japanese upon Japan. By Komakichi Nohara. (*Jarrolds*.) 16s. net.

The reader of this book will find on almost every page something new and something that will make him think. If it represents the thought of modern Japan, it discloses a self-assertion, a strong will, and belief in Japanese power of which the outside world should take full note. When referring to the picture of Japan painted by Lafcadio Hearn, the author states it to be true, but emphasizes that this picture is of one side only: the everyday and less pleasant side has perhaps been drawn by others. When writing of world trade, he states that the same antagonism used to be shown towards another nation, and, further, that the hall-mark, Made in Japan, will be for goods of the highest quality. In writing of their military power, Mr. Nohara maintains that Japan has never yet shown her real strength. We know how united the country is when faced by a common enemy, and can therefore presume the one mind, the united will in the event of a new danger threatening their progress.

JAPAN: RECOLLECTIONS AND IMPRESSIONS. By Grace James. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The present volume, beautifully produced and illustrated, is a book of memoirs by Miss James, who lived at Tokyo from 1885 to 1895 at a time when British naval missions acted as instructors to the Japanese navy. A child does not easily forget, and her thoughts are not biased by political considerations. In 1934 Miss James paid another visit, and her account of the vast changes in the aspect of the city itself, and the life and thought of the people, reminds the reader what can be accomplished in forty years. Japan has altered from night to day, or *vice versa*. The whole book is full of amazement and wonder, beautifully described by the authoress, and, as she still retained her knowledge of Japanese, we learn a great deal more than usual. The ghost and fox stories will add interest; they are uncommon and are stories told by a Japanese teacher. Another chapter, on the Tea ceremony and the No Drama, will also fascinate the cultured who wish to obtain an intimate knowledge of the Japanese. It is interesting to note that a woman like Miss James writes of the future of Japan in a strain different from, for instance, Mr. Venables. She holds that Japan is likely to carry out her political programme, and this is substantiated by the character of the people: ingenious, energetic, frugal, and single-minded. We congratulate Miss James on a valuable and charming piece of entertaining literature.

INDIA AND THE WORLD. By Pundit Jawahir Lal Nehru. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

India is a land of paradox: it is in keeping with that characteristic that the Indian Congress, essentially a bourgeois organization, should elect as its president Pundit Jawahir Lal Nehru, a politician who is at heart a communist and whose spiritual home is Moscow. But whatever his political complexion it cannot be denied that the Pundit has played an outstanding part in the political agitation of the last sixteen years in India: he has ability, drive and personal magnetism; for those who are prepared to make a brief excursion into the Indian political field the little volume of essays recently published by him is well worth perusal.

Pundit Jawahir Lal Nehru is by caste a Kashmiri Brahmin. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge, he practised for some time at the Indian Bar before devoting himself to politics. Now he is not quite sure whether he is a Hindu: in any case his mentality has a strong infusion of Western culture. Temperamentally a rebel, British imperialism is for him the embodiment of evil, to be expelled root and branch from India. No compromise is possible: there is no halfway house: the next move in political manœuvring in India must be a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage, which would of course mean the withdrawal of the British.

The Pundit takes a broader view of Indian problems than the ordinary

Indian politician. For the latter, he asserts, the dominant motive is the spoils of office and other advantages arising from political power: the Pundit desires to control the destinies of his country in order that he may destroy the existing social and economic system and rebuild it on Marxian principles. He realizes that Congress is not yet prepared to follow his lead: his policy for the moment is to contest the elections in order to get into touch with the rural masses and so inoculate them with red doctrines.

The Congress would not take office: its endeavour would be to destroy the federation and to build afresh. In the Pundit's view India's real trouble is economic: the problem of the poverty of the masses, especially of the peasantry. The new parliamentary régime, placing as it does, power in the hands of the reactionary groups, the princes, the financiers, money-lenders, industrialists, holds out no hope for the countryside. There is a good deal to be said for this particular theory. The bulwark of the capitalist system in India and the world is, according to the Pundit, British imperialism: the first thing is to destroy it.

What does this admirer of Lenin offer the Indian peasant when he has grasped political power? True to his sympathy with Moscow he would collectivize the land and abolish the system of peasant holdings as uneconomic, an astounding proposal for anyone who knows the intense attachment of the Indian peasant to his land. Most of them would prefer to live and die in debt than accept the alternative offered them. Such a scheme would let loose a huge unemployed proletariat for which the State would have to provide. Mr. Nehru has no real solution of the new problem that will arise.

The Pundit has no use for the Indian States. They are an anachronism which would long since have disappeared but for the support of an alien power. He speaks contemptuously of their methods, of the claims of some to divine right; Congress when it comes into its own would not tolerate these relics of ancient feudalism. Without British support they would soon come to terms. When the President of the strongest political organization in India uses such language it is hardly surprising that rulers like the Maharaja of Patiala and Bikanir should disparage in forcible terms the Pundit's ideas of democracy.

He is equally unconvincing on the communal problem. That will vanish, he says, when Congress rules. It is mainly of British creation, a political question of the upper middle classes, to whom the spoils of office are the principal object, a problem of the conflict between upper middle-class Hindus and Muslims for jobs and power. It is not really religious.

Ostrich-like the Pundit refuses to admit that any military danger would confront the new India of his imagination. Japan, whose imperialism he detests, would be too occupied with subjugating China: a communist India might hope for the friendship and goodwill of Soviet Russia if indeed she could not protect India against aggression. The frontier danger is a figment of British imagination: Khan Abdul Ghaffor the frontier rebel, and Gandhi the rebel saint, if allowed to go to the frontier could settle in a few weeks a problem the British have muddled for nearly a century. Here the Pundit overlooks a stubborn fact of border politics; that Kabul is

the spiritual home of the Pathan, not Delhi: to say nothing of his withering contempt for the Hindu.

The Pundit may find Hindu orthodoxy, not to mention Islam, an insuperable obstacle to communism as a remedy for the evils which beset the Indian body politic. Nevertheless the movement sponsored by the Congress President has already made inroads on village life. The remedy is not that prescribed by the Pundit: what is really wanted is a lightening of the peasants' burdens. That can only be achieved by a self-denying ordinance on the part of the oligarchy of lawyers, financiers, industrialists and moneylenders in whose hands political power will lie in the new Constitution. How will they handle the Pundit and his red campaign in the countryside? They may in the end find an economic partnership with Britain the only solution.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV. By F. Dawtrey Drewitt. (*Longmans.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.)

Those who are interested in Bombay will welcome this second edition of a book that has other appeals than those of a merely historical or legal kind. Sir Edward West, a Barrister of the Inner Temple, was appointed Recorder of Bombay in 1822 and was the first Chief Justice of the newly established Supreme Court from 1824 to his death in 1828. This was a transition stage in the legal history of Bombay, and he had official difficulties to cope with, which are described in a readable manner and show him to have been a man of honour and high principles, who was not frightened from what he believed to be his duty by the unpopularity or displeasure that it entailed. But the main interest of the book to the ordinary reader lies in the light it throws on the social life of Bombay in those days by its extracts from the entertaining *Journal of Lady West*. These cover not only her stay at Bombay, but journeys to Goa, Salsette Island, Khandalla, Poona, and Sirur. She was a lady of considerable spirit, as is shown by her pithy comments and the way in which she successfully tackled Mountstuart Elphinstone about his having ladies of "spotted reputation" to meet her at Government House.

The new edition contains some useful additions, one of which is a picture of the Harbour and Fort of old Bombay. The statement on it that Sir Edward West lived in the Fort and the Court was held there, however, needs correction. The Fort in the print is the original military Fort, or "Castle," and it was not in this, but in the extended area within the town walls completed in Governor Boone's time that West's residence and Court were situated. The latter was held in the building then known as Admiralty House, and later on as the Great Western Hotel.

LEAVES FROM THE JUNGLE. Life in a Gond Village. By Verrier Elwin. (*John Murray.*) 9s. net.

(Reviewed by MRS. MARGUERITE MILWARD.)

Those of us who have the good fortune to possess *Songs of the Forest*, by Verrier Elwin and Shamrao Hivale, will welcome the new book entitled *Leaves from the Jungle* (Life in a Gond Village). For our appetites are whetted and we want to know more about the Gond people and more, too, of the man who has elected to spend the best years of his life amongst them. One of my most precious encounters last November was with Verrier Elwin, and, though I had not then discovered any of his books, I am glad to remember that I recognized a rare person at once.

As Verrier Elwin himself suggests, *Songs of the Forest* would make a good companion to the present new volume; it is so entirely different and gives the Gond village from another angle. I felt very romantic after reading the Songs; fragments of them haunt me still:

"O that I might die quickly and return to earth in different form.
Hungry and thirsty we break these stones in the cold of winter."
(*The Roadmender's Song.*)

"In all the world a village is the place for happiness,
In every house are ploughs and bullocks,
And everyone goes farming;
When the villagers are working in the fields
It looks like a festival. . . ."

"In all the world a village is the place for happiness."
(*The Place for Happiness.*)

"O my beloved, they are beating the drums far away in the beautiful forest,
But I cannot go with you.
The echo of that drumming resounds among the hills."
(*Drums and the Dance.*)

The Gond's love of simplicity, beauty, village life made me feel that they are a people of race and nobility, poets at heart. In fact, I looked up to them as gods living in the jungles. Much of this glamour has been taken away in reading the second book, but none of the deep interest. In the first half of the book Verrier Elwin sketches for us the tale of the Gond; it is a human and appealing story. In the fourteenth century they reigned as kings and held easy sway; Betul, Chhindwara, Mandla and Chanda came under their rule. Having no organization and no ability for war, they made no resistance to the Mughal invaders. Retiring deeper and deeper into the hills and forest, they became a jungle tribe using bows and arrows, the splendour of their reign long forgotten. The last census gave the Gond people five million and still on the increase; they may therefore rightly be considered a nation of themselves. They are certainly the oldest and most important of the aboriginal forest tribes in India. How can we best help these people? That is the question. By giving them civilization? Verrier Elwin himself is aghast at the thought. He says: "Personally, I cannot imagine a civilized

Gond. . . . There are many elements in the Gond ethos which should be conserved—their simplicity and freedom, their love of children, the position of their women, their independence of spirit. . . .”; and he preceded this by asking, “Has the primitive any message for the modern world?” One feels that Verrier Elwin has not gone out to teach the Gonds, but to learn of them.

After reading this introduction one feels definitely that the Gonds are much more sinned against than sinning; and the author’s appeal for a new spirit in the petty officials, landlords and traders, and all who have dealings with the tribes will have a ready response from all thinking people. We hear much about the need of educating the masses, of village reconstruction, etc. Would it not be more to the point to educate the so-called educated to prevent them from imposing upon the poor and trading upon their ignorance? It makes one’s blood boil to think that the innocence and illiteracy of these primitive peoples has been so abused. The dark shadow of *begar* is graphically described as the curse of the aboriginal’s life. To quote Elwin again: “The supreme need is for a change of heart. The real problem of rural reconstruction is not material, but moral. The villages must equally experience a change of heart. A new spirit of co-operation, a new industry, a new honesty would work wonders.”

After this introduction follows a diary of the years 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1935, the Ashram in the making. “Written primarily to amuse,” says Verrier Elwin, and they certainly do that. The diary form is a fascinating method which enables the author to use a mass of material and not to have to unduly stress any point. Like the tiresome child after a good story, I find myself saying, “Go on, what happened next?” but feel it is just as well that we are not told. Perhaps this form of writing is so successful because it leaves the reader a large share in it. Interspersed with exciting—too exciting—descriptions of happenings in the Ashram and nearby villages comes a description of the garden which the author decided to plant on November 11, 1933; a few marigolds and zinnias go to join a row of seedy-looking cabbages, and we feel it must often have preserved his sanity. Some pitiful sentences—“Sunflower seedlings all perish from some unknown disease,” “Three gladiolas up and one dahlia, but most of the cannas bad”—hurt me with the feeling that even the garden had gone against him and done him down! But this is balanced later on by the fact that when things at schools and reforms in the village look most black and despairing, the writer notes: “A magnificent bush of white roses suddenly appears,” “One perfect carnation unfolds itself with dignity,” “I discover an exquisite smelling sprig of mignonette.” Here at least is something clean and beautiful in the midst of so much discouragement! But this reflection does not last, for, alas! I read later: “Life has become really ‘dark, dumpish and sowre’; even garden now a blaze of colour cannot dispel gloom.” His love for the garden is so great that we find him crawling out of a bed of fever on his hands and knees to tie up the clarkias.

Pen pictures abound; there is Panda Baba, who we know quite well, with his pleasantly ecclesiastical atmosphere and the many symbols of his sacred calling as a great magician. There is Singaru the dancer “coming from the

river, on her head a polished brass vessel that shines with all the glory of the morning, and in her bearing the grace and dignity of a princess. . . . Then see her dance. It is as the Gonds say, like the wind moving in the branches of a great tree: it is the kingfisher flying above sparkling waters. In her the forest has come to fruit and flower.” There is Tutta the leper, very anxious to get married, and many pictures of children who adopt the Ashram. The book is packed with material; an account of the Baigas is deeply instructive—a most romantic and interesting tribe full of magic. The ceremonies of friendships more enduring than marriage (they might easily be!), each with its proper name. Both the author and Shamrao have many of these binding friendships and tell picturesquely how they are performed. The tale that is the most entertaining of all is the questionnaire given to fifteen applicants for work in the schools. The keen wit and never-failing sense of humour of Verrier Elwin makes all this splendid reading. Who would not want to live among the Gonds? But as we have none (or few) of us his enduring courage, his high purpose, and his poetic understanding of the people to sustain us, I doubt if we should endure it for a night.

A SANSKRIT PRIMER. By E. D. Perry. Fourth edition. (*Oxford University Press.*) 16s. 6d. net.

It may be noted that the standard Perry’s *Sanskrit Primer* is not a new book, but has flourished ever since 1885, and many reprints have been issued. Originally it was based on Bühler’s *Leitfaden*, and later Whitney’s *Grammar* was utilized. It has now been reissued in an entirely new form, and students and colleges will, with preference, continue to study the new form of Perry which is made as easy as is possible for an Oriental language. The exercises with vocabularies will be a great help to them.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By Vera Anstey. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (*Longmans.*) 25s. net.

A review of this very able work was given in the issue of the first edition. The third edition confirms our view of the excellence of Miss Anstey’s performance. On the whole, the text is very little changed, save for the statistical tables having been brought up to date, and there is an additional chapter which deals with the most recent developments of the period of the depression, with a revised bibliography of forty-one pages.

THE INDIAN FEDERATION: AN EXPOSITION AND CRITICAL REVIEW. By Sir Shafa’at Ahmad Khan, Litt.D. (*Macmillan.*) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by HUGH MOLSON.)

The author of this work brings great qualifications to his task. He saw from the inside most of the conferences which together evolved the scheme of the new Constitution, and ability and industry together have enabled him

to produce a book which deals comprehensively with every aspect of the government of the sub-continent. He has not confined himself to the Constitution Act, but has fitted into its framework such later documents as the Niemeyer Report and some of the Orders-in-Council. It is therefore a useful compendium of the more important documents available.

The value of the work is, however, reduced by the wideness of its scope. The sub-title indicates that the author aims at providing both an exposition and a criticism, and it is difficult to combine the two. He does in practice describe how each particular feature of the scheme came to take its final form. The author shows that he could have written an excellent account of the Round-Table Conferences and of the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee, but even his fair-mindedness does not justify all the interpolated history. The picturesque description of Mr. Churchill's oratorical duels with Mr. Baldwin and Sir Samuel Hoare (pp. 306-313) can only be regarded as a needless digression in a chapter dealing principally with the Indian legislatures. The student of the Constitution will be constantly delayed by history, and the student of history will be as frequently obstructed by passages of legal analysis; neither will be reconciled by the high standard maintained almost throughout the book.

Sir Shafa'at's general judgment on the new Constitution is interesting. In the spirit of the Moslem Delegation of which he was a distinguished member, he accepts it as a workable solution to difficulties which forbid any perfect scheme, but he criticizes forcibly, though fairly, the features in it which he dislikes. He frankly recognizes, too, that a report like that of Sir Otto Niemeyer, allocating sources of revenue to the centre and to the provinces, must be taken or rejected as a whole and cannot be amended. He believes that the scheme can be made to work and recommends that all Indian political parties should co-operate in order that by showing their capacity to discharge the functions of government, they will ultimately reach that full measure of Home Rule which the author, like most members of the *intelligentsia* both Moslem and Hindu, still desires. The present Constitution appears to him a large step forward, and the attainment of his ideal he believes to be possible only by friendly co-operation with Britain.

The introduction contains a brief sketch of events leading up to the new Constitution. It approaches the subject from an angle widely different from that of any ordinary Englishman who had to account for the same developments, but the spirit is impartial and the few facts mentioned are accurate, and so the reader obtains an Indian view which is just as tenable as that we hold. If all Indian politicians had Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's tolerant common sense and sane judgment India's future would be assured.

EXCISE AND TEMPERANCE IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

(Reviewed by FREDERICK GRUBB.)

The Report of the Administration of the Abkari Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for the year 1344 Fasli (1934-35 A.D.) has recently been issued. Although, like the Excise Reports of the Provincial Govern-

ments in British India, it is rather late in appearing, it contains material which should be of interest both to administrators and temperance reformers.

This report is the seventh and last to be prepared by the late Excise Commissioner, Mr. S. M. Bharucha, who has administered the department with efficiency and success during that period. Even those who regard this subject from an unofficial angle will acknowledge that, whatever may have happened elsewhere, the need for public sobriety has not been subordinated to considerations of revenue in India's premier State.

Let us look at a few of the outstanding facts given in the report. During the seven years' period the number of country liquor shops has fallen from 8,896 to 5,359, and of toddy shops from 20,346 to 13,515. That is a rate of reduction which has probably not been paralleled in any other part of India.

Even from a financial standpoint it cannot be said that the results of this large decrease are unsatisfactory. Although the period was one of economic stringency, there has been no decrease in the total Abkari revenue, despite the fall in the number of shops. That revenue amounted in the year 1338 Fasli (1928-29 A.D.) to Rs. 181 lakhs, while in the year under review it stood at the slightly enhanced figure of Rs. 187 lakhs. The curious thing is that with such a substantial reduction in the number of shops there should have been even this small increase of revenue. It must mean that individual shops are, on the average, bringing to the Government a much larger sum than was the case seven years ago. Fortunately this does not connote a corresponding rise in the amount of liquor actually consumed. As a matter of fact, the consumption of country liquor fell from 477,034 Imperial gallons (L.P.) in 1343 Fasli to 450,512 in 1344. These figures do not, of course, include toddy consumption.

The settled policy of the State Government is described as "one of temperance, of avoiding temptation for those who do not drink and of discouraging excess in those that do." It is claimed that this policy is best realized by the application of the principle of "maximum revenue from minimum consumption," although in furtherance of the policy considerations of revenue are given second place.

The same principle is theoretically the basis of Excise policy and administration in the British Indian Provinces, but experience has scarcely justified the claim that a large Excise revenue is compatible with a steadily diminishing consumption. It could not be so in the very nature of the case. Moreover, in the State of Hyderabad itself, despite the measures taken to curb the drink traffic, there are still nearly 20,000 liquor shops of various kinds to tempt the ignorant and unwary into the path of drunkenness. The Moslem ideal in this matter—that of complete abstinence—can hardly be absent from the mind of the enlightened Ruler who has so recently celebrated his Silver Jubilee amidst the universal plaudits of his people.

In this connection it is worthy of note that Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member of the Nizam's Government, presiding at a temperance meeting in Hyderabad City on January 13, drew attention to the fact that out of the total revenue of the State, amounting to Rs. 8½ crores, as much as one crore was derived from liquor, which meant that the population of the State spent more than five crores on drink. The Minister regretted

that, although Hinduism and Islam both prohibited drinking, this habit prevailed to such an extent in India. He appealed to the audience not only to give it up, but also to help in carrying on propaganda for the eradication of the evil.

There is no attempt in the official report of the Abkari Department to ignore the evils to which the Education Member referred. Strong drink is pre-eminently a medium for illegal trafficking in Hyderabad, as in India generally. The Director-General of Revenue in his review says that the regular trade carried on in illicitly distilled liquor "must be regarded as a serious menace to the State, as it will, unless energetically and successfully controlled, frustrate the carrying out of the policy sanctioned by His Exalted Highness." It is frequently urged that toddy is less harmful than country liquor, but, as Mr. Bharucha points out in Section II. of his report, toddy is sold at one-seventh of country liquor price; in other words, "when a man buys toddy he gets seven times the quantity of liquor that he can purchase for the same amount."

It is, however, encouraging to learn that the consumption of liquor in Hyderabad has gone down during the last seven years to half what it was at the beginning of that period, and that the incidence per hundred of the population in proof gallons is less than it is in the adjoining Presidency of Bombay. While this is a matter for congratulation, the fact remains that the bulk of the excise revenue is drawn from the poorer classes who are least able to spare the money they spend on drink. Even from the Government's point of view this introduces another precarious factor, for, as we read on page 6 of the Report, the administration has to guard not only against an increase in illicit distillation, but against a decrease in the purchasing power of the liquor-drinking classes. Would it not be better frankly to recognize that the traffic in strong drink adds nothing to the real wealth and prosperity of a country, and that the taxable capacity of any people is in the long run diminished and not increased by such a traffic?

His Exalted Highness' Ministers cannot help being gravely concerned at the extension of the drink traffic among certain classes of the population, and, as we might expect under the jurisdiction of a devout Moslem Ruler, special measures have already been taken to combat the evil. Two years ago the State Government set apart for the first time a substantial sum of money for the organization of public propaganda against beverage alcohol, and a Central Temperance Committee was appointed to ascertain and adopt the best methods for promoting total abstinence. This Committee is an influential body representing all communities, the Chairman being Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Chief Justice of the State. His colleagues include two leading Hindus, the Deputy Chief Engineer (an Indian Christian) and the head of the Methodist Mission, Secunderabad. The Chairman came to England last year to inquire into the methods of work which kindred organizations have found most effective in this country, and since his return to Hyderabad a vigorous campaign has been inaugurated against the drinking of intoxicants. The official report of the Abkari Department acknowledges the Propaganda Committee's good work, from which, it says, "increasing advantage and material benefit may confidently be expected."

Voluntary organizations are also doing admirable preventive work in the State. Prominent among these is the Secunderabad Temperance Association, which, under the patronage of the British Resident and thanks to the magnificent generosity of Sir Bansilal Motilal and other wealthy supporters, has been enabled to establish a model village known as Bansilalpet from which the sale of liquor is rigidly excluded. This fine piece of constructive work involved the clearance of a congested slum area and the rehousing of its 2,000 inhabitants in 500 rat-proof houses, the occupants of which enjoy conditions of comfort and cleanliness to which they were previously complete strangers.

The disinterested workers who are promoting this enterprise soon discovered that many of the social evils specially affecting the poorer classes are traceable, directly or indirectly, to an unhealthy environment, aggravated by the demoralizing allurements of the liquor shop. In planning for a reformed community which should be free from such evils, the Secunderabad pioneers designed their new village on broad and enlightened principles, the results of which are now beginning to be seen. Well-built airy houses, elementary schools, spacious streets, healthy entertainments and well-equipped playgrounds, with no drink shop to spoil the picture—these are some of the features of an undertaking which points the way to a new era of economic, industrial, and moral progress. This excellent experiment in social reconstruction will be watched with interest by reformers everywhere.

Hyderabad is sometimes regarded as a backward State, but one rises from the study of its Abkari Report and the examination of such new departures as the one noted above with the conviction that the Government and people of the Nizam's Dominions are fully aware of the danger inherent in the common sale of strong drink and are determined to adopt every practicable measure to reduce it to a minimum.

INDIA'S OVERSEAS MARKETS

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER DURING 1935/36.

By Dr. D. B. Meek, C.I.E., O.B.E., D.Sc. (London.) 3s. 7d.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER,

HAMBURG, DURING 1935/36. By S. N. Gupta, C.I.E., I.C.S. (London.) 5s. 9d.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER,

MILAN, DURING 1935/36. By M. K. Ahuja. (London.) 3s. 3d.

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

"Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into a few hands. For otherwise a state may have great stock and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be spread." If among "treasure and moneys" we include, as we must, agricultural and mineral products, the words of Francis Bacon ring as true now as the day they were written, over three hundred years ago.

In India, more than, perhaps, any other part of the British Empire, there is a great opportunity for economic planning to increase the material wealth of the people, but all such efforts will be deprived of half their value unless they also secure the proper distribution of the country's surplus products. The man who finds markets capable of absorbing India's exports, consisting largely of raw materials and semi-manufactures, at economic prices, is as great a public benefactor as the scientist who increases the productivity of the soil itself.

It is often contended by Indian economists and politicians that British commentators are apt to exaggerate both the importance of foreign trade, and India's dependence upon it. It may be true that the commodities exported represent only a fraction—not more, perhaps, than 15 per cent.—of India's agricultural production, and that if India developed her own industries she could achieve something like a self-contained economy and become comparatively independent of overseas markets. That was, fortunately, not the view of those who sent the first Indian Trade Commissioner to Europe. And it is significant that the demand for the extension of the Service, which led to the opening-up of branch offices, first in Hamburg and then in Milan, received the enthusiastic support of some of the most perfervid exponents of economic nationalism.

The fact is that since the war India has become caught up in the maelstrom of international trade. She cannot detach herself from this world organism without a serious economic disaster to masses of her people, and, what is of more immediate consequence, her own internal economy has, meanwhile, become vulnerable to developments in the rest of the world over which neither the Indian National Congress nor the British Government has any control, but which, by vitally affecting demand for India's products, may spell ruin to large sections of her people.

That India needs to find outlets for huge exportable surpluses of jute, jute products, cotton, oilseeds, tea, and, if we still include Burma, rice, is a commonplace to every schoolboy. She cannot absorb these surpluses herself, and, if she could not sell them abroad, the millions of cultivators that have now specialized on their production could not turn over to alternative products which would enable them to support life on anything like their present standard—low though that may be.

In the aggregate the export trade, admittedly, only covers a fraction of the country's total production, and, even in 1935/36, to the extent of nearly one-third was with the United Kingdom. The catastrophic fall in prices during the past seven years, although India has fared more fortunately in this respect than many other primary producing countries, has shown conclusively that it is the character, not the volume, of the trade which matters most. India's sales to European buyers, though comparatively small, represent just that margin of purchasing power which makes all the difference to the general body of cultivators, "while in special areas which concentrate on growing crops like cotton, jute and tea, the loss of export markets," as a former Finance Member has said, "would mean the destruction of the bulk of the peoples' livelihood."

One need not be unduly pessimistic, or fail to recognize that the present

depression is in many ways abnormal—expectations of some recovery have already been realized—to face the fact that the task of the Indian Government Trade Commissioners is not an easy one. In many directions State intervention has been little short of disastrous to world trade, especially on the Continent. It began with post-war inflation. It proceeded with high tariffs and dumping, from which emerged the quota system for restricting imports; and then the control of foreign exchanges, which leaves the foreign exporter free to sell to a country, but successfully prevents him from getting any payments for what he sells, and barter arrangements. And "other factors are at work which unless they are counteracted in some way which cannot at present be foreseen may alter the whole process of expansion of trade in primary products," especially foodstuffs.

To these highly debatable questions of abstract economic theory, aggravated in the case of India by doctrinaire nationalist sentiment, the authors of these three admirably compiled and written reports do not venture to propound their own answers, but the whole tenor of their instructive introductory remarks is that the immediate task is the closer approximation of the theoretical and practical points of view. They themselves attempt to hold the scales evenly between theory and practice by pointing out the real difficulties involved in the theoretical solution of post-war European commercial and currency problems. Therein, apart from the restrictions imposed by their official positions, they are undoubtedly wise, for, however strong the practical considerations which weigh in favour of acting with the Indian nationalist politicians while thinking with the more realistic business men, the events of the past few years have been sufficiently startling to show that the practice of even the pre-Ottawa period is no longer applicable in its entirety to the changed circumstances of the world of 1937.

During the next few months Indian and British merchants and industrialists will be actively engaged in hammering out the details of a new Indo-British trade pact to supersede the Ottawa agreements. We can imagine no better corrective to hasty generalizations, or surer guide to informed judgment of the real issues involved, so far as concerns, at least, what India has to offer, than a careful study of the facts and figures so readily accessible in these three small volumes.

HYDERABAD AND ITS INDUSTRIES

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR 1344 FASLI (OCTOBER 6, 1934, TO OCTOBER 6, 1935 A.D.). (Hyderabad, Deccan: *Government Central Press*.)

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

The Silver Jubilee of the Nizam of Hyderabad, postponed from a year ago on account of the death of King George V., was celebrated throughout the Dominions last month with traditional pomp and ceremony and every manifestation of popular affection for a far-sighted and deservedly respected

Ruler. It is characteristic of His Exalted Highness that, at his express wish, the bulk of the funds raised by private subscription in commemoration of the auspicious occasion should be devoted so far as possible not to display and pageantry alone, but to philanthropic and public utility purposes, and that a feature of the celebrations was an Industrial Exhibition in which the several departments exhibited appropriate tokens of the progress attained during the last twenty-five years.

The industrial field affords, in fact, perhaps the most striking example of the rapid material and moral advancement which has brought Hyderabad within so relatively short a period into the forefront of Indian States. This is, indeed, hardly surprising, for the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions has displayed, especially of recent years, an enthusiasm and skill in the exploitation of the State's natural resources, including the resuscitation of the ancient arts and crafts, for which history affords few parallels.

If a large share of the credit for the State's remarkable progress belongs to the Nizam himself, Mir Sir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, like his father, is a good judge of men, and has been fortunate in his Ministers, and especially his Finance Member, to whose invaluable services both in that capacity and also, latterly, in the conduct of external affairs His Exalted Highness recently paid a signal tribute. Sir Akbar Hydari, who has lately been appointed President of the State Executive Council in succession to Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, is an enthusiast, and it is largely owing to his foresight and administrative genius that Hyderabad stands where it does today.

The outstanding success of the contract system of budgeting, or "the departmentalization of the finances," which he introduced seventeen years ago, has enabled the State to take the initiative in the establishment of many industries, large and small, as well as the revival of more ancient ones, without recourse to extra taxation—income tax is still unknown.

The Industrial Reserve, built up out of a portion of the accumulated surpluses of past years, now amounts to one crore of rupees (£750,000). The corpus of the fund is used for subsidizing large-scale enterprises like the coal and gold mines, textile mills, and the Shahabad Cement Company and the new Nizam Sugar Factory, while the income from the fund's investments is utilized in financing cottage industries, industrial surveys, industrial training, scholarships, etc.

The annual report of the Commerce and Industries Department for 1344 Fasli (1934/35), notwithstanding its somewhat belated appearance, is an instructive document. This comprehensive survey of the conditions of trade and industry in the Dominions during the period under review has been considerably enlarged and is particularly interesting for the account of the efforts which are being made, with considerable success, to revive the former beauty of Warangal carpets, which won the first prize at the great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, and of Warangal muslin, which was praised as far back as the thirteenth century by Marco Polo. Parallel efforts are being made to improve the now famous products of the indigenous cloth industries which have flourished since ancient times in Aurangabad.

Another old industry—paper making—dating back to the days of the Moghuls, has also been revived. This hand-made paper, the texture of

which resembles that of parchment, is now extensively used for State documents and even Christmas and 'Id cards. While cottage industries are being increasingly adapted to the supply of modern requirements, every care is taken, wisely, to preserve, so far as design and motif are concerned, the heritage of old artistic inspiration. Thus one may buy a modern ash-tray in old Bidri ware, but the design will be classic in form.

PERIODICALS

"LA QUINZAINE COLONIALE"

"La Quinzaine Coloniale," the organ of the French Colonial Union in Paris, publishes in its issue of February 10 a leading article by Mr. C. A. Le Neveu on recent Government announcements of colonial policy. He discusses the view expressed recently that France had reached the point when there would, as in Great Britain, be two great parties: the one in power, and the opposition. In Mr. Le Neveu's view that would be a great service to France; but it had to be remembered that in Great Britain the official kept himself outside political controversy, and could carry on his duties without the necessity of pleasing the politicians of the moment. He could do so because a politician would consider it dishonourable to intervene in any way in the promotion or the administrative career of any Civil Servant. In France it would be interesting to observe the attitude of officials, who behaved as partisans under the two-party system, on the day when the opposition came into power. And Mr. Le Neveu adds that if the administrative services placed politics before their calling, the result would be the American system under which the two-party system is conducted on the strictest lines, but where the so-called "responsible" officials retire at each change of Government. If that were the wish of French officials, let them say so, but if, on the contrary, they wanted to maintain the stability and the fine traditions of the French administration, let them confine themselves to *serving* (in the noble sense of the word) the general interests of the country above party and above even the political trend of events.

The same issue discusses the proposed control of "free" labour, as distinct from that which is under contract, and tariff questions.

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The new issue of this scholarly journal contains a varied selection of articles which should attract a wider circle than the title would suggest. Mr. J. F. Baddeley writes on the Rising of 1877 in Daghestan and Tchet-china; the Archimandrite, Dr. Gregory Peradze, treats the interesting question of Georgian Influences on the Cultures of the Balkan Peoples; Mr. Alexander Yavakhishvili examines the question of the Caucasian Race. There are also archæological, artistic and literary articles, and book reviews by recognized authorities.

WARREN HASTINGS AND MADRAS

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

AMONG the many obligations under which Professor Dodwell has laid students of British-Indian history his researches into conditions in Madras in the days of Warren Hastings and the writings in which he has expressed his conclusions are conspicuous. Biographers and historians have, as a rule, concentrated their attention on the remarkable events which formed the main groundwork for the impeachment of Hastings and have inclined, possibly because they were somewhat exhausted by their labours in those directions, to give inadequate consideration to his policy regarding Madras affairs. But in Chapter XV. of *C.H.I.*, Vol. V., we have a full, clear and interesting narrative which illumines this subject; and in Professor Dodwell's *Warren Hastings-Macpherson Letters* and his article on "Warren Hastings and the Carnatic," *E.H.R.*, July, 1925, we have further historical material. We see that the short interval of rather over two years which Hastings spent as Member of Council and Keeper of the export-warehouse at Madras influenced his actions in certain crises later on. "Everybody," says Sir Frederick Keeble, "is a time-palimpsest"; and however often the parchment may be written on, in each case the old impressions remain and show through, blending, perhaps strangely, with later writings. So it was with Warren Hastings.

When, after fourteen years of Bengal, Hastings embarked for England on December 20, 1764, with Governor Vansittart, by whom he had loyally stood through great trials, he was deeply impressed with the evils of British military supremacy uncontrolled by regard for the welfare of a people nominally subject to an Indian ruler. With the latest victim of such a régime in Bengal, driven to revolt by the greed for gain of the Company's servants, he had strong sympathy; and he had done his utmost to avert the final catastrophe. All this was known at Leadenhall Street, but owing to cliques and opposition in the India House, when he sought re-employment he did not obtain it until he had been described by a friend as "literally worth nothing" and in want of bread unless he returned to India.* Then tardy reparation was made, and on March 23, 1769, he sailed for Madras as Member of Council, commended to Governor Josias Dupré as a man of "great ability and unblemished character." It was on this voyage that he met the lady who was to be his main support

* Mervyn Davies, p. 61.

to the end of his life under trials such as have fallen to few of the sons of men.

Conditions in Madras differed widely from those with which he had been so familiar in Bengal, although there were some points of resemblance. The servants of the Company in the southern Presidency were not grasping at and grossly abusing trade privileges, and the Nawab of the Karnatak, Mahammed Ali Walajah, although not living at his capital, Arcot, but in a palace adjacent to the principal British settlement, not only governed his dominions, but held a lease for collecting revenue from the Company's "jagir" concession, which consisted of small territories round Madras and Cuddalore. But he owed a large sum of money to the Company for his share of expenses incurred in the war against the French and a much larger sum to private creditors, including English civil servants, and even many members of the Governor's Council,* who had discovered that lending money to the ruler of the province at high rates of interest was the shortest road to fortune. The loans were secured by "assignments"—mortgages on the revenues of the various districts which were collected by the Nawab's officials.

Prominent among the assignees was Paul Benfield, who had in 1764 arrived in Madras as an architect and surveyor, and beginning as a partner of an Indian banker and merchant, had got on by contracting and by lending money at usurious rates of interest. He had also made himself useful to Walajah, who owed his position entirely to the success of the Company's arms in the war with the French, but cherished wide ambitions since he had become aware that, in spite of his minor status in the now nominal empire, he had been recognized as "lawful Nabob" of the Karnatak by the Treaty of Paris (1763). He had sought counsel with John Macpherson, the son of a Scotch minister who had reached Madras in 1768 as purser of a merchant ship, and apparently suggested to his patron that a way to a higher position might be found through sending him back to London as an envoy to the ministry there from an ally formally recognized by agreement between London and Paris. Macpherson went, was received by the Prime Minister† and returned to India as a servant of the Company. About the same time a royal squadron left for Indian waters under Commodore Lindsay, who had been invested with political powers and encouraged the Nawab to look to him for support against the Presidency Government, deputing his secretary to sit in Walajah's durbar. In Hastings' words, the Nawab was assured of the protection of the Crown and Board of Directors

* Hastings to Colebrooke (Gleig, I., p. 197).

† For an instructive description of this interview, see Forrest's *Cornwallis*, I., pp. 3-4.

against the Government of Fort St. George. Small wonder that controlling largely the savings of the Settlement and supported by his creditors and a Scotch section of society, who were politically inclined and "unconquerably averse to those who had more power than themselves," he intrigued in all directions and studied "by every artifice" to draw the servants of the Company into his measures, with the single object of establishing "his own independency on the ruin of the Company's and the national influence."* In a report to the Madras Council, Hastings had before writing these words emphasized the miserable condition of the weavers in the "jagir" and the even worse plight of those who lived outside it.† After his departure interference from the Commodore ceased, and his secretary's seat in the Nawab's durbar was occupied by Benfield.

The civil servants in Madras were not judges or district officers, but clerks, merchants and contractors who often worked through interpreters. Their general aim was to make money and return home as soon as they could. The strain of the climate, unrelieved by visits to the hills, or the outdoor games of later times, must have been intense. There were no proper roads; medical and sanitary science was little understood and mortality was heavy; there was little or none of the human interest that came with administrative work later on; life and property were menaced by lawless conditions and Maratha or Mysore raids and invasions. "Those who have seen, as I did," wrote Hastings in 1785, "in a time of profound peace the wretched inhabitants of the Carnatic, of every age, sex and condition, tumultuously thronging round the walls of Fort St. George, and lying for many successive days and nights on the burning soil, without covering or food, on a casual rumour falsely excited, of an approaching enemy, will feelingly attest the truth of the contrast which I have drawn," etc.‡ For bordering on the Karnatak was the powerful state of Mysore under the martial Haidar Ali, and not far off were the forces of the Nizam and the freebooting Marathas.

Hastings' time in Madras was short, but he did good service as keeper of the export warehouse. His letters show that he correctly gauged the character and ambitions of the Nawab, who was, he said, "entertaining a rage for the Marathas," and showing "a favourable disposition towards the French." Hastings appreciated the dangers of the situation, but was not then in a position to combat them. He appears to have been popular in European society and to have got on well with the Nawab, who corre-

* Hastings to Laurence Sullivan (Gleig, I., 184).

† Miss Monckton Jones, *Hastings in Bengal*, p. 110.

‡ Forrest's Selections from State Papers—Warren Hastings, II., 66. Compare, too, Barrow's *Life of Earl Macartney*, I., 133 (1807).

sponded with him afterwards. He began a friendship with Macpherson, whose pleasant manners he appreciated; and he must have become acquainted with Benfield. Association with these three men and their surroundings did him no good. On February 2, 1772, he left for Calcutta on promotion. After two and a half strenuous years as Governor of Bengal, he became Governor-General under the limitations of the Regulating Act.

In his valuable book *The Central Authority in British India, 1774-84*,* Professor Das Gupta quotes the words in which Lord North introduced this piece of legislation. "There is one alteration," said the Prime Minister, "which seems to be of great necessity for the Company, that there must be *some*† superiority lodged in one of their Presidents in India *in certain cases* over the others." The power therefore of commencing hostilities and making treaties with Indian princes would be "most properly lodged in Bengal, the great and important seat of the English power in India." Lord Clive, however, pointed out that during a great part of the year the three presidencies were cut off from each other by "a distance of two months" and might not be always able to wait for orders from Bengal, also that if the President of Bengal had in the past been compelled to wait for orders from the Court of Directors "we should not have at this time one foot of ground in the East Indies." It was finally enacted by Section IX. of the Act that the proposed power of control should be exercised by "the Governor-General and Council *or the major part of them*" except in cases of such imminent necessity as Clive had indicated and except in cases where Madras or Bombay had already received special orders from home. Any President and Council who offended against this section would be liable to suspension from office by order of the new Central Government. The Presidents and Councils of Madras and Bombay were to pay due obedience to orders received from Calcutta *in the above connections*. They were also to inform the Governor-General-in-Council of "all transactions and matters relating to the government, revenues or interests" of the Company. Professor Gupta's criticisms of Section IX. are just, but it was exceedingly difficult to give practical weight to Clive's reasonable arguments. After the passage of the Act the Directors instructed the new Governor-General and Council to fix their attention on "*the preservation of peace throughout India*" and on "*the security of the possessions and revenues of the Company*." Thus the tendency was to fix on them big responsibilities and simultaneously to circumscribe their means of discharging those

* Calcutta University Press. The author is Ph. D. London. I have found his work very helpful.

† The italics are mine.

responsibilities. Madras and Bombay, on the other hand, who if war or grave trouble broke out fell back on Bengal for military and financial support, were naturally disposed to assert the large degree of independence which was still legally theirs. Bearing in mind these matters, we will turn to two crises in Madras in both of which Walajah took part.

The course of the Pigot episode (*C.H.I.*, V., c. XV.) is illustrated by some correspondence in the Hastings letters to Macpherson and by quotations from letters and minutes in Professor Das Gupta's book. News that a majority of the Madras Councillors, including the local Commander-in-Chief, had ordered the arrest of their President, Lord Pigot, and had placed him in military confinement reached Calcutta in September, 1776, when the death of Monson was giving Hastings control of his Council. But he still felt insecure, and apprehended recall and the promotion of his bitterest adversary "from a decimal into the integer." Francis would then "run mad and half the people with him." Both Pigot and his jailors appealed to Calcutta; and their quarrel was fully debated by the Governor-General's Council, where it was unanimously decided to refer the issues to the Directors for orders. The Madras Councillors also consulted Calcutta about the disposal of their Governor, suggesting that he should be removed to England, but evidently wishing to avoid the responsibility of this step. "The matter," they wrote, "might affect the peace of the Carnatic, which the controlling powers vested in you by the late Act of Parliament were intended to preserve." The Central Government politely declined the suggested responsibility; but the proposed measure might be adopted if the Madras Government thought fit.† Macpherson had privately informed Hastings that Pigot and his friends hoped to regain power with the assistance of the troops, and that Fletcher, Commander-in-Chief, was "beginning to be troublesome."‡ Pigot was not sent home, apparently because the temporary Government feared that his removal would provoke a violent outbreak. He died in May, 1777, while still under restraint. The attitude of the Central Government was doubtless influenced by a prudent desire to avoid the pitfalls of the Regulating Act and any responsibility for possible riots in Madras, but it was not impressive. Hastings' minutes and letters to Macpherson show that he was probably influenced by correspondence directly or indirectly from Nawab Walajah, who with Benfield had been deeply involved in the conspiracy which had brought about the crash, even

* Letter to Stewart in *Bengal, Past and Present*, quoted by Mervyn Davies, p. 224.

† Das Gupta, p. 42.

‡ Hastings-Macpherson Correspondence, p. 50.

if they were not its originators. Pigot unfortunately endeavoured to suspend colleagues who were obstructing orders from the Directors for the restoration of Tanjore to its Raja, with which the Central Government had been asked to co-operate if required. He thus exceeded his constitutional powers. But even so, in his present plight he certainly merited active sympathy from headquarters and particularly from the Governor-General, who alone there knew Madras. He does not seem to have received sympathy of any kind from Calcutta. Early in 1777 Macpherson, who had properly been dismissed by the Pigot Government for disloyalty,* and was going to England in order to appeal against the sentence and champion the Nawab's claim to Tanjore, offered his services as an agent to Hastings, and his offer was accepted. He was well supplied with cash, and allied himself with Benfield, who had been recalled by the Directors in 1777 for the part he had played in the anti-Pigot conspiracy† and was possessed of wealth which he partly employed in buying seats in Parliament. The pair were elected to the House of Commons, and the influence which they were able to exercise on the Ministry is described by Professor Dodwell. When Macpherson, who had procured his reinstatement in the Civil Service,‡ returned to India in 1781 he came as Member of the Governor-General's Council. His appointment was unique, for never before or since has a Member of that exalted body enjoyed the double distinction of dismissal from the Civil Service and unseating from the House of Commons for bribery.§ It was welcomed by Hastings, whose enthusiasm soon cooled when he discovered what he might well have suspected before, that his new colleague's principal objective was personal advancement accompanied no doubt by distrust of the wisdom of parts of the Governor-General's policy. In more cases than one he was right, for Hastings was suffering from years of strain. It is noteworthy that Benfield, who was also reinstated and permitted to return to India after undergoing trial for bribery, had on February 1, 1781, expressed to Hastings through a third party his extreme anxiety to be united with him "in political friendship," in which he would "make a fair exchange of his force and influence here for your favour and protection in India."¶

The circumstances in which the Central Government on February 26, 1781, directed Madras to demand from Nawab Walajah the immediate transfer of the Karnatak in exclusive assignment for the expenses of the war with Haidar Ali, the deputation of

* See Forrest's *Cornwallis*, p. 5.

† He was reinstated and afterwards permitted to return to Madras.

‡ For details, see Forrest, pp. 5-6.

§ In 1780, not, as wrongly stated by the D.N.B., in 1788.

¶ Introduction to Hastings-Macpherson Correspondence, p. xxiii.

Eyre Coote to the southern Presidency in 1780 with men, money and extraordinary powers, the arrival there of Lord Macartney, a Governor of a refreshingly novel type, his differences with Coote and Hastings have been fully described by Professor Dodwell, who tells us that twice Hastings, if unrestrained by his Councillors, would have suspended Macartney, once when the latter opposed his wish to restore the Karnatak to the rule of the importunate Walajah while it was still largely in the clutches of Haidar Ali, and again when the Governor-General was dissatisfied with Macartney's negotiation of the treaty of Mangalore. I am in full agreement with Professor Dodwell's view that in both instances Macartney acted conscientiously and reasonably. On page 292 *C.H.I.*, V., Professor Dodwell observes that the reasons for Hastings' change of front regarding the assignment "remain obscure, but were almost certainly connected with the necessity under which he thought he lay of preserving the support of Benfield's friends in London." Here again I agree. It may be that Hastings persuaded himself that his motives were justifiable. No doubt they ran into one another. But his conscience was ill at ease even while he insisted on trying to suspend Macartney,* until brought up sharp by inability to carry his colleagues with him. There is reason to suppose that his obstinacy in backing to such extremities the Nawab's desire for immediate reinstatement proceeded not only from hostility to Macartney artfully inflamed by Walajah†, but also from deference to those Madras influences which had obscured his sense of right in the Pigot case. Moreover, he still believed in Benfield's capacity to command votes in the House of Commons and Court of Directors; he was constantly assailed by venomous and unscrupulous enemies in London; he was worn by many conflicts; and with all his great qualities he was human and could sometimes blunder badly. No one knew this better than himself. On the occasion of his impeachment he justly pleaded: "Not only my actions but my words, and even my imputed thoughts, as at the final day of judgment, are converted against me. And from whom is this state of perfection exacted? From a man who was separated, while yet a schoolboy, from his native country, and from every advantage of that instruction which might have better qualified him for the high office and arduous situations which it became his lot to fill." What sustained him throughout his trials was his consciousness of the integrity of his main purposes.

* Hastings-Macpherson Correspondence, p. 179.

† Barrow's *Macartney* (1807), I., 293.

THE INDIAN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

BY AN OBSERVER

THE tremendous vigour with which the Indian National Congress Party worked up the constituencies in their favour in the Provincial elections and the sweeping victories which they gained have made the contest and its results the most remarkable illustration which India has yet provided of the adaptability of its people to electioneering on the Western democratic model. The Congress Party has often been described as the only organized political party in India. Other parties have now had a shattering example of their own neglect to organize in their own behalf. Yet, as we shall presently see, the result is not merely the effect of superior organization.

To point to the energy with which the Congress Party fought their battles in the different Provinces one may well cite the fury of activity in which Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the Congress, engaged. It is calculated that in 130 touring days he travelled some 25,000 miles by rail, 22,000 miles by road, chiefly by car, and 1,600 miles by air, making together 48,600 miles. It is estimated that he addressed not fewer than 10,000,000 people. Loud-speaker vans or local loud-speaker arrangements were almost always provided for him. The size of his meetings was very remarkable. Some are alleged to have numbered well over 100,000 people. His organizers declare that a meeting of 5,000 to 10,000 was regarded as small. Villagers crowded in to see him and hear him. A notable feature of the meetings, especially in Maharashtra and Southern India, was the large number of women attending them. Often, it is said, women formed one-quarter of the audience. Addresses were presented by Municipalities, District Boards, Merchants', Traders', Women's, Students', Peasants', and Workers' associations, as well as by Congress Committees.

The Pundit's speeches are aptly summarized by his private secretary, who in a newspaper article on the subject asks what was his message and answers that it was: "Fight for Indian freedom, to remove poverty, unemployment, social, cultural, and political degradation. Build the Congress up into a mighty army of the entire Indian people struggling against Imperialism for life and culture and for the establishment of Panchayat raj." From which it will be seen that Imperialism is represented as the source of practically every ill and hardship from which the people suffer and that to vote for Congress was commended as for a patent medicine which will surely cure all troubles.

Here is a statistical analysis of the election results in the different Provinces, accurate as far as party alignments can be ascertained:

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

ASSAM.		BOMBAY.	
Congress Hindus	35	Congress	88
Independent Hindus	10	Moslem League	20
United People's Party Hindus	3	Independent Moslems	10
Assam Valley Moslem Party	5	Independents General	22
Surma Valley Moslem Party	5	Europeans, Anglo-Indians and	
Moslem League	9	Christians	8
Independent Moslems	14	Independent Labour Party	12
Proja Party	1	Non-Brahmins	8
Europeans	9	Democratic Swaraj Party	5
Indian Christians	1	Peasants' Party	2
Women's Independent	1		
Backward Tribal	4	Total	175
Backward Areas Hills	5		
Indian Planting	2		
Labour	4		
Total	108		
ORISSA.		CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
Congress	36	Congress	71
Independents	11	Moslems	14
United Party	5	Non-Brahmins	3
National Party	4	Ambedkarites	4
Nominated	4	Nationalists	2
Total	60	Raja Party	1
		Europeans	1
		Anglo-Indians	1
		Hindu Sabha	1
		Independents	14
		Total	112
BIHAR.		BENGAL.	
Congress	95	Congress (including 1 Inde-	
No Party	27	pendent Congress and 2	
Independent Moslems	15	women, 44; Scheduled Caste	
United Moslem Party	6	Congress, 7; Labour Con-	
Europeans	4	gress, 4)	55
Constitutional	2	Independent Moslem	42
Anglo-Indian	1	Proja (Tenants') Party	40
Indian Christian	1	Moslem League (including 2	
Loyalist	1	women)	39
Total	152	Europeans	25
		Independent Scheduled Caste	23
		Independent Caste Hindus	15
		Anglo-Indians (including 1	
		woman)	4
		Hindu Nationalists	3
		Hindu Sabha	2
		Indian Christians	2
		Total	250
N.-W.F.P.			
No Party Moslems	21		
Congress	19		
Hindu-Sikh Nationalists	7		
Moslem Independents	2		
No Party Hindu	1		
Total	50		

MADRAS.		SIND.	
Congress	159	Sind United	18
Justice Party	16	Congress	8
People's Party	1	Hindu Sabha	11
Moslem League	10	Arzad Party	3
Moslem Progressives	1	Sind Moslem Party	4
Non-Party Moslems	8	Hindu Independents	2
Europeans	7	Moslem Independents	9
Indian Commerce	1	Labour Independents	1
Anglo-Indians	2	No Party	4
Others	10	Total	60
Total	215		
PUNJAB.		UNITED PROVINCES.	
Unionists	99	Congress	133
Congress	18	Independent Moslems	29
Akali Congress	11	Muslim League	27
Khalsa Nationalist Party	13	National Agriculturist Party	18
Hindu Election Board	12	Independent Hindus	9
Ahrars	2	Landholders	6
Muslim League	1	Europeans	3
Congress Nationalist	1	Indian Christians	2
Ittihad-i-Millat	2	Anglo-Indians	1
Independents	16	Hindu Sabha	0
Total	175	Total	228

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

MADRAS.		ASSAM.	
Congress	27	Moderates	10
Justice Party	4	Muslim Independents	6
People's Party	0	Europeans	18
Hindu Independents	5	To be Nominated	3
Muslim League	2	Total	37
Independent Muslims	4		
Europeans	1		
Indian Christians (Ind.)	3		
To be Nominated	8		
Total	54		
BIHAR.		CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
Hindu Independents	9	Independent Hindus	14
Muslim Independents	2	Independent Muslims	7
Muslim United Party	1	Congress	2
Europeans	1	National Agriculturist Party	2
No Party	1	Europeans	1
To be elected by Assembly	12	Total	26
To be Nominated	3		
Total	29		
		UNITED PROVINCES.	
		Independent Hindus	21
		Independent Muslims	14
		Congress	7
		National Agriculturist Party	4
		Europeans	6
		To be Nominated	8
		Total	60

The Indian Provincial Elections

BENGAL.			BOMBAY.		
Independent Muslims	...	13	Congress	...	13
Independent Caste Hindus	...	5	Independents	...	7
Muslim League	...	4	Muslim League	...	2
Congress	...	3	Democratic Swaraj Party	...	2
Europeans	...	3	Liberals	...	1
Hindu Nationalists	...	1	Europeans	...	1
Hindu Sabha	...	1	To be Nominated	...	4
For Election and Nomination	...	33			—
Total	...	63	Total	...	30

The first point one notices about these results is that they represent in effect different sections of one All-India election, rather than a series of elections in different Provinces. This arises from two factors. The first is the necessity of holding the elections in all the Provinces at about the same time. To do so was inevitable, in view of the inauguration of the new Provincial Constitution on April 1. When the Constitutions have been working for a while, the defeat of individual ministries will tend to precipitate elections in different Provinces at different times. The other factor giving the elections an All-India aspect is that the Congress Party is an All-India organization and in its policy and propaganda takes no notice of Provincial affairs as such.

The new Provincial Legislatures will all approach their duties with the general policy prescribed for them by the All-India Congress Working Committee in their minds. Indications at present are that they will not refuse to take their seats in their different Legislatures. How, after getting there, they will react to Provincial problems we have yet to see, but for the most part they will come newly to the business of handling them. It was lately announced that the choice of site for the capital of the new Province of Orissa would be left to the first local ministry under the new Constitution. This, if anything, might have been calculated to cause the liveliest discussion in the election campaign. It appears not to have figured in it at all. The disregard of it was typical. An oft enunciated principle is that the candidate and the elected member should accept the creed enunciated by the All-India Congress Working Committee and pledge himself to obey the Committee's orders. Such qualifications as understanding local problems, or for that matter any other problem, is of secondary importance or none. The rout of a large number of non-Congressmen who have real understanding of public affairs merely emphasizes the point.

The first item in the policy, or programme, of the Congress Working Committee is the wrecking of the new Constitution. This includes both the smashing of the new Provincial Constitutions and the prevention of the materialization of the Federal Con-

stitution. In parallel with this, is placed the achievement of complete independence. Mr. Gandhi, in a pronouncement in the midst of the election campaign, stated: "So far as I am concerned, if Dominion Status were offered in terms of the Statute of Westminster, that is, with the right to secede at will, I would unhesitatingly accept it." Some people have joyfully hailed this as an indication that the demand for independence must not be taken literally. But there can be no reasonable doubt about what is meant. The aim is to escape completely from the irksomeness of British control, from the conservatism inherent in the British connection. The ordinary elector knew nothing about the Statute of Westminster when he voted for the Congress candidate.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru has never made any bones about why he wants freedom. What he desires is the overturn of landlordism and capitalism. What he wants is Socialism, and his Socialism is undistinguishable from Communism. Neither he nor other Congress Party managers have ever denied that if the party members entered the Legislatures they should go there to utilize their positions for the assistance of the party's main work, which lies, they say, outside the Legislatures and in the villages. The aim in the villages is to rouse the peasant masses in order to increase the power of the Congress Executive in its fight with Government. Arguments about Dominion Status, the Statute of Westminster and even the Communal Question are treated as matters of no real import compared with this prime objective and the economic and social revolution which it involves.

Before forming an opinion of what the Congressmen are likely to do with the power which the constituencies and the new Constitution have placed in their hands, one needs to study why the electors have given them such sweeping victories at the polls—victories which could not have been secured unless Congress Party candidates had been supported by vast numbers of people whom we did not ordinarily regard as Congressmen at all. That the Congress vote included many people nominally belonging to other parties and large numbers of people who cannot possibly hold the extreme doctrines in which the Congress President and his friends openly believe is no secret. The Congress Party managers have roped in these other voters by organizing what they call "the United Front."

Why have people whose interests and ideals are far different from those of the Congress Party and its plentifully advertised policy voted for a Congress Party raj? I put this question, the other day, to a prominent Hindu business man of Bombay who was expressing his pleasure at the progress which the Congressmen were making at the polls. People like himself, he said, supported Congress because it was the only organized party which

really wanted to bring about reforms. He hoped that they would take office and carry out their programme or compel the Governors again and again to exercise the veto. And what, one asked, was the good of doing that if people like himself approved of the Governor exercising the veto in the particular cases which necessitated it? Thereupon my friend said what an excellent Governor his Province had. He further comforted himself with the assurance that as regards the more extreme measures of economic and social revolution which the Congress proposed, "it will take time before they reach that stage."

There was another Indian whom one questioned. He is a lawyer. Congress in the sub-Province to which he belongs have swept the board. One asked him why. "Because they are anti-British," he said. The reason he advanced for this sentiment was that the British officials about the countryside were not so friendly with the people as they formerly were. "But there are no British officials in your part of India, are there?" one asked. He admitted that there had been none for about 14 years, as the higher appointments there had all been Indianized. "And what were the Congress election slogans in your part?" one asked. "Down with the landlords!" was, he said, their chief cry and by that they meant expropriation. When, he added, the Congress bade people who wanted freedom to vote for them, that was what they were thinking of. And then he broke off and pointed out that "the Sanatanists, which used to be very strong in our part, are absolutely nowhere."

One recalls still a third informant. A Hindu, member of the Servants of India Society, working in close touch with the Indian working classes in all parts of India, he is also a much-travelled man of the world. Said he, "Why is everybody voting Congress?—because they dislike the British. Why do they dislike the British?—because the country wants things done and the British Government, with their tolerance and non-interference, block changes, such changes as social reforms." The Congress have subtly told the people that radical changes are necessary to improve their condition, that the British oppose changes of all kinds because they want to "exploit the people," and that therefore it is only by first getting rid of the British that they can hope to improve their conditions of life. When they say that the British oppose reform, they mean such reform as will enable the poor countryman to escape from his burden of debt and the tenant to be rid of his obligation to pay rent. They have not been half-hearted in their promises of what they will do for the people when they get the power. In Bengal and Orissa they promised the abolition of the permanent settlement. In the United Provinces they promised remission of arrears of debt. Over vast areas

they have pledged themselves to the remission of arrears of revenue and great reductions in, or total abolition of, land revenue. A Congress Socialist paper in Bombay regards the election results as a challenge to caste and the whole social Indian Hindu organization based upon caste.

"There are propagandists in Congress ranks [wrote the Liberal paper *The Leader*, of Allahabad, the other day] whose genius for inventing lies is unsurpassable They believe that everything is fair in love and war and that the end justifies the means Far from educating the illiterate, they have been trying to exploit the credulity of the unsophisticated masses."

A Congress paper in Calcutta rejoices that most of the elected Members are ex-political prisoners. In contrast with this there is little doubt that the sweeping Congress victory in Bihar was mainly the effect of a quite touching appreciation of the personality of the Provincial Congress leader and past Indian National Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad—who is avowedly and loudly opposed to Socialism and against whom and whose party the trusting landlords of the Province therefore organized no particular opposition.

To the general landslide in favour of the Congress, the Punjab provides a shining example of understanding and vigorous Constitutionalism. The Punjabis have a marvellous faculty for rising above their Communal divisions when they have to deal with their public affairs. They have never patiently listened to the disruptive doctrines of the Congress Party during the past seventeen years. Perceiving the reality of the power given to the Provincial Ministries and Legislatures under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, they worked those reforms for all they were worth and by doing so made themselves the most progressive Province in India. In preparation for the inauguration of the new Constitution, their leaders organized a Unionist Party, the name of which sufficiently indicates its character, to assure a continuance and development of the progress made under the old Constitution. For this the Province has largely to thank the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain, whose mantle has fallen upon the shoulders of a worthy successor in Sir Sikander Hayat Khan.

Seven of the Provinces have upper Houses and these, as far as their membership is settled, do not all appear of the same political complexion as the Assemblies in the same Provinces. The Muslims, if they satisfactorily combine, will have a majority and form the Ministry in Bengal. Their line in the Legislature of that Province has yet to be elucidated. In other Provinces, their influence in the new situation is also uncertain.

Throughout India, excluding the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, where the Hindus form minorities,

the Congress leaders are now considering how to proceed. They are in considerable difficulty. Their simple means of wrecking the Constitution would be to make their representatives decline to take their places in the new Legislatures or to form Ministries. But this would leave out of account their promises to the mass of their supporters. The last great trouble between the Congress managers and its followers was when the latter, a few years ago, tired of wandering in the wilderness of non-co-operation, insisted upon the adoption of a constructive policy. The loaves and fishes of office are also hard to resist. The party have it in their power, in nearly every Province, either to form a Ministry without relying upon the votes of other parties or to do so with the assistance of other parties which they dominate. If they take office and honestly endeavour by legislative measures to carry out their election promises, the experience they gain will give them the finest possible practical political education and will, through them, educate their followers. The reserve powers of the Governors will only come into play after they have dealt with the considerable portion of their own party and the other parties whose ideals are different from the Communistic preachments of certain leaders, and there may arise out of the present apparent chaos a new spirit of co-operation, which will be all the better because of its natural growth, and a new understanding of the partnership between Great Britain and the people would be secured. But optimism along those lines is not justified by the position thus far developed, and the outlook will require the wisest and most courageous statesmanship on the part of the Provincial Governors and of the Government of India.

INDIA,

March 2, 1937.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS

LE DROIT CHINOIS, CONCEPTION ET ÉVOLUTION. Institutions législatives et judiciaires. Science et enseignement. By Jean Escarra. (Peking: *Henri Vetch.*) \$18.

For a number of years M. Jean Escarra, legal adviser to the Chinese Government, has made a special study of Chinese Law. He has issued a number of books and contributed articles in different journals on the subject, of which a list is given in this new, handsome volume. This constant and intensive interest has allowed the author to produce a volume of immense importance on the present condition of the country's judicial administration and on its legislation. One may come to the conclusion that, on the whole, Chinese traditions and customs have remained intact, in spite of the numerous new regulations. The Government has not thrown the ancient culture overboard, as the historical and cultural background demand an individual outlook.

The first part of the volume therefore gives an analysis of the fundamental conception of Chinese law dependent upon rites and ceremonies and upon the idea of reward and punishment.

The second portion deals with legislative institutions, prefaced by an historical review and followed by the various modern laws. The legislators had to bear in mind the demands of the Constitution and also the Three Principles of San Min Chu I. The third part is devoted to the organization of the judiciary and also to the prison system.

Considering the difficulty of his task, it is not surprising to find a valuable Bibliography of 50 pages, in Chinese and in European languages, bearing on Chinese Law and Custom. Footnotes abound throughout the work, referring to the sources upon which M. Escarra has drawn. The printing, also, is very creditable; it has been executed by the *North China Daily News*.

RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES AU COL DE KHAIR KHANEH PRÈS DE KABUL.

Par J. Hackin et J. Carl. (Paris: *Editions d'Art et d'Histoire.*) 80 fr.

This work, tome VII. of the *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique française en Afghanistan*, forms a most worthy companion to the previous volumes on Bamiyan and Hadda. The excavations near Kabul of 1934 have laid open a result very different from the earlier work. A temple has been discovered which shows a distinct religious as well as artistic Sassanid influence. In this temple were found a number of statues in white marble, the chief figure of which represents a solar God (on Plate XIV.), a perfect masterpiece of art. It is fully described by M. Hackin. It is remarkable that the god's boots are very much like those still worn at the present time by the Uzbeks and the Turkis. The figures show an art varying between the Greek and Indian ideals. Besides the statues, the chief objects found

were jars and lamps. The plates can only be described as being of the greatest excellence; they show the site, the three sanctuaries, the work of excavation, the statues, and some pieces of pottery. M. Carl has provided three plans of reconstruction of the sanctuary which should in their ancient form excite the admiration of the present-day architect.

L'ANCIENNE CANALISATION D'EAU D'ALEP. Par S. Mazloun. (*Institut Français de Damas.*)

The French Institute of Damascus has just added a capital new volume to the Documents d'Etudes Orientales dealing with the Ancient Canalization of Aleppo. Like the previous volumes in this series, the work of M. Mazloun displays the conscientious care of French Oriental scholarship. It is a happy sign of the times that sound research is making headway in the Near East. The learned author takes us back to the Greco-Roman period, when canalization took place or was resumed, although Arab writers, such as Ibn Sina, maintain that it began under St. Helena, the mother of Constantine. We know, of course, that canalization existed in Babylon and Mohenjo-daro, and it is not unlikely that it was also known in Syria in the oldest times. M. Mazloun gives a short history of its development, and also an account of its distribution, its organization in town and country, as well as its legal system. The author has added different documents in Arabic and French showing what were the rights of the beneficiaries of legal disputes, with their judgments by the Sultan or his Kadis. These judgments as well as the lists of beneficiaries are given on separate plates. The maps tracing the canalization show the great care which the author has taken, and the excellence of the printing done at Beirut.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1937

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE CINEMA IN INDIA: ITS SCOPE AND POSSIBILITIES

BY DEWAN SHARAR

To understand the part that films play in the life of the Indian people, a glimpse at their history is necessary. In the early days of motion pictures all the films shown in India were imported. But she soon began to make her own; and though the first of these indigenous products were tentative and unskilled, they were warmly received. The very first Indian film to be produced was *Harishchandra*, in 1913. The industry grew—awkwardly, perhaps, at first; hampered by very many difficulties and drawbacks; but it kept on undaunted nevertheless, and all the time improved perceptibly.

In 1927-28 the Government of India appointed an Indian Cinematograph Committee to investigate the state and potentialities of the growing film industry in India. It carried out its task thoroughly and with the greatest success, making the most exhaustive enquiries, and putting many valuable suggestions and recommendations before the Government. Unfortunately, these—with the single important exception of a rebate on imported educational films—were not taken up. Since then, owing to the introduction of the talking film, the conditions of the film industry have altered greatly, and only a few of the conclusions reached by the Committee would apply today.

In India, the advent of the talking picture made a difference even more revolutionary than it produced in the West. This was largely due to the language problem. The majority of the films

then being shown in India were still British, American, or Continental. The silent films, being of necessity obliged to tell their story satisfactorily in dumb show, with no more help than a few captions, were equally comprehensible to all beholders, of whatever nationality. But the introduction of the spoken word altered all that. At least half the story was now told by the dialogue and not the action. This inevitably spoiled the enjoyment of the vast number of uneducated or semi-educated Indians who understood no language but their own. Add to this the age-old and insistent canon of Indian art that any play, no matter what the manner of its presentation, should include songs—and it will be seen how great a demand was instantly created for films made specially to the requirements of purely Indian audiences. This meant films constructed in obedience to the laws of tradition, showing Indian people speaking in their own tongue and behaving in accordance with their own standards.

INDIAN SOUND FILMS

Such a demand inevitably created a supply. The film-producing companies already in existence—they were not many—after waiting a little while to make sure that the innovation was likely to be permanent, turned their attention to talking films; and other people, realizing how profitable a prospect lay within their reach, hastened to take advantage of it also. The tremendous success and popularity of *Alam Ara*, the first Indian sound-film to be produced, was a great stimulus to the Indian film world. New companies sprang into being with great rapidity, some well capitalized and equipped, others less so, but nearly all goaded by the same urge—to make as many Indian pictures as possible, as quickly as possible, and sell them to the eager market.

That was seven years ago; but the situation is much the same today. Speaking broadly, it does not make for the highest quality of pictures. True, there are serious-minded companies in existence, both large and small, which are wise enough to combine art, sincerity, and a business sense, and proceed unhurryingly to give of their best; and the pictures they create are outstanding—so far as India is concerned. Moreover, they have found markets not only

in their own country, but in Burma, Ceylon, British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, East Africa, South Africa (where there is a considerable Indian population), the West Indies, the Fiji Islands, Mauritius, and Aden. But the fact remains, and must be faced, that as yet no entirely Indian picture, produced in India, with Indian directors, actors, and technicians, has been good enough to be sold and shown in the West.

It will be seen, then, that the Indian motion-picture industry has made a good deal of growth, but very little progress. It *has* progressed, of course. Not long ago, on the Indian stage or screen, women's parts were played as a matter of course by boys or even young men, because acting was considered a shameful profession for women. Possibly the influx of European and American films has been responsible for the partial breaking down of this prejudice. Even now, however, most of the Indian women who appear on the screen are drawn from the dancing-girl class. A few notable exceptions are those of special films in which cultured Indian ladies have consented to appear.

While films of poor quality have sufficed and still suffice the uneducated masses, who are not critical, it is obvious that they will not satisfy educated Indians, whose artistic tastes are high. Moreover, it must be remembered that the indigenous product has ever since its inception been shown side by side with American and British films, mostly of very high quality. The respective reactions of the two types of Indian audience are interesting. The illiterate filmgoer prefers a bad Indian film to a good imported one, because he can understand it all. The educated filmgoer compares the two, not without regret, and would immeasurably rather see a *good* Indian film than either. Unfortunately these, judged from the accepted standards, are still rare. In this connection it is significant that at the recent elections in India, when Congress decided to have a film made for the purposes of propaganda, they so far disregarded their own slogan of "Swadeshi" (that is, literally, "Indigenous products only") as to give the order to an American firm.

TRAINING AND ORGANIZATION

The reason is emphatically not lack of ability. The ability is there, but it needs organizing, training, and guiding into the proper channels. Perhaps the most important of these needs is training. The Indian motion-picture industry is suffering from a grave dearth of skilled technicians. We have in India a wide variety of scenery—beautiful, dramatic, intriguing, strange—we have a land full of ancient and magnificent buildings, unmatched elsewhere; we have a storehouse of history, legend, and literature which is a veritable treasury for the screen writer. We have women beautiful enough, young men handsome enough, and older folk with enough character depicted on their faces, to compete with any film stars of the Western world; all capable of fine acting, given the right directors. But unhappily good technical directors are scarce in India, and so are good camera-men, scenario-writers, electricians and printers and cutters. There is also a lack of organization, in particular of properly organized capital.

It is sad but true that a good many young men with a few thousand rupees to invest in a career go blithely in for film-producing because it looks easy (the other man's job always does); and it seems to promise fun. To those who succeed—as, without any particular justification, they are quite sure they will—it offers large, quick rewards in money and fame. They do not realize until too late that they not only need an artistic sense—sometimes they start without even that—but also technical qualifications and experience. So they either fail, sometimes tragically, or they struggle along, making pictures only suited to the indiscriminating; or in a few cases they succeed within certain narrow limits. Enthusiasm is good, but it is no substitute for technical knowledge.

Therefore, until recently, American and British films have predominated in India. I am now informed on credible authority that the proportion is changing, and that lately the number of Indian films shown in India has been at least equal to that of the American or British.

Of the two last-named, the majority are American, because America has been much more active on the business side than the

United Kingdom, especially in the past. A chain of American film distributing agencies, elaborately organized, and staffed by resident representatives, runs right through India, and has been established there for years. Until comparatively recently most of the British firms have been content to leave their distribution to these agents, without employing a single direct representative of their own. As a result, British films have been, and still are, notably in the minority; in 1935-36 only 2,500,000 feet of exposed film were imported into India from Great Britain, as compared with 4,500,000 feet from the United States. Happily there are signs that British producers are beginning to awaken to this state of affairs, and to realize the unwisdom of neglecting so large a market; but unfortunately the awakening process is still very slow. It must also be remembered that they have much to compete with. I wish it were possible to encourage them by some measure of Government protection or Imperial preference: especially as the output of American films is so much greater than England's. I understand that America's total yearly production is between seven and eight hundred films, as compared with at the most a hundred and fifty to two hundred in the United Kingdom.

There is a constant and growing demand in India for good British films, in spite of the advantage gained by the Americans over so many years. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Generally speaking, I think, British films are easier for Indian audiences to understand. For one thing, they present a more understandable world. Indian people know the Englishman; they and he have lived together for a long time; and, in the case of the upper classes, live in precisely the same style; and even those who do not share the same mode of living are—apart from the folk in remote villages—accustomed to his outlook, his reactions to life and its contingencies, his design for living.

The American, on the other hand, with his totally different mental processes, his behaviour, which is liable to appear irrational, and his frequently startling manners, is sometimes difficult of comprehension. So, on occasion, is his language, which in films dealing with lower-class American life often diverges so widely from the English tongue, what with its slang, its pro-

nunciation, and its differing use of words, as to make considerable portions of it bewildering even to English people. Another important reason why Indian audiences prefer British films is that the latter are definitely more restrained in depicting love-scenes. Indians—especially Indian women, whose modesty is proverbial—do not like violent or prolonged love-making on stage or screen; they prefer such matters to be touched on with delicacy. Nor, incidentally, are scenes laid in American law courts, with their travesty of justice, bullying of prisoners, and uproariously-behaved counsel, in harmony with either Indian or British conceptions of the law and its administration. On the other hand—and quite apart from their excellent quality and high entertainment value—American films have the advantage of giving their audiences a glimpse and more than a glimpse of the life and culture of another country; this in addition to England.

In this connection it may be noted that in the days of silent pictures Continental productions were plentiful in Indian cinemas. Since the advent of the talking film there are practically none. All the educated classes in India read and write and speak English, which is their *lingua franca*; and it is understood in speech by a growing though still very small proportion of the ordinary people. The percentage familiar with French or German is, from the exhibitor's point of view, so small as to be negligible. Undoubtedly the English film is a valuable means of teaching the English language.

VAST POSSIBILITIES

The truth is that the film industry in India is still in its childhood, if not its infancy, and needs the right kind of nurture at its present stage of growth. Given this, it should before long be more than worthy to hold its own internationally, and eventually to occupy a position not unworthy of the unique place which Indian art holds in the artistic world.

Nowhere are the scope and possibilities of the cinema greater than in India. I do not mean from the entertainment viewpoint alone, though that is an important one. Recreation is a necessity for everyone, and in India the people who need it most—the

worker who has toiled hard all day, the housewife whose life is sequestered and uneventful, and others who have little money to spend on amusement—are not catered for as they are in England. But as a means of instruction, of fostering the appreciation of art, and of promoting inter-racial understanding, there is no medium to compare with the film, supposing its potentialities to be properly explored and used. Moreover, its full exploitation is no mere Utopian dream. On the contrary, so vast and eager is the market, it could and should be a thoroughly practical paying proposition.

The principal needs of the Indian motion-picture industry are two: first, trained directors and technicians, as I have said; secondly, cinemas. It is a fact that there is still a notable shortage of picture houses in India. The big cities are adequately supplied; indeed, some are over-supplied; but the small provincial towns have few or none; while many of the people of the 700,000 villages in India have never seen a talking picture; some have never even seen a moving picture of any sort. The reason for this is that most Indian cinemas are run by individual enterprise, and the majority of people with capital to invest are shy of risking it in what they consider to be an uncertain sort of venture. There are at present in India 110 film-producing concerns, 99 distributing concerns; the capital invested is about £3,750,000; and 25,000 people find employment. Yet a recent figure shows that the number of cinemas in the whole of India is only 670, as compared with over 4,600 in the United Kingdom.

PROVIDING CINEMAS

I have two suggestions to make with regard to the industry. One is, that it would be well worth while for some well-established British firm to turn its attention to India, where the market is so large and the opportunities are so great.

The first thing to do would be to co-operate with the municipal corporations and governing bodies of each Province, and build a circuit of first-class cinemas in the important towns. This calls for less outlay than might be supposed, since the cost of building is far less in India than it is here, land, labour, and materials

being cheaper and more easily obtained. A super-cinema could be erected in any provincial town at approximately one-tenth of what it would cost in England. These cinemas would be used for showing both British and Indian films; the firm's own products side by side with the best of the current Indian pictures, thereby meeting the needs of the picturegoer, and augmenting both their own and the Indian firm's market.

At the same time this enterprising firm would be setting up studios in India, there to collaborate with the best of Indian talent, combining their own technical skill with the artistry and beauty of the Indian side, making pictures to be shown at their own and other cinemas and, in many cases, exported as well. There would be unlimited scope for pictures of purely Indian appeal as well as those featuring both British and Indian artistes.

A further branch of the business would be the important one of catering for the villages where cinemas are unknown and many of the inhabitants have never seen a moving picture in their lives. Here a fleet of vans, fully equipped with the means of setting up a temporary cinema—marquee, screen, projecting and sound apparatus, etc.—in charge of competent operators, would be necessary. The potentialities of this sideline alone are greater than English people realize. It is, of course, nothing new in India; it has been carried on for years, but to a surprisingly small extent, owing mainly to the vastness of the country.

INDIAN SUSCEPTIBILITIES

I have no wish to minimize the difficulties with which such a firm would meet. They are many and great; but none of them are insuperable. Perhaps the most formidable is the problem which confronts every film-maker in India—that of catering correctly for *all* Indian tastes, and avoiding offence to Indian prejudices. The name of the latter is legion. There are racial, caste, and, above all, religious susceptibilities to be considered. No screen story is proof against them. They permeate history, they crop up in modern everyday life. What delights one section of the community may be the deadliest insult to another. Not only

Western producers—who cannot, after all, be expected to understand all the ramifications of the Indian social system—but enlightened Indian producers who ought to know better, have fallen victims to this abiding danger. Sometimes they have done it through no fault of their own; sometimes they have brought it upon themselves.

There are many ways in which an enthusiastic, short-sighted producer (or playwright, or novelist, or journalist, or anybody else, for that matter) can incur the strong resentment of some or all the Indian people. One way is to fall foul of the tangle of religious and social intricacies, which are best left alone. Another is to tamper with history. There was once a good silent film called *Shiraz* dealing with the story of the Taj Mahal. Unfortunately, those responsible saw fit to alter the facts to suit their own purpose (making the builder of the Taj fall in love with the Empress Mumtaz Mahal was one of their brain-waves), and the film had to be proscribed in consequence of the outcry against it. An instance of the unwisdom of treading incautiously on sacred ground was the film *The Light of Asia*, dealing with the life of Buddha. An almost entirely Indian production, it was shown in England with great success, but gave such deep offence to the Buddhists that it was banned in Burma and Ceylon.

This is fully understandable when one remembers that in most religions, including the Christian faith, there are many who feel it something of a profanation to portray sacred figures on the screen. The Muhammadans, who form nearly one-fourth of India's population, are particularly susceptible in this matter. The Hindu religion, on the other hand, provides something of an exception to this rule: films depicting legends of the gods, goddesses, and saints—treated, of course, with accuracy and the utmost reverence—are extremely popular, especially among the older and more orthodox folk, and also the unlettered masses, whose piety is great. The younger generation of townfolk is much more modern in its outlook; and though its members go to see religious films out of a sense of duty, they prefer British or American films, pictures of social life, and Indian-made musical comedy films. Indeed, the "musical," that typical product of

the West, no sooner reached the East than it settled down there and became naturalized.

The enormity of contrasting European and Indian characters to the derogation of either, or of ridiculing either, or of making either in any general sense the villain of the piece, is too glaring to need enlarging upon; and in such cases the censor would quite rightly intervene. Another less obvious pitfall for the film producer in India is the fact that the age-old inter-communal feuds between Hindu and Muhammadan are as inflammable as celluloid, and a chance incident in a picture, showing either side in an unfavourable light, may, so to speak, set a match to them—sometimes with disastrous results, including riots and even bloodshed. There is only one means of insuring against these and similar blunders: and that is, for films dealing with any aspect of Indian life to be made only under the strict supervision of at least one Indian fully informed in the main facts and able to consult, if need be, the adherents of any religion or community concerned.

CO-OPERATIVE EFFORT

It will be seen, then, that the possibilities of the film-producing industry in India are enormous. At the same time I am emphatically *not* recommending that it should be taken up and developed wholly by non-Indians. The manifest unfairness of this exploitation of their own country at the expense of the Indian film-making firms would be bound to arouse bad feeling, to say the least of it; and might even lead eventually to a boycott of the intruders' films and picture-houses. The solution is that of equal co-operation between Englishman and Indian. Fairness to both sides might be safeguarded by legislation if necessary; though somehow I do not think that this would be necessary.

My second suggestion is one which I should dearly like to see carried out: namely, Government assistance. This assistance could take many forms. A Government subsidy or system of loans would, of course, be the greatest possible boon and also the greatest possible stimulus to the trade—which, it must be remembered, is of great national importance. Another help would be grants to promising students to give them a thorough training, at

the British studios, in the technical side of film producing. I should also like to see a Department of State or, if that is too much to hope for, a Bureau attached to one of the existing Departments, designed to aid and encourage the Indian film industry in every possible way, both advisory and practical.

And in England, what invaluable work could be done by an Empire Film Board working in conjunction with important organizations such as the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society, and with the Trade Departments of the various Dominions! London, as the metropolis of the Empire, would have to be the headquarters. The Board would act as a clearing-house for the best purely entertainment films produced in all parts of the Empire, and also for educational and commercial films from the same sources—travel and other interest films, and films showing how the different Empire products are produced and marketed.

WHAT THE FILM CAN DO

The immense power of the cinema, either for good or evil, is so well known that reference to it is a platitude. But I do not think it is fully realized in this country how great that power is in India, where great masses of the people are still illiterate and therefore especially impressionable. There was much talk a few years ago about the harm done in India by certain types of Western film, notably those depicting over-vehement love-scenes, raising social and marriage problems, and throwing sidelights on divorce, etc.—to say nothing of films which glorified the criminal. All these were calculated to encourage crime and vice and to lower Western prestige in the Indian mind. This was often true; fortunately, a wise censorship in the Presidency towns and in each Province has seen the danger, and while not unreasonably stringent, bans or efficiently cuts films likely to cause mischief.

On the other side of the picture is the cinema's power for good. Again, nowhere is its scope greater than in India. The most obvious example is the educational film. The uses of such films are almost unlimited, above all in so vast a country, where the great mass of the people are illiterate. I do not mean schooling

alone, though the film can help tremendously there. But—as is already being done to an increasing extent under Government auspices—the film can be an incomparable medium for imparting knowledge of hygiene, agriculture, home industries, rural reconstruction, methods of dealing with illness or accidents, and similar invaluable information. I should like to see this matter taken in hand still more thoroughly by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Public Health, as well as by the local governing bodies, who could arrange for the films to be produced by Indian companies. Here again the travelling cinema can come into its own and serve the remote and isolated villages.

Moreover, the educational film—and, even more, its near relative, the news-reel—is the best of all vehicles for propaganda. Here is the simplest and most acceptable means of promoting goodwill and understanding between Indian and English, between governors and governed, between different religious sects and racial communities; as well as for combating subversive political propaganda, and setting the true facts before the eyes of the people. The importance—indeed, the urgency—of this point cannot be over-estimated.

Another important aspect of the cinema is peculiar to India: namely, its value as a factor in the cause of national unity by the use of a common language. As we know, in the greater part of India most educated Indians are bilingual, speaking English and Hindustani; the uneducated Indian speaks his own local dialect, of which there are a great number. But since all of these are variants, to a greater or lesser extent, of either Hindi or Urdu—the two languages which together make up Hindustani—it follows that he can almost always understand Hindustani in some degree. There is therefore a growing movement among educated Indians to accept Hindustani as the universal language of the country—a consummation which would go far towards breaking down inter-communal barriers and uniting the peoples of India. Here the cinema is already proving a most valuable ally, and could be used to still greater advantage in this connection.

Let us endeavour to make the noblest possible use of so great a

power as the cinema. There is nothing to compare with it, even remotely, as a means of familiarizing the peoples of different nations and races with one another, of revealing each to each in their daily life, of interpreting their ideals to each other, and of drawing them into closer touch and bringing that mutual knowledge which is the doorway to world-wide understanding and friendship and the realization of universal brotherhood.

The cinema can be a most powerful force in any cause; let us make full use of it for the promulgation of peace, the welfare of people and nations; and—an end which is dear to all our hearts—the promotion of increasing and, eventually, complete understanding between the peoples of East and West.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 13, 1937, when a paper entitled "The Cinema in India: its Scope and Possibilities" was read by Mr. Dewan Sharar. 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:

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 Thomas Smith, Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and Lady MacLagan, Mr. John de La Valette, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Lady Bennett, Lady (James) Walker, Mrs. Weir, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. G. W. Dawson, Dr. A. A. Bake, Dr. A. A. Puri, Dr. and Mrs. M. L. Kalra, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Wilmot, Mrs. B. D. Berry and Mr. Berry, Mrs. Gray, Mr. A. H. Chowryappah, Mr. K. B. Talookdar, Mrs. Mahomed, Mr. T. P. Fernandez, Mrs. Helen R. McCallum, Mr. and Begum Sadiq Shah, Miss Batlivala, Miss A. R. Caton, Miss Speechley, Mrs. Anne Kalka, Miss MacLagan, Miss Hawarden, Miss Carter, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Miss L. M. Gunter, Madam Norah Lee, Miss Q. Reynolds, Miss Longhurst, Begum Shakir Mohamedi, Dr. C. L. Katial, Mr. W. Gordon Rayner, Tikka Gurbachand Singh, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is a great honour for me to be asked to take the Chair this afternoon at what, I think, is going to be a very interesting talk by Mr. Dewan Sharar. He is a member of a well-known family in the Punjab, and has been connected with the Indian stage and screen for the past eighteen years. He was the first Indian graduate of Northern India to form a repertory company, and he toured India with it, himself writing and producing nearly twenty plays. (Applause.) He is the author of *Karma*, the first all-Indian talking film, which had, as you remember, a very successful run in the Marble Arch Pavilion three years ago, and it was he who directed the Hindustani version. Three of his plays, especially written for the radio, have been broadcast by the B.B.C., and during his stay here, in addition to many short stories in daily papers, he has published a volume of Hindu fairy tales and a novel, *The Garden of Sheba*, which was very well received indeed.

He has acted in an advisory capacity to the Gaumont-British Picture Corporation in two of their recent important films, *East meets West* and *His Lordship*, in which Mr. George Arliss played the leading rôles. So you see there is no one better qualified to talk to us upon this subject.

Mr. DEWAN SHARAR: I had the pleasure of meeting the Chairman for the first time only a few minutes ago; but I knew of him and of his illustrious

father, Sir Montagu Butler, and uncle, Sir Harcourt Butler. These two are known and remembered throughout India as great administrators and great gentlemen. When our esteemed friend, Mr. Brown, informed me that Mr. Butler had consented to preside over the meeting, I was delighted. I can assure you, sir, I feel deeply honoured at your being in the chair this afternoon.

Now a word about my paper. By pure coincidence I received last week three invitations to attend special film shows, all dealing with India. These were the Press presentation of *The Elephant Boy*, the exhibition of films at the Empire Tea Marketing Bureau, and a reception given by the Trade Commissioner for Mysore, at which a film was shown depicting the capture of wild elephants. The enthusiasm with which these were received went to strengthen my conviction that the films of India have a very real and universal appeal in the West, and most of all in England. This encourages me to hope that the following pages, dealing with the cinema in India, will hold something of interest for both English and Indian listeners.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure I am voicing your feelings when I express your thanks to our lecturer this afternoon for a talk which I think in its scope and possibilities—which is part of its original title—is really remarkable, and for a paper which has been constructed with very great care in every detail. Very often, when a paper is constructed with such care, it lacks the human touch, but you, sir, have held our interest throughout this afternoon by the colourful manner of your presentation of your case and by the humanity with which you approach a subject in which we are all deeply interested.

I should like in my capacity as Chairman here today and from my position as a member of the Government to appeal to the British film industry to co-operate with Indians in developing the vast and as yet almost untouched market which India provides.

You, sir, mentioned various figures and told us that there were 670 cinemas in the whole of India—of which only about 450 showed Indian films—as compared with the figure of 4,600 cinemas in this country. You also reminded us, nevertheless, that the capital invested in the Indian industry is about Rs. 5 crores, and that the number of people engaged in it is 23,000. These figures show that the Indian industry, although not nearly as large as that of the United States, a country of an approximately equivalent size, where there are 20,000 cinemas, at least has made a start, and that for the future it has every advantage on its side.

You have pointed out that the Indian people have no lack of artistic talent. They have a most beautiful country, providing a variety of scene which perhaps no other country can rival.

I have always thought myself that the cameraman in the past, at any rate in the West, has been wrong to go always to the indoor studio, where he has to compete with the theatre, whereas if he goes outside to the realm of Nature, the theatre cannot compete with him. Perhaps the tropical mystery of the scenes in *Elephant Boy* will tend to encourage a movement which will

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depict themes from the epic past of India in the open-air beauty of her country, where drop-scenes and studios, and indeed, as you have reminded us, stars are ready-made.

What is now needed is the technical skill which British industry can provide. You, sir, have asked for further Government assistance. Well, let me deal with that for a moment. I am glad to say that the Government of India has reduced the import duty on raw films by 5 per cent. from April 1.

But apart from that I must remind you that under the new Constitution this department will be a provincial one, and that the responsibility for the development of the Indian cinema industry will rest with the various Provincial Governments. I think it is apposite for me here to draw a moral from this. I do not think that many Indians have realized the immense scope that there is in Provincial Government. This is just one example of the complete freedom which will now be in the hands of Provincial Governments to develop this vital aspect of the Indian cinema industry.

The great educational possibilities presented by the cinema, especially in a country where the population is largely illiterate, will, I am sure, not be neglected by future Indian Ministers in the responsible government of their various provinces, and if they miss this opportunity I think it will be a great pity.

The development of broadcasting in India has been carefully fostered by the Government, but the influence of the cinema may in many cases be used in that country to even greater effect. "Seeing is believing," and nowadays the talking film appeals to the ear as well as to the eye.

Well, sir, let me thank you again for your very interesting lecture. To show you that the Government has taken an interest in the industry, and always does when it is approached, I appeal again to the British industry to help you, and I hope that Indian Ministers will take advantage of the opportunities which you have been describing to us in your paper.

Now I should like to read to you letters from the leaders of British industry which have been sent this afternoon. I will read them in full because they raise most interesting topics. They illustrate the very great esteem in which our lecturer this afternoon is held.

Mr. VICTOR PEERS (Production Manager, Gaumont-British Picture Corporation) wrote :

"I have read through the paper entitled 'The Cinema in India : its Scope and Possibilities,' by Mr. Dewan Sharar, with great interest.

"One or two small points have struck me, however, as needing some comment. Mr. Sharar says that in India there are some beautiful women and handsome men and folk with enough character depicted on their faces to compete with any film stars of the Western world. I am quite sure that Mr. Sharar will appreciate that the character depicted on a face is not enough in any country to make for film stardom, but that it is the character within the artiste which is capable of being drawn out by the director which is the essential factor.

"Again, in his remarks about the film *Shiraz*, he expresses as his opinion

that it is a mistake to tamper with history. Here, again, I personally disagree. History in any case is but the description of events as seen or understood by one particular person, but my real point is that, provided the tampering with history does not destroy its entertainment value, but, on the contrary, enhances it, the general film public are not affected in their allegiance to any film. Although I am no authority on such matters, one remembers considerable criticism about the film *The Private Life of Henry the Eighth* on account of its historical inaccuracy, but this did not prevent the film from being one of the greatest successes made in this country. In the case of *Shiraz*, I believe that its unpopularity in India was not due to the distortion of history, but that the distortion did not find favour with a large section of Indian opinion.

"I have had some experience in India with film production and I most heartily endorse Mr. Sharar's remarks about co-operation. This is needed, I believe, more than anything else, and therefore I particularly feel that his suggestions for grants to students for training in British studios and a bureau to encourage the Indian film industry in both an advisory and practical form would be invaluable.

"For the rest, Mr. Sharar, I am sure, understands the problems infinitely more than I do, and I am sure that his remarks will be as interesting to the members of the Association as I have found them myself."

Mr. GORDON W. G. RAYNER (General Secretary, Associated Talking Pictures, Ltd., and Associated British Film Distributors, Ltd.) wrote :

"I have just had the opportunity of discussing with Mr. Basil Dean, the chairman of my three companies, the opinions, suggestions and hopes so admirably set out in your paper, which we have both read with interest.

"Mr. Dean has asked me to assure you that the policy which our companies have adopted from the start is in itself an endorsement of the underlying principles contained in your paper, conscious as they have always been of the enormous power of the cinematograph film in the numerous ways you suggest.

"My companies would therefore welcome, not only some measure of State protection or Imperial preference as you suggest, which would enable them justifiably to expand their distribution activities, but also, and even more so perhaps, any co-operative scheme by which the resources and wealths of our respective countries and industries could be pooled and utilized so that more and more of the films shown on British screens throughout the Empire shall be *British* films with all the ideals that definition implies."

Mr. ROBERT FLAHERTY, the producer of *Elephant Boy*, wrote to Mr. Sharar :

"I have just read your paper entitled 'The Cinema in India,' which you are going to read tomorrow before the East India Association. I believe that the possibilities of making films in India is tremendous. They must be made by Indians themselves. No other country, save perhaps the Russian Empire, has such a diversity of people. There is one way, and one way only, in which to do it and that is through a medium which is the only medium of expression common to the whole world, the cinema.

"One thing, it seems to me, is particularly urgent. Some provision should be made so that Indians could be enabled to learn whatever we, here in the West, know about making films both as to story and technique. Some very good work has already been done by Indians and India, but the number of Indians in India engaged in film work in relation to the vast population of the country is very small. Everything is in the future and a great future it has."

Dr. A. BAKE: I agree fully with the lecturer as to the good the cinema can do in India. I have often seen at village fairs the travelling cinema showing the way to fight malaria, cholera and the other evils which threaten Indian village life, and teaching under the guise of an easily comprehensible story the principles of hygiene and so on to the illiterate villagers.

But there is one consideration which the lecturer has not mentioned, and that is the value of the cinema in making a record of those customs that are fast vanishing in India itself. One person has already done a great deal of work in that direction—I mean Mrs. Sten Harding, who has devoted years of intensive study and great personal sacrifices to make a record of the vanishing art of classical dancing, especially in Southern India, such as was practiced in olden days by the temple girls, which modern life is gradually eliminating. Also, in a further widening of that field, the cinema can show a great many customs in village dances and so on, which have a great importance in the cultural life of the people of India and which are bound to vanish. A record of these can be made by judicious and skilful filming.

This record is naturally of scientific value, but we all know how nowadays in India the interest in the life of India as it has been for very many hundreds of years, is widening and strengthening, and how from Indian life itself an impetus for a renaissance is gained. Consequently, if filming is taken up on a broad enough basis in India, the contribution the films can make to the strengthening of Indian national life by a faithful record of those customs which have been alive for so many centuries and are now threatened with destruction cannot be overrated.

So I am very thankful that the lecturer has drawn attention to the good work of the cinema, and I think if these things are included in cinematographic activity in India, "the promotion of increasing and, eventually, complete understanding between the peoples of East and West" (to quote his last sentence) will be greatly furthered.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK: I am very glad indeed to be able to join in this tribute to the lecturer, who in more than one direction has performed a very signal pioneer service to his country.

Unlike me, I think, however, he has not recently been to India, because if he had been I think he might have drawn a rather more optimistic picture of the actual technical situation there. It was three years, nearly four, since my last visit, and on both of those occasions I took the opportunity of going, when in Bombay, to see and hear some of the Indian films as distinguished from the Western films. I was tremendously interested in and greatly encouraged by what I saw on this latter occasion, and I think if

Mr. Dewan Sharar had actually seen a film that I saw recently in Bombay, in which a former colleague of his, Devika Rani, took part, he would have been immensely encouraged in his view both of the general progress and of the technique of Indian film production.

There was one thing, however, that I noticed, and no doubt it would be taken note of by those who are concerned, and that is the actual effect of a picture upon a looker-on and a member of the audience. I do not think there has been sufficient care taken, at least not in the theatre where I went—which was one of the most prominent in Bombay—as to how the thing actually strikes on the ear. It is no use, it seems to me, having a very fine picture that in fact grates upon the ear, even if it charms the eye, because it is much too loud for the size of the hall. That kind of thing, I think, would have to be very carefully considered in any matter of theatre technique.

There were two or three other matters that were dealt with in the course of the paper to which I should like briefly to refer.

One was with regard to the question of the distortion of history or the modification of it. There is such a thing, of course, as putting history in a wrong perspective, but I do not think there is much to be gained by sticking exactly to what tradition gives us unless we are able to fill up the gaps. The average man is not particularly imaginative, and it is difficult for him to carry forward the whole story of what is, after all, a very slight theme unless it is filled in with detail which must largely be left to the imagination of the authors of the film. But I do agree that a great deal of care will have to be exercised in the possible effect of these changes or additions lest an entirely different impression should be caused.

I have recently in my professional capacity been asked to advise in regard to a certain book published in this country relating to a very interesting episode in Indian history of the last century. The author is personally known to me, and I saw the script before it was actually published. It did not seem to me that there was anything at all offensive in it; on the contrary, it struck me as being a fine work of art. But I was surprised on this visit to India to be told that it had caused in local circles the very strongest offence. It really indicates how careful producers would have to be in dealing with religious or historical subjects.

I was particularly interested in what the lecturer has said with regard to the value and use of the educational film in Indian villages and rural development. I think there is no doubt that what the ear receives by way of the radio has to be very largely added to by what the eye can see. What one hears but does not see can very often be a matter of mystery and misunderstanding, but where one sees the thing as well as hears what its subject is, it is a matter of very great advantage, it seems to me, from the point of view of the education of the average villager.

There was one passage in the early part of the lecturer's paper which I think should be amplified a little. He says: "But the fact remains, and must be faced, that as yet no entirely Indian picture, produced in India, with Indian directors, actors, and technicians, has been good enough to be sold and shown in the West."

Of course, there would be the language difficulty. If he is referring to a film in the English language, that is another matter. I cannot pretend to judge about that, but I can see that there would be considerable difficulties about producing in the West a Hindustani play, particularly if, as the lecturer himself points out, it has to have a musical accompaniment and song. It would be difficult to reproduce that in the West, and if it had to be translated there would be still greater difficulties. I think that is a matter to which he might perhaps direct his attention. (Applause.)

Mr. G. W. DAWSON: I should like to congratulate Mr. Dewan Sharar most sincerely upon the excellent composition of his paper, its clarity of expression, its comprehensive scope.

I worked in a Government department out there directly on film production for five years. I notice Mr. Dewan Sharar did not refer to the fact that there actually was a Government department dealing with films. The department produced over eighty films, concerned mainly with the work of the beneficent departments of films designed to show the people what the Government was doing for them—such films as *The Desert Awakes*, which dealt with the Canal Colonies of the Punjab, the reclamation of the desert round Montgomery, the Lloyd Dam in Sind; how ten million people were going to be put on the land and desert soil brought under cultivation greater in area than all the cultivated land in Egypt.

The difficulties in the producing of those films were very much the same as Mr. Dewan Sharar has pointed out. For example, the film on *Cattle Improvement in India* was produced at the Government Cattle Farm, Nagpur, in co-operation with the Agricultural Department. Having been produced in Nagpur, we soon found it was not acceptable in other parts of the country. It was shown at Karnal in the Punjab to peasant people, men concerned with cattle themselves, who, one would imagine, would be interested in learning how the men of the Central Provinces tend their cattle and improve the breeds, but when the picture appeared on the screen all around one heard the remark from these men as they got up to go, "This is foreign." It seemed strange to hear Punjabis talk of anything produced in the Central Provinces as foreign. But they did not want to know what the people in the Central Provinces did, and we had to take that film off the screen at once.

That is one indication of the many difficulties Mr. Dewan Sharar has dealt with this afternoon. The language difficulty is, of course, a great one. It limits the marketability of a commercial film (with sound recording in a vernacular tongue) to a very confined market. The gross revenue is comparatively small; the expenditure must be commensurate, except in films appealing to Western audiences like *Bengal Lancer*, *Elephant Boy*, *Light of Asia*, where a large expenditure is justified by the gross financial returns. My authority for that is Mr. Ardesir Irani, one of the best producers in India, the head of the Imperial Film Company in Bombay, which I consider to be the best producing firm in India. He said he never spent more than 10,000 rupees, at the most 20,000 rupees, on a film. His reason was that he had so limited a market for his films that the market for them did not justify an

expenditure of more than 10,000 to 20,000 rupees. That is an infinitesimal sum compared to the monies poured into American and English films. By the expenditure of large sums first-class brains are obtained, men who understand film production, men who are capable of thinking in terms of moving pictures. There are few people in this world capable of composing ideas into moving pictures. Flora Annie Steel once handed me four attempts of her own to write scenarios. They were pathetic. As an authoress she had a brain; as a scenario writer she had no brain at all. The same might be said of almost all big authors. There are very few creative minds in this world capable of using moving pictures as a medium of expression.

I was surprised that Mr. Dewan Sharar made no reference to the fact that in India the Government had run six cinema cars on railways, and that shows were given to six million people during a period of about five years until the talkie film came in, when it was found expenditure would have to be so great and the conditions had altered to such an extent that the work was dropped. At that time economy was the order of the day.

But even in my time, before I retired, the difficulty was faced of endeavouring to train Indians in the production of films, not only Indians, but Englishmen. We found that if they did not possess, inherent in themselves, that particular quality, a creative ability which is entirely different from administrative ability, they were useless. You must have men of creative ability, of imagination, insight, and particularly of that type of insight and imagination that goes to the making of good films. When you realize that a man of imagination and creative ability like Noel Coward makes an income twenty times as big as that of the Prime Minister of England, you realize that men of creative mind can command big salaries. If you want good films, you have to employ highly paid men. The difficulties of producing outstanding films are great, and even though you produce them in India, you have not the public in India, because it is divided up into many different provinces. There are many varying ethnological entities. They differ in their likes and dislikes, their outlook, their requirements, their essential needs. Those differences are cogent.

I, for one, doubt whether Hindustani would ever be understood all over the sub-continent of India. The conditions in India are different from what they are in America.

The best way of reaching the people is through the railways with travelling cinema cars giving open-air shows in the warm nights nine months of the year. The rains last only three months of the year. You can give open-air shows for the rest of the year.

The Government had done in India, up to the time when talking films came into being, a great deal. As regards the tourist attractions, we had films shown in America, and we have had our films showing the beneficent work of Government Departments shown at the Imperial Institute and elsewhere.

A great deal has been done. I have no doubt a great deal more can be done, particularly for smaller audiences of two hundred, with 16 millimetre substandard films at far less expenditure on production. In that way I have no doubt a great deal of propaganda work could be achieved, but

behind it all lies the necessity for creative brains and creative ability, men who can think and express ideas in terms of moving pictures. If possible they should know India, or be Indians themselves. In any case they must co-operate with Indians.

Dr. A. A. PURI: The last speaker has suggested one or two points that I should like to refer to. I think that, years ago, the Government did very useful propaganda work through films for the benefit of the rural population, during the cholera and other epidemics, and thereby tried to explain and show the difficulties of these epidemics getting round; and that was a very useful piece of work. But it is very difficult to popularize, in a thing like that, the film industry.

We are discussing the commercial part of it; and what I understand Mr. Dewan Sharar to suggest is that the Government should help the growth and progress of the industry in the way it has patronized other industries in India.

I agree that there is very great scope for very useful work, but I do not agree with the last speaker that cheap films produced by Bombay are the only kind that would be appreciated in India. Perhaps his informer wanted to emphasize the monopoly of the Bombay industrialists, who have been so far keeping all the educated technicians out of this industry, so that not many people should come and spoil their monopoly. There is no prejudice, so far, against *pardesi* or foreign films in India.

We are grateful to Mr. Dewan Sharar, who started years ago to reform the theatre in India, and who, after that, has been trying to help the Indian film industry in a practical manner, not only with his brains, but his pocket also. I wish we could see, very soon, realization of a suggestion that he has made. Although I have not been to India recently, I agree with Mr. Polak that there have been great improvements made. But still there is a great scope for Mr. Dewan Sharar's suggestions to be tried.

Mr. DEWAN SHARAR: I am extremely pleased to find that my paper has evoked so much interest. I am particularly grateful to our Chairman for his very kind and encouraging remarks. I am grateful to the gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion, and I am also thankful to the three film chiefs of the three most important British film-producing concerns for the interest they have shown.

With regard to Dr. Bake's advocacy of the recording of classical dances, etc., I would remind him that many Indian films are full of classical dancing, folk lore, folk song, festivals and fairs.

In reply to Mr. Polak's query as to whether films with Hindustani dialogue will have any appeal in the Western market, it would be worth while (in the case of really good pictures) to make an English version of the dialogue; or, as in the case of some continental films, to have English titles superimposed on the film. Regarding Mr. Polak's remarks based on his recent visit to India, I have mentioned in my paper that there are pictures which are of outstanding merit, and although I have not been to India recently, I have had a copy of a very recent address by the President

of the second All-India Cinematograph Convention at Madras, in which he very frankly admits and deplores the poor progress of the Indian film industry.

As to what Mr. Dawson said regarding the Indian railways film department, I am fully aware of the importance of it—indeed, I myself supplied several entertainment films to more than one railway company—but as I was only touching on the matter briefly, I intended the phrase “commercial films” to cover these and all such activities and did not think it necessary to specify any particular department or firm.

It has been suggested that the character depicted on a face is not enough in any country to make them suitable for film stardom. Well, if it is not sufficient, then how did the phrase “casting to type” come into existence?

It has been suggested on my remarks about the film *Shiraz* that provided tampering with history does not destroy the entertainment value, all is well. I can quite see that this applies in England, but I was talking of India, where matters are very, very different. Among Indian audiences the entertainment value of a picture goes for nothing if the audiences find that their beloved and revered historical personalities are misrepresented on the screen or held up to insult.

My critic compares *Shiraz* with the *Private Life of Henry the Eighth*. Henry VIII. was hardly such a revered character as the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. Showing her as the beloved of the builder of the Taj Mahal would be more like depicting Queen Victoria involved in a love affair with, say, Mr. Gladstone. (Laughter.)

Sir JAMES MCKENNA: The pleasant duty falls to me of expressing our thanks to the lecturer and Chairman.

I must say that I think we all agree that Mr. Dewan Sharar's paper, apart from anything else, is most delightfully written and that the case he has put before us has been a very powerful one for the development of the cinema in India.

Its importance has been considerably augmented by the professional opinions which he has managed to extract from the three big men of the film industry in London, combined with a very straight-from-the-shoulder criticism by Mr. Dawson who has had some practical experience of the cinema in India. It is a most useful paper, and I think it might with advantage be brought to the notice of the new Provincial Governments to see what help they can give in the matter.

As to our Chairman, we almost look on him as a regular attendant at the meetings of the East India Association. If he is not in the Chair, he is in the audience, and we are very grateful to him that in spite of all his many preoccupations as Under-Secretary of State for India, he can spare the time to come to our deliberations.

INDIA AND QUEEN VICTORIA

BY DR. COLLIN C. DAVIES

(Reader in Indian History, University of Oxford.)

IN striking contrast to her immediate predecessors, Queen Victoria accepted her great inheritance as a sacred trust. Of all her possessions India appealed most to her imagination, and her interest in its affairs grew out of a natural and conscientious desire to ensure that the position of her Empire should not in any way be impaired in the eyes of the world. Possessed of great physical and mental energy, she applied herself to the work of government with unrelenting perseverance, and, early or late, she was to be found toiling at her desk laboriously studying every detail of administration. In grave crises her undaunted spirit triumphed over all obstacles; and, when her ministers and advisers seemed to lose heart or grow weary, she infused into them something of her own courage and energy.

For the first twenty years of her reign British India was under the rule of the East India Company, though, since the days of the Younger Pitt, the Company had shared sovereignty with the Board of Control. Her Majesty's reign opened with that melancholy piece of folly, the First Afghan War, the responsibility for which must be shared between Lord Auckland and the Board of Control. The conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier in 1843, and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus made it co-terminous with the territories of the independent Pathan and Baluch tribes of the North-West Frontier; brought the British into closer contact with the Amir of Afghanistan, or, as he was termed in those days, the Amir of Kabul; and eventually led to complications with Russia in Central Asia. British India had now attained its natural limits, for on the north-west the political and geographical frontiers roughly coincided.

The India of the Company perished in the conflagration of the Mutiny: from its ashes rose, Phoenix-like, the India of the Queen. At first this country's foreign relations were determined by European responsibilities, the legacy of the gigantic struggle with Napoleon, but in the years that followed the security of India became an increasingly important factor influencing British foreign policy. As far as India was concerned her reign has been aptly described as one of conquest, consolidation, and conciliation. It witnessed a centralization under the Crown made possible by the rapid development of communications after 1858. It also witnessed the fixed resolve of educated Indians to secure a larger share in the government of their country. Perhaps it would not be far short of the truth to assert that the most precious legacies of the Victorian era were the legal codes.

Lord Melbourne, Baron Stockmar, King Leopold, and the Prince Consort undoubtedly influenced the Queen in the beginning of her reign; and it would be entirely erroneous to make any attempt to minimize the influence of her beloved consort, for the systematic organization of the business brought to her notice was one of his greatest achievements. Even after his death she never seriously attempted to overstep the rôle of influential counsellor which he had mapped out for her. Indeed, he truly described himself as "the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the royal children, the private secretary of the Sovereign, and her permanent minister." The real personal influence of the Queen therefore dates from 1861, for from this time onwards, if the editors have not garbled or judiciously pruned her letters, we notice the growth of a more independent attitude. Where formerly independence had been foreign to her nature, and where her opinions had often been merely the echoes of her advisers, she now pertinaciously pressed her own opinions on the notice of her ministers. The most casual reader of her voluminous correspondence would not doubt the genuineness of her interest; and, in a person of her exalted position, interest rapidly merged into influence. The power she possessed can only be fully realized when it is remembered that none of her ministers exercised supreme responsibility for more than six consecutive years,

whereas the Queen was never out of office. Mr. Gladstone was well aware of this when he said :

"The acts, the wishes, the example of the Sovereign in this country are a real power. An immense reverence and a tender affection await upon the person of the one permanent and ever faithful Guardian of the fundamental conditions of the Constitution. . . . Parliaments and Ministers pass, but she abides in lifelong duty; and she is to them as the oak in the forest is to the annual harvest in the field."

THE PROCLAMATION OF 1858

The assumption of direct government by the Crown after the Mutiny was the occasion for a Royal Proclamation, since it was realized that something more than an Act of Parliament was required to make the new Constitution acceptable to the princes and peoples of India. The draft proclamation, which was the work of Lord Stanley, asserted the power of Britain with needless brusqueness; it was lacking in imagination; and failed to emphasize the religious character of the Sovereign. It did not therefore meet with the approval of the Queen, who was determined that it should clearly set forth her personal interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects. Never was the influence of the Crown under Victoria used to greater advantage. She reminded Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, that it was a female sovereign who spoke to more than a hundred million Indian subjects on assuming direct control over them at the close of a bloody struggle. Since the peoples of India were as deeply attached to their religious beliefs and customs as she was to her own, she insisted that it should be clearly laid down that they were to be protected in the exercise of their religious observances. The proclamation was to breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration. Very wisely Lord Derby recast the proclamation in accordance with her wishes.

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and

we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."

To the peoples of India the Crown gave an assurance that neither race nor religion should debar them from employment in the government of the country. The actual wording of the declaration was that

"so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

Henceforth fitness was to be the criterion of eligibility. But the phrase "so far as may be" was open to many interpretations and partook of the nature of a safeguard, which more than forty years later Lord Curzon utilized in argument in his Legislature. To the princes, the Crown relinquished the right, recently enforced by Dalhousie, of resuming their territories on the failure of natural heirs. To all her Indian subjects the Queen proclaimed her deep personal concern in their welfare.

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

It is sometimes pointed out that certain of these pledges had been made in 1833, but it should be remembered that the Mutiny had left bitter memories in its wake. That these pledges were reiterated in 1858 is a clear proof of the statesmanship and foresight behind this august proclamation. The hour of victory was not to be the occasion for repressive legislation. If possible, no remembrance of past wrongs was to embitter relations between the two peoples in the future. From this date the development of India's national aspirations begins, for educated Indians undoubtedly took this proclamation seriously. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at Birmingham on January 31 last, testified to the strength of feeling with which even to this day the proclamation is entertained by Indians. At the Round Table Conference there were few passages quoted with more authority than those parts of the proclamation for which Queen Victoria had been directly responsible. Indeed, nothing is more marked than the persistence with which in all political argument by Indians,

certainly up to 1919, the proclamation was quoted and the demand made that effect should be given to it. The sincerity of the Queen is apparent in one of her earliest letters to Lord Canning.

"It is a source of great satisfaction and pride to her to feel herself in direct communication with that enormous Empire which is so bright a jewel of her Crown, and which she would wish to see happy, contented and peaceful. May the publication of her Proclamation be the beginning of a new era, and may it draw a veil over the sad and bloody past!"

THE QUEEN AND THE SERVICES

One of the most important questions after the Mutiny was the reorganization of the military forces in India. Lord Canning, the Viceroy, favoured a system, advocated many years before by Sir Thomas Munro, of a local European force enlisted for permanent service in India. This, it was argued, would be more economical and more fully at the disposal of the Government of India. Canning's proposal was supported by certain members of the India Council, who, taking the view most favourable to their own power and patronage, submitted an elaborate minute to the Queen in which the expediency was maintained of leaving the India Council to act upon "the long-established rules" of their predecessors at India House. The Prince Consort, who undoubtedly had great influence over the Queen at this time, pointed out in a well-argued memorandum that this appeal would have come with more effect if the years 1857 and 1858 had not afforded ample proof of the melancholy results of the old system. The Queen announced to Lord Derby her firm determination not to sanction the creation of a British force distinct from what was then known as the army of the Crown, for it would be dangerous to the retention of India, especially in times of emergency. Moreover the evils of a divided control had already revealed themselves and had made it necessary to merge the powers of the Company in the Crown. Although Lord Derby threatened to resign, the Queen eventually gained the day and the British forces in India were amalgamated with the home army under the nominal control of the Crown. The infantry became regiments of the line; and the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Artillery, and

the corresponding corps of Indian Engineers, were amalgamated with the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. Queen Victoria therefore played an important part in ensuring that the Indian army should be an imperial force and not a local militia.

We have seen how tenacious the Queen was of the royal prerogative and how she was always on her guard lest it should be refined away by legislative enactments. She considered the introduction of competitive examinations for appointments in the Indian Civil Service as cancelling the Crown's power of nomination to posts which carried with them a delegation of royal authority. On this important point she had to admit defeat. She once more reverted to it in 1891, when she recommended that appointments to the Indian Civil Service should not be confined to successful competitors in an examination. Her views on this subject, which did not prove acceptable to her ministers, can be read in her published letters. In Lord Lansdowne's opinion her pronouncement on the Manipur outrage was an unfounded criticism of British residents, and it was thought that she had been influenced by her Indian munshi, Abdul Karim, who was in constant attendance upon her.

"You may assure Her Majesty" [wrote the Viceroy to Lord Cross] "that I am as anxious as she can be to place in charge of the native states men who are conciliatory and tactful, as well as firm. . . . I regret that Her Majesty should have formed what seemed to me an unjust opinion of our Residents as a class, and I think that she should be cautioned against accepting *ex parte* statements upon this subject."

These views were shared by Lord Cross.

Queen Victoria fully realized the value of pageantry and ceremonial; and her wish that the ceremonial of Government House should be observed to the utmost was loyally, if not excessively, carried out by Lord Curzon, the last of the Victorian Viceroys. She played an important part in the introduction of an official uniform for members of the Indian Civil Service. The question was first mooted, in 1861, by the Lord Chamberlain, who intimated to the Secretary of State Her Majesty's commands that "information and suggestions should be obtained from the Government of India with a view to the establishment there of a Civil Service uniform according to the system lately adopted in Her Majesty's Colonial Service."

But the Council of India did not see their way clear to imposing this expense on the members of the Indian Civil Service. Although it was not until 1899 that an official uniform was prescribed, the question was not held in abeyance during the whole of this time, for it was raised on several occasions, usually by the Viceroy of the time. The last occasion on which the question was raised by a Viceroy prior to 1899 was under Lord Lytton in 1879. Lord Lytton pointed out to Her Majesty that there was no check upon the sartorial fancies of the Indian Civil Service, for any sort of uniform was worn at the viceregal levees and dinners. Official functions must have resembled a fancy dress ball, for every variety of private dress was worn, some favouring trousers, others, more elegant, venturing on knee-breeches. The ladies added to this incongruous and undignified display by attending the drawing-rooms "some," as Lytton writes, "in trains, others in long, others in short dresses." The question, as we have seen, was not finally settled until 1899. In 1902, King Edward VII. permitted the Indian Civil Service to wear their uniform at Court functions in this country.

From the beginning of her reign, the Queen insisted that the granting of honours was part of the royal prerogative, and objected to the powers exercised by the East India Company. In her opinion it was not advisable to maintain two fountains of honour in the realm; and, during the Second Sikh War, she suggested that the Company should merely send a sword to Major Herbert Edwardes as an appreciation of his services. "The highest dignities and titles ought to proceed directly from the Crown at the Viceroy's recommendation" was her reply to Canning's suggestion that Indian orders should be at the direct disposal of the Queen's representative. Sir Charles Wood's query whether letters of thanks to two hundred Indian civilians who had not been thought deserving of the honour of C.B. should run in her name or in that of the Government called forth a characteristic reply. Since the C.B. came directly from the Sovereign, so should the thanks, for the civil servants were the Queen's servants and not the servants of the Government. By way of completing ceremonially the connection between the Crown and India she

recommended the establishment of a new order, the Star of India, as a reward for those Indian princes who were loyal to her rule and for Indian officials who rendered conspicuous service. The first ceremony took place at Windsor Castle on November 1, 1861, when the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, Lord Clyde, Sir John Lawrence, General Pollock, and Lord Harris were invested with the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. On her assumption of the title of Empress a new Order of the Indian Empire was created and a new Imperial Order of the Crown of India was established as a decoration for ladies whose position and work for Government called for recognition.

CONCEPTION OF HER DUTIES

The reading of history was one of Queen Victoria's greatest delights, and there could have been no more fitting preparation for the great rôle she was to play. The year before her accession we find her reading Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, which she considered of great interest but at the same time expressed the opinion that it would be well to draw a veil over certain episodes. This was a shrewd judgment, for Malcolm's devotion to his idol was a love passing the love of biographers. Nothing strikes the reader of her letters more than the diligent care with which she applied herself to her duties as a monarch. From the very first she took the keenest pleasure in filing and indexing the correspondence addressed to her. Many volumes of letters published and unpublished bear witness to the patience with which she kept herself informed of the minutest details. India was ever in her thoughts, and as her Empire expanded she felt with an increasing depth the anxieties and responsibilities inseparable from her position as Empress.

As far back as 1844 there are indications that she was not to be trifled with, for she begged Lord Aberdeen to send the despatches from the Foreign Office a little sooner as drafts had reached her in some cases a week or a fortnight after they had actually been sent abroad. She insisted that the practice of the India Office should conform to that of the Foreign Office and gave orders that copies or a précis of the minutes of the Council were to be regu-

larly transmitted to her. Towards the end of her reign she drew Lord George Hamilton's attention to these minutes, which contained so much unnecessary information that she was unable to form an accurate opinion on Indian affairs. Since these minutes were merely a formal record of the Council's proceedings, it is astonishing that the system was tolerated almost throughout her reign.

We have it on record that there was not a single proposition relating to the reorganization of the military forces in India after the Mutiny which was not laid before her and discussed before any decision was arrived at by her ministers. She allowed no detail to escape her and strongly resented the attitude of Lord Stanley, who as Secretary of State for India was somewhat lax in his correspondence with her. In these early days no promotion above the rank of colonel was made without a written explanation to the Queen; and in all questions of honours and appointments she took great care to secure the selection of the right man. Ministerial recommendations were never allowed to pass without the closest scrutiny, and she frequently raised objections which were sustained as valid.

When Lord Ellenborough was approached to accept the Governor-Generalship he feared that his health would not be equal to the unrelenting and laborious duties which would devolve upon him. Neither was he by any means anxious to go to India, since it would have meant forfeiting a lucrative appointment of £7,500 a year. But, when Peel showed Ellenborough the Queen's letter, in which she expressed the opinion that he was the fittest person for that difficult position, he decided to accept. After Dalhousie's resignation she expressed her astonishment that the name of his successor had not been brought to her notice until all official steps had been taken. When Mr. Vernon Smith referred to the right of the Directors of the East India Company to nominate a Governor-General subject to the approval of the Crown, she readily acquitted him of any intentional disrespect but regretted that no opportunity had been afforded her of discussing this important question before the intention to recommend Lord Canning had become known to all concerned. She immediately

protested when an attempt was made by the Opposition to cancel Lord Mayo's appointment, even if he should have sailed, for she felt that the recall of her representative would weaken her authority in India. It will be remembered that a precedent existed in the case of Lord Heytesbury, who had been removed to make way for Lord Auckland, but Heytesbury was merely a Governor-General of the Company, whereas Mayo was the Viceroy of his Sovereign.

Apparently it was the Queen who first suggested to Lord Salisbury the name of Lord Lansdowne as successor to Lord Dufferin. Again, had she been able to influence Mr. Gladstone in 1893, Lord Elgin would never have proceeded to India as Viceroy. These examples of her interest and influence could be multiplied. The Queen was loyally served by her Viceroys throughout her long reign. They laboured steadfastly to carry out her behests and she stimulated and encouraged them by letters of tender sympathy for the people committed to their care. Lord Curzon, for example, received letters from her in her own hand every two or three weeks.

During the Mutiny the Queen considered that her ministers had failed to grasp the gravity of the situation and that they were not taking military precautions adequate to the emergency. Palmerston resented this advice and wrote with unbecoming sarcasm how fortunate it was for him that she was not on the Opposition side of the House of Commons. But Palmerston was wrong and the Queen was right, and it was due to the direct action of the Sovereign that reinforcements were poured into India at this critical juncture. Lord Canning in his policy of conciliation had no stronger supporter than his Queen, for she felt no hatred, and her sole desire was to see her Indian subjects contented. She refused to countenance reprisals at any time and noted with pleasure in 1867 that the barbarous suggestion of the Commissioner in British Burma to burn the village of Malacca in revenge for the massacre of a ship's company had been vetoed. At the same time she expressed her fear that British policy was not based on Christian principles. "It is not the first time," she wrote, "the Queen has lamented this tendency on the part of Englishmen in the East."

Because of her staunch support of his Afghan policy Lytton was prompted to write :

"She is really a better Englishman than any of her subjects, and never falls short in a national crisis, when the interests and honour of her empire are at stake."

We therefore find her during the first months of Mr. Gladstone's second administration urging him to press the war to a successful conclusion, for she feared that after the defeat at Maiwand, adequate efforts would not be made to retrieve the disaster, and she proved her anxiety by inspecting the troopship *Jumna*, which was proceeding to India with reinforcements.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

She drew Lord Northbrook's attention to the great importance of encouraging cordial relations between Englishmen and Indians. Apparently there was at the time some need for this reminder. There were in those days great difficulties militating against freedom of social intercourse. Caste prejudices and the seclusion of women played their part, and the memory of the Mutiny still rankled in the bosoms of both Englishmen and Indians. It will be remembered that it was the Prince of Wales who wrote to the Queen protesting against the attitude of certain English officials, especially those in the Indian States. When an English barrister practising at Agra by ill-treatment caused the death of an Indian groom, for which crime he was merely fined fifty rupees, Lord Lytton, with the consent of his Council, published a minute expressing his condemnation of the inadequacy of the penalty which met with the full approval of the Queen.

There can be no doubt that her sympathy with the sufferings of her Indian subjects was genuine. During the famine of 1874 Lord Northbrook received frequent communications expressing her deep sympathy with the people and her earnest hope that adequate measures would be taken to remedy this dreadful calamity. She was also greatly grieved when accounts reached her of the famine in Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton.

It was only natural that a female sovereign should take a special

interest in the welfare of Indian women. Before Lady Dufferin's departure from England the Queen had spoken earnestly to her on the question of endeavouring to relieve the sufferings, in sickness and child-bearing, of the women of India. Before she took this step there had been sporadic attempts to provide hospitals; yet, taking India as a whole, there was a lamentable lack of such services and great need of effective organization. On her arrival in India Lady Dufferin's efforts resulted in the formation of an association at Simla under the name of "The National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India," of which the Queen became the Royal Patron. This was the origin of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, which has proved a priceless boon to millions of Indian women and which really owed its inception to Queen Victoria. It is interesting to note that Lady Dufferin lived to take part in the celebration in London of the Golden Jubilee of her fund.

The Queen, as is well known, was no supporter of what she termed the "mad, wicked folly of Women's Rights." "God created men and women different," so runs a passage in one of her letters, "then let them remain each in their own position." She did not therefore believe that Indian women should be "over-educated," for it might lead to their reading objectionable European literature, or to the imitation of that growing freedom of manner which she deplored in Western women.

THE QUEEN AND THE INDIAN PRINCES

From her accession the Queen had regarded the Company's government as an anomaly and always encouraged her Governors-General to correspond directly with her. The assumption of direct control by the Crown was welcomed by the Indian princes, for there was a vast difference in their eyes between a Governor-General acting in the name of a commercial corporation like the East India Company and a Viceroy who acted and spoke in the name of the Queen. A fresh emphasis was therefore laid on the duty of loyalty to the Sovereign, which was an express condition attached by Lord Canning to the grant of the right of adoption of heirs. So far as the princes were concerned nothing was more

marked in the years that followed than the growth of a devoted loyalty to the person of the Crown.

There are indications that the Queen desired to have disputes between the princes and the Government of India settled by some form of judicial tribunal, for, in 1859, we find her asking the Secretary of State for India whether some procedure could not be devised for dealing in a more judicial manner with cases in which a State was threatened with sequestration, in order to "secure the Queen from acts being done in her name which might not be entirely justifiable, morally as well as legally." But, despite the efforts of Sir Charles Wood, nothing was done at the time.

Her acceptance of the imperial dignity was greeted with enthusiasm by the princes, sixty-three of whom (including our honoured Chairman today) were present at the imposing durbar of January 1, 1877, when Lord Lytton announced her assumption of the title of Empress. Her willingness to receive Indian princes was another trait which won for her their affection and esteem. She was deeply interested in the affairs of Prince Dhuleep Singh, the son of Ranjit Singh, and she pleaded with Lord Dalhousie on behalf of Prince Ghulam Muhammad, the last surviving son of the once dreaded Tipu Sultan. Her special interest in the Indian States continued to the end of her reign, and almost her last act was to approve of Lord Curzon's scheme for recruiting an Imperial Cadet Corps from the Indian aristocracy.

THE CROWN AND INDIA

The earliest proposal that the Queen should assume the title of Empress came from Lord Ellenborough, who in January, 1843, suggested that the princes and chiefs of India would be proud of their position as the feudatories of an empress. Ellenborough further contemplated the conversion of the Mughal palace at Delhi into a fortress and residence for the Governor-General when in the Upper Provinces. This suggestion, coming as it did before the Mutiny when there was still a descendant of the Great Mughals at Delhi, would have meant inducing the Delhi family to resign their title, for it would have been incongruous to have attempted to reconcile the Mughal title of *Padishah Ghazi* with

that of *Fidei Defensor*. The suggestion that the Queen should assume the title of Empress of India was also made in 1858 and had much to commend it, for it would have been natural for the Queen to have claimed the same supremacy as had formerly been vested in the Mughal Emperor. She always secretly hankered after this title and, in 1873, approached the India Office, but nothing came of it. It seems probable that she was led to take this step by re-reading Ellenborough's suggestion when Lord Colchester asked for leave to publish his father's correspondence with Her Majesty. In 1876 the proposal was once more revived at her suggestion by Disraeli, who realized that it was a necessary step to strengthen the bond between Britain and India. Disraeli assured the House of Commons that the new title would only be employed in India as *Kaisar-i-Hind*, but, despite his assurances, it was not long before the Queen signed herself "Victoria R. and I." in English documents of State; and, in 1893, the words "Ind.[iæ] Imp.[eratrix]" were engraved on the British coinage.

In the seventies of the last century Russophobia became even stronger than it had been in the thirties, for Russia was no longer the distant power she had been in the days of Lord Auckland. It was this Russian advance across the steppes of Central Asia which made the assumption of the new title peculiarly appropriate, for it declared to the whole world that she was the personal head of a great Asiatic Empire, a position which could never with honour be abandoned. It was an announcement to the Indian world that Britain was prepared to uphold and protect her Empire in India. Two years later, when there were rumours of war with Russia, Lord Lytton was able to report that there had been a remarkable demonstration of loyalty on the part of the Indian princes, who had been anxious to place their troops at the Queen's disposal. Some of the opposition to the Royal Titles Bill was caused by Disraeli's neglect to consult the Liberal leaders as had been the custom in the past in order to minimize controversy over matters affecting the dignity of the Crown. Otherwise it is difficult to sympathize with the criticism which the proposal provoked. Disraeli justified his policy in the following words:

"It is only by the amplification of titles that you can often touch and satisfy the imagination of nations; and that is an element which governments must not despise."

In the first half of Victoria's reign neither the British people nor those in authority over them appear to have been enthusiastic about their overseas Empire. But the last years of her reign saw the growth of a strong imperialist sentiment and the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897 were primarily imperial. A striking example of the Queen's attachment to India was the selection in 1887 of two Indians as personal attendants, one of whom was appointed her munshi to instruct her in Hindustani.

Nowhere does the monarchy play a more important part than in the sphere of imperial relations. Many are the forces which bind the Empire together. Self-interest, weakness and fear of foreign aggression, equality of status amongst the component parts or the knowledge that such a pledge has been given, community of interests and ideas, all play their part. But the most vital link of Empire is the person of the Sovereign and the Crown. Otherwise the centrifugal tendencies in this heterogeneous Empire of ours, comprising different nations and races, divided by space and civilization, by religion and language, would be too strong. Moreover, without the Crown it would be necessary to formulate definitely the relations between the various parts. Loyalty to the ruler is a deep-rooted Indian characteristic, and any attempt to boycott the Coronation ceremonies in India would not only be a gesture entirely alien to the traditional courtesy ingrained in the Indian character, but it would be at variance with Indian regard for kingship throughout the ages. Until the reign of Victoria no prince of the Royal Family had ever set foot in India; and the growth of a sentiment of personal loyalty was in no small measure due to the gracious way in which the Queen and her sons fulfilled the promises she had made to her Indian subjects in 1858. She never saw India, but a knowledge of her sympathy with its peoples swiftly spread throughout the length and breadth of that great sub-continent, and even in her lifetime she became almost a legendary figure in the villages. Indeed, this personal bond

between India and the Throne may be found, "when other supports crumble, to provide a rock of salvation."

Queen Victoria died on January 22, 1901, at the age of eighty-one. Her reign had lasted sixty-three years and seven months, and was only exceeded in European history by that of Louis XIV. who reigned for seventy-one years. Remarkable as were the achievements of the Victorian era in this country, they differed in degree rather than in kind from what had been done in the past. The progress of India and the consolidation of three hundred millions of peoples into a great and peaceful Empire was unique in the history of the world. Though never privileged to visit her Indian Empire, Queen Victoria somehow understood its people intuitively and her sympathy conquered distance. It was therefore natural that when she died all India should mourn, for she had always been thinking of her Indian subjects, trying to learn their language, sympathizing in their sorrows, and inspiring her Viceroy and officials. All these things the peoples of India remembered. But transcending everything was the simple love of millions for the royal widow who had reigned over them so long, for her fidelity to the memory of her consort struck a particular chord of sympathy in the hearts of all Hindus. Everywhere men realized that a great Queen and Empress and a woman of unassailable rectitude had departed from their midst.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at India House, Aldwych, W.C. 2 (by kind courtesy of the High Commissioner for India), when a paper entitled "India and Queen Victoria" was read by Dr. Collin C. Davies. H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair. Some two hundred and fifty members and friends attended the meeting and were subsequently entertained to tea by the High Commissioner.

At the conclusion of the paper H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda said:

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: We cannot help but admire the manner in which Dr. Davies has treated his subject. He has marshalled his facts in a masterly manner and presented them to us easily and clearly. In certain expressions of opinion one may differ from him, but that, however, is not a matter with which we are concerned this afternoon. We are all agreed that Dr. Davies deserves the utmost thanks from all of us for an excellent lecture.

My personal contact with the British Royal Family dates back for nearly 62 years, but the contact of my family is still older. That began with the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to India, when one of my predecessors had the pleasure of meeting him in Bombay. I remember as a small boy hearing the story from various sources of how the Duke of Edinburgh was received in Bombay and of all the ceremonial that had to be gone through. This was, however, before I came into existence.

My first contact with the Royal Family was when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) visited Bombay in November, 1875. I was only a boy of 12, but I still have vivid recollections of the brilliant spectacle and the scenes I witnessed there. I remember, for example, how the Prince of Wales disembarked from the steamer and made his way through a vast crowd of spectators. I remember, too, how he was met by the Viceroy and many high officials in their resplendent uniforms. Several Indian Princes dressed in their colourful clothes, turbans and jewels, were standing by the side of the Viceroy gazing at the spectacle and anxiously waiting to welcome His Royal Highness. I remember also some of the disputes that arose about precedence and how they were settled.

Shortly after I first met His Royal Highness in Bombay, he paid me a visit in my house there and gave me some very nice presents, ornaments, watches, snuff-boxes and the like. In accordance with custom I gave presents in return. After a few days' stay in Bombay the Prince decided that he would like to visit Baroda, and we had to hasten back to do our utmost to make arrangements befitting his position. It was not altogether easy, for at that time conditions in India were very different from what they are today. We were not then so much in touch as now with European life and its requirements. However, the officers in charge did their utmost. One thing certainly satisfied His Royal Highness and that was the shikar, pig-sticking and other sport we were able to provide him with.

After that I was present at the Delhi Durbar on January 1, 1877, when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. That, too, I remember perfectly well, and I can still picture the different Princes and dignitaries, the lovely jewels, beautiful brocades and other types of dresses that the Indian Princes wore. There were many fine soldiers, well built and with stalwart figures. It seems to me that there has been a great change in the physique of the Indian peoples since that day. Whether that is a fact and if so to what it is due, my friend Field Marshal Sir William Birdwood, who is present today, will know better than I.

I can remember the daïs where the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, was seated, and where he stood to read the Proclamation to the Indian Princes. I can remember his face, the manner in which he read the Proclamation, and the answer which was given in a few words by the Maharaja of Gwalior. The then Nizam of Hyderabad, the then Maharaja of Mysore and I, were boys looking on as mere spectators. We all felt that it was a great occasion, though I am afraid we did not understand very much of its significance.

The third occasion when I came in contact with the Royal Family was on my first visit to Europe. That was in 1887, after I had been ailing for some years from nerves. My people did not understand what was the matter with me. It was the then Surgeon-General of the Bombay Presidency who advised me to have a complete change and rest. My people could not understand the meaning of that advice or why I required a change of scene. When the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated I was in Venice. I was well aware of the importance of the occasion and was anxious to go to London, but Mr. Elliot, my tutor, suggested that it would not be wise for me in view of my indifferent health to undertake such an arduous task as a journey to London and participation in the rejoicings.

It was thus not until after the Jubilee festivities that I went to London and paid my homage to Her Majesty, being invited to stay both at Windsor Castle and her favourite Osborne. I have a vivid memory of Her Majesty's appearance and the gracious manner in which she received my wife and myself and other members of my party. Her manner was cordial, simple and straightforward, and it made a great impression on me, certainly greater than the grandeur of her surroundings. We respected Queen Victoria far more, I am sure, for the greatness of her character, for her warm sympathy and for her devotion to duty, than for all the wealth and power she possessed. The last time I saw the Queen was in 1900 just before I sailed for India. She was then getting old, but it came as a great shock when she died a little later and the whole Empire was plunged into mourning.

Dr. Davies has covered the ground so thoroughly that I feel it hardly necessary for me to try and improve upon his treatment of a fascinating subject. He has given us a most interesting address and ample food for thought and on your behalf I thank Dr. Davies for his splendid lecture. I would also like to thank the East India Association for the admirable manner in which they have arranged this representative gathering and for their invitation to me to preside.

Miss CORNELIA SORABJI: Your Highness and fellow-citizens of the Empire founded by the great Queen of whom we have been hearing this afternoon,—I have been asked to tell you a little from out my own experience of what women in India think and have thought in the past of Queen Victoria.

My personal experience goes back a long way, and a good many of my generation will recall as I do the reverence which our mothers taught us for Queen Victoria and for all that she represented. The thing which I chiefly remember is that we got from the Queen an impulse for work. It was a new idea to us in India that women could be in power, that women could work and work successfully, that they could care for others and could translate that care into practical sympathy. . . . That was, I think, what those of us who were literate felt about the Queen. But my recollections go further back still in the things which have been told me by women older than myself, and in particular by Mathaji Maharani Tapaswini, the great orthodox Hindu lady who was in such close touch with the illiterate masses of Indian woman and with the orthodox Indian community for close upon a century. She could remember pre-Mutiny times, and she told me that the general idea in India was that even "John Company" was a kind of Queen Victoria, an old woman who dressed like the red-coated soldiers of the time of the East India Company. After the Proclamation, when Queen Victoria herself began to materialize as a personality, myths and legends gathered around her, and one of these legends, at least, lasts to this day. We have all met it, sometime, somewhere in India—the legend of a goddess. Many of us have seen women go to the statues—and how very inartistic these are many of them!—scattered all over the country, and fall at the feet of Queen Victoria, making petitions. I have seen women praying for sons to the mother of sons. I have seen widows—for after she was widowed there came a new note into their loyalty and affection—I have seen widows praying to her because she knew how they felt. Indeed, it seemed to them that widowhood was not as degrading as they were taught to think it, because the great Queen herself had been widowed, and *she* could not have done anything which was not right in a previous existence so that she had to be punished in the succeeding life by widowhood! So hope came to them.

The last little worshipper I saw in India was a child of seven years of age, who ran up to the statue of Queen Victoria, on the Calcutta Maidan, and fell at its feet, saying, "*Nomo, nomo, nomo!* I bow at your feet, O Great Queen. O great Mem-Sahib goddess, send me a mem-sahib doll." So there is still apparently no petition which Queen Victoria cannot grant!

Queen Victoria's interest in social things made direct contact with the women. I remember the case of a purdah nashin, whom we induced with much trouble to go into the Dufferin Hospital in Calcutta. She said to me, when she came out cured, "Do you know the reason of pain in the world?" I said, "No." She said, "Now I have come here, I know all about it. If there were no pain in the world, there would be no hospitals." She added that she realized that the hospital was founded by Queen Victoria and Lady Dufferin, and her idea was that God was backing the work

of the Dufferin scheme by sending pain into the world to justify the hospitals!

One could go on telling many stories of the attitude of our women in India towards Queen Victoria; but to sum it all up as shortly as I can, I think what she has given and still gives so largely, both to the illiterate and to the literate, is the feeling of self-respect; she was the first woman whom we knew who did things, and we felt ourselves dignified, and our individual incapacities redeemed by her power and her achievements. Then there was her care for us, the respect she paid to our customs. She also gave that wonderful sympathy which rubs out all differences; while the realization of her own personal attitude towards religion went straight to our hearts, in our religious-minded country, especially as it led to the protection of our own ancient systems.

Finally, she has made us all—has she not?—of one family, and given to the Crown that personal aspect which, as the lecturer has emphasized, makes the King-Emperor the chief cement still between the people of India within the Empire.

The HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA: I have the greatest pleasure in adding my humble tribute to what has been said already about the great Queen that this country and India have seen.

In the East we are brought up under a feeling which gives us a sort of faith in the divine right of kingship, and it is with that feeling that the Indian public at large worship their rulers, whether they are Indians or whether it is the British Crown. I know that the British people themselves are very proud of the monarchy, and I would not be hurting their feelings if I said that they cannot realize the deep affection and feeling that we in India have for our Royal House, particularly on account of this deep-seated religious belief in our minds that kings and rulers are there by divine right. (Applause.) Of course, this is also a theory of the English Constitution that the king can do no wrong. Your Government consists of the King and the two Houses of Parliament. According to your theory the King stands above all controversy.

When you have this background in your mind regarding the Indian feeling towards the ruler, you can then realize the gratitude of the Indian public towards the great Queen when she brought out that famous Proclamation of hers, which really was a proof of the deep and true love that she had for her Indian subjects.

The lecturer this afternoon has quoted to you certain paragraphs of that great Proclamation, and I think I shall be pardoned if I read to you another two lines, for to us Indians it has always had a great appeal. Here is one sentence: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of the Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind Us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

How can we fail to be moved by this affectionate pronouncement of the great Queen. You should not be surprised if at various political meetings the Indian political leaders quote this sentence from the Proclamation of

the great Queen as their guarantee for the future political progress of India.

There is one other sentence which I shall read to you: "When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein."

If you look at the history of India since this declaration dispassionately, you cannot but come to the conclusion that the Government in India have honestly to the best of their ability tried to carry out that part of the Proclamation—namely, to administer India in the best interests of the Indian people. We also know that India will be one of the exceptional countries in the world where the administration of a great Empire has been gradually allowed to pass into the hands of the ruled by the rulers without a very red revolution.

I think we feel that at each stage our political progress is based on this rock which was laid down by the great Queen. We feel proud of this Queen as much as anyone in this country. I am sure that by her Proclamation she laid the foundations of an administration in India which is likely to continue the connection between India and England for a very long time to come for the mutual benefit of both those countries. I am very happy and honoured to be associated with you this afternoon in paying homage to a great Queen, who is loved and respected by us as much as she is by the English people in this country.

LORD LAMINGTON: I think the lecturer this afternoon has put very clearly before us new sidelights on Queen Victoria's character. He has emphasized her wonderful industry, her perseverance and her perspicacity. I believe these qualities were greatly due to the simplicity of her bringing-up. It has been said that after her Coronation she went back to the palace and washed her doll. I think that simplicity of character enabled her to face the problems of life with a clear understanding, with no cross-currents to obscure her vision. She looked at things directly and clearly. Her strength of character, as Dr. Davies said in the paper, stood her in good stead after the Prince Consort's death.

There is one instance I might perhaps recall to you, that after the Prince Consort's death one of the Republics in South America—I will not mention which it was—had a very tyrannical and truculent President. On one occasion he had all the different representatives there at a big function, and he had on the dais with him a lady who was not his wife. Our Minister refused to bow to the lady. The President was very angry, and ordered his people to seize our Minister, put him sitting backwards on a horse and drive him three times round the public Plaza. The occurrence was reported at home, and Queen Victoria said, "Bring me a large map of South America and show me this republic." She then took a blue pencil and ran it through the republic, saying, "As far as this country is concerned that republic ceases to exist."

She showed her intelligence of mind in matters connected with India.

First of all, when the Mutiny was quelled, we had that Proclamation, which contains passages which form guarantees and pledges of this country's attitude towards India. That was a very great achievement. As we have been told, not only by the lecturer but by His Highness, by Miss Sorabji and by the High Commissioner, she is revered by the people of India to a most remarkable extent. In a very eloquent passage in Dr. Davies' paper, he recounts how intensely the Indian people mourned her. We have not only to thank the lecturer for his paper, but we are also very grateful to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for coming here this afternoon and for presiding over this very illustrious gathering. This Association is very grateful to him. For a number of years he has given us the means of entertaining a company of this character from time to time. His generosity has been unending. We do welcome him this afternoon and are also very grateful to him. I would just like to mention to you a few facts. In duration of rule, His Highness competes with Queen Victoria. Sixty-two years ago the Maharaja Gaekwar succeeded to a State where there had been a great deal of maladministration. Today that State stands as one of the first States in India for good administration. He has done all he could for the depressed classes. I always think the progress of Baroda has been the more difficult when we remember that the State is interlaced with British India. That must make administration more complex. There are, so to speak, islets of both territories scattered about forming many boundaries.

In this connection long ago I tried to find out whether people living in these two Indias had a preference to be in one or the other. I never could find out any distinct preference for one or the other, so it speaks well for the administration in both areas as being satisfactory.

On your behalf I have to thank His Highness for presiding here this afternoon, and also the lecturer. Not only are there these two benefactors to be thanked, but I add another to make up a trinity. The High Commissioner has both given us accommodation and is providing us with tea and other refreshments. Therefore by acclamation I ask you to show your gratitude and thanks to these three illustrious persons by your loud cheers. (Applause.)

SIR HUGH STEPHENSON, late Governor of Burma, writes:

Listening to the very interesting lecture on Queen Victoria at the India House, I was reminded of an incident that occurred in 1933, a few months after I went to Burma. The Aletawya Sayadaw, Head of the Peace Mission in the Rebellion, wrote and asked if I would receive a deputation. It appeared that the headman of a village in the interior had a dream that the Deputy Commissioner came to visit him in his house. He was confident that such an honour as this portended great good fortune to him, and he got up early in the morning and walked outside his house meditating what this might be. At the root of a tree he saw a fungus growth which he immediately recognized as a portrait of Queen Victoria. I asked him later how he knew as he had hardly ever been out of his village; he replied that he had seen pictures of the great Queen and every Burman knew what she

was like. He gathered the fungus and took it to the *hpongyi* who recognized that it was a matter of great importance and must be laid before the Sayadaws. The Aletawya Sayadaw with his fellow abbots declared unhesitatingly that it was a portent of vital interest to Burma.

As Burma had been happy and prosperous under the rule of the great Queen so the great Queen by sending her image in this way promised to restore prosperity to Burma after the troubles and adversities she had been through, and that she would accomplish this during the rule of the new Governor who had just arrived. It was therefore fitting and indeed essential that this heaven-sent portrait should be presented with due ceremony to the new Governor. I received the deputation of the Sayadaws, accompanied by the headman, and was duly presented with the miraculous portrait in a silver box. The striking thing about this incident is that no one, from the headman to the Sayadaws, had the slightest doubt as to the authenticity of the portrait. Everyone of them had in their own minds their conception of the great Queen and they recognized unhesitatingly that the fungus reproduced the essentials of her appearance.

THE EMPIRE DAY AND CORONATION BANQUET

MAHARAJA OF BARODA'S SPEECH

THE Association was the senior of the eight Empire societies sharing in the arrangements for the Empire Day and Coronation Banquet held at Grosvenor House on May 24, when the guests numbered over 12,000. The Press described the function as one of the most brilliant and distinguished gatherings of Empire representatives ever assembled. Major-General the Earl of Athlone presided and was accompanied by Princess Alice. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was on the right of the Chairman and Mr. Baldwin on his left; and every part of the Empire was represented. The Societies responsible for the arrangements were the East India Association, the Royal Empire Society, the British Empire League, the Victoria League, the Royal African Society, the Overseas League, the School Empire-Tour Committee, and the British Women's Hospitality Committee.

Mr. Baldwin, who made his last public speech as Prime Minister, received a great ovation when he rose to propose the toast of "The British Commonwealth." In the course of his remarks he said:

Never has there been a greater gathering in London or anywhere else than this gathering organized tonight by the Combined Societies. The Dominions, the Colonies, India are all here, and no greater honour could fall to the lot of any man than in such company to propose the toast of "The British Commonwealth." . . .

India is an Empire within an Empire. Within itself it contains Principalities to which the attributes of sovereignty are attached. Nowhere has the conception of kingship deeper roots or more tradition or longer history. Many and powerful as have been the dynasties that have ruled in India, none has held a sway so universal and undisputed as that Monarchy of which every man and woman in this room are the servants.

In that loyalty which is focussed upon the Crown India finds that unity that she has sought so long, and we are now engaged in translating that unity into the terms of Federation, from which we hope and believe will arise an India greater than there has ever yet been. It will be largely her responsibility, but I want her to believe, as I know it, the sincerity of the

efforts that we have made to help her to this new Constitution. I want her to believe that that sympathy which we feel with her in this great adventure which she is undertaking is a sympathy not confined to Great Britain, but a sympathy which exists in every other part of the Empire.

To speak for India we shall have His Highness the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda, one of the greatest of ruling Princes in India, who has devoted a long life to the service of his State and of India and whose government has been a model for two generations. He is one of the survivors of that great Durbar of 60 years ago when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. I should like to tell him that I had a letter only last week from an old friend who must be one of the few ladies now alive who were present at that famous Durbar.

After Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, had replied for the Dominions, the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda replied for the Indian Empire. He said that

the high office of Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, which Mr. Baldwin was just relinquishing, had been held in the past by many great men, but by none in whom the Empire had felt more undivided confidence. (Cheers.) Mr. Baldwin took with him from the conflicts of the House of Commons the affection and esteem of the many millions who constituted the peoples of the British Commonwealth. He proceeded: That Commonwealth is no mechanical aggregation of races; it is a living organism, changing and developing as does all life. At the heart of its being are the two moving principles of liberty and of order; and if it is to be true to itself those two principles will always govern the changes and developments which are the unfolding of its innermost nature. Such changes are the necessary accompaniment of human development and the necessary condition of human happiness among the great peoples whom they directly touch.

The happiness of the people—that is the test by which ultimately all forms of government, all Constitutions, come to be judged. Will posterity be able hereafter to point to the new Constitution of India and say, "With all its complexities, with all the imperfections inherent in such a work of human minds, this was, on the whole, a successful attempt to promote human dignity, brotherhood, and happiness in a vast population over a vast area of the earth's surface"? This new Constitution is admittedly a welcome step towards our goal of a free and autonomous unit within the Commonwealth, though more rapid and extensive progress would have been preferred by my countrymen. So we may cherish the hope that India's political development will win from posterity a verdict to that effect. I am certain that those words may already be used concerning the great organization of which India is a part—the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is that hope and that certainty which are the source of the deep pleasure I feel in responding to this toast. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who also replied, said that no man in his generation had contributed more

to elucidating and making clear all that was best in the spirit of England than Mr. Baldwin. The British Empire was the most wonderful romance in history.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, proposing the health of the Earl of Athlone, said that

he had been interested in reading some of the comments in the foreign Press upon the Coronation celebrations, and he noticed that the outstanding impression left in the minds at any rate of some of the foreign observers was a sense of unity of Empire. That unity, and our common ideals and aspirations, had given to the units of the Empire an influence and a power in the world far greater than any that could have accrued to them if they had not been thus connected and bound together. They were grateful to the societies under whose auspices they were met for the work they were doing in stimulating and fostering that sense of unity, bringing together peoples from all parts and giving them the feeling that when they came to the Mother Country they were as much at home as in their own land. One was also glad to think that they had not forgotten the vital importance of enlisting in the cause of unity the youth of the Empire, to whom Mr. Baldwin had addressed a pressing appeal.

The Earl of Athlone in a brief reply said:

I much appreciate the honour of having been invited to represent the Combined Societies as Chairman on this most interesting occasion. It is not often the fortune and the privilege of unofficial hosts to entertain all the King's Prime Ministers at the same time. Perhaps I may be allowed to borrow an expression from the City and call them "the Big Five." There are also present the Prime Ministers of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Ireland and the Premier of New Brunswick. We welcome some of the Princes of India, Ministers from the Dominions and their colleagues from this country, ex-Ministers, ex-Governors-General, the representatives in England of India, and Governors of Colonies, and may I add what a pleasure it is to see tonight those ladies who have assisted their husbands, many of them, alas, no longer with us, in such posts as Viceroy of India and Governor-General and Governors of our Colonies and Dominions, because I know only too well how much depends upon the love and affection and the help of one's wife in those positions. It is in very truth a most representative gathering of those who count in the Government of, and who are responsible for the maintaining of a good understanding between, the nations of the Commonwealth.

GARDEN PARTY AT GREAT FOSTERS

MR. C. G. HANCOCK, proprietor of *Great Britain and the East*, gave a garden party on Saturday, May 29, 1937, to members of the East India Association and others at Great Fosters, Egham, to meet the Prince and Princess of Berar. He was assisted in receiving the guests by Lord and Lady Hailey. The Prince and Princess were accompanied by Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

Brilliant sunshine favoured the event and added to the enjoyment derived by 550 guests from participation in a gathering held in one of the most delightful gardens in the south of England. Opportunities for tennis, swimming and other sports abounded. Tea, which was served in the open air, was followed by songs by Miss Helen Raye, formerly of the Opéra Comique.

Brief speech-making followed, under the chairmanship of LORD HAILEY, who said: My mission is a short one. It is to introduce to you Sir Akbar Hydari, who has kindly consented to address you this afternoon. I am sure no introduction is needed on my part. In any case I, as a somewhat inconspicuous person, am hardly fitted to introduce one so celebrated, and I should feel bashful as a young man in introducing one who is great in years and in wisdom.

But, although I know the qualification of elder statesman is looked upon with some suspicion in Europe—because the statesman has usually been a politician—yet I will say that there is no one in India who deserves better the name of an elder statesman. (Applause.) Whether because of Sir Akbar's long experience in administrative matters in the great State of Hyderabad—whose Prince we are glad to welcome here today—whether because of that or because of his high skill in expounding constitutional matters, I say there is no one that we would more gladly listen to on the topic to which I understand he will refer—namely, the position of the Indian States and Federation.

The Right Hon. Sir AKBAR HYDARI: I do not know how I should respond to the invitation that my young guide, philosopher and friend has made this afternoon with regard to a person who is nearing the term of his life. I do not know how I should respond to that invitation, for when I first came and saw these beautiful surroundings I thought that speech would be absolutely out of court and that this was a place more for music and merry-making. But I cannot go without expressing to this company and to the East India Association, which has organized this delightful party, our deep appreciation of the work that this Association has been doing for the last seventy years in providing a common platform for the discussion of questions which are of interest to India and England. I recall that this Association provided the first platform for Dadabhai Naoriji, one of the greatest patriots that India has produced. It was this Association that gave the first platform for that Grand Old Man of India to advocate Indian reform.

I have also to take this opportunity of tendering our thanks to our most hospitable host, Mr. Hancock, who has been doing such good work with his paper *Great Britain and the East*. I am one of the many Indians who look forward to receiving that excellent paper week by week in India, (Applause.)

Lord Hailey has suggested that I might speak to you on the problem of the Indian States and their connection with constitutional reform. I am afraid I was not prepared for that invitation, and really the subject is so threadbare that after the delightful refreshments that you have had, you will not give much attention to whatever I might have to say.

There is only one thing that I want this afternoon to tell you, and that is that I was privileged the other day, as one of the guests of this Association, to listen to the great speech delivered at the Empire Day Banquet by Mr. Baldwin. No one who was present on the occasion could be unconscious of the unity of the British Empire and of the bonds that knit together, as if it was one great family of nations, the different peoples who form the units of this great Commonwealth—bonds to which the events and spectacles which we have all witnessed in the course of the last few weeks amply testify.

British India and the Indian States have their own special contribution to make to the culture and prosperity of the Empire as a whole. (Applause.) The States look forward to a time at no distant date when, whilst the special features and the unique relationship between them and the Crown are preserved, India will have achieved a position of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is in a few sentences really the sum total of what we have thought, of what we have tried to achieve, the goal that we have had in view in the labours for Federation of the last seven years. We look to this Association, which has on its rolls statesmen of the type of Lord Hailey, and good friends of the kind we have in our host Mr. Hancock, to help us in the successful achievement of our ideals.

Before I sit down I must express our deep feelings of gratification at the honour conferred on Sir Frank Brown in the recent Coronation List. His name has been long associated with work for India, and we all, Indians and Englishmen alike, would like to tender him our hearty felicitations, and our prayers that he may long live to enjoy this honour and to continue the work for India which he has been doing for so many years past. (Applause.)

I wish now to conclude with an expression of thanks not only on behalf of myself, but of Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar, who are the guests of honour this afternoon, and thereby to indicate the readiness which Hyderabad will always show in playing its great part as the friend and ally of the British Government and in cementing indissolubly the bonds of that great State with the great Empire which has its centre in this country. (Applause.)

Mr. C. G. HANCOCK: I wish to thank you very much for coming here today and to say what a great pleasure it is to me to have this opportunity of entertaining the Prince and Princess of Berar, many of our Indian visitors

from overseas and the East India Association. I may say that there is no trouble which is too great for me when India is concerned, because of the great debt that civilization owes to India and because of the many ties of sympathy which bind us to that great country. On the economic side India is still our greatest market and a fruitful field for the investment of capital, and long may it continue to be so. It is always a great pleasure to me to meet people from our great dominion of India because I admire them so much. Perhaps this is partly because I was brought up in a school of thought which took the view that one man was as good as another—in fact, he was very much better! (Laughter.)

Secondly, it is a great pleasure to me because I happen to be associated with the paper *Great Britain and the East*, the aim of which is to interpret what is best in India to the people of this country, and at the same time to interpret what is best in England to the peoples of India and the East generally, and by the East, of course, I mean also the Far East. That is our self-imposed task, and we shall go on with it regardless of whether it pleases or displeases this person or that, confident that in the fulness of time India will be better understood by the people of this country, and the voice of England will be heard throughout the world. Once more, thank you very much for coming today. (Applause.)

EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I.

I CONSIDER it a great privilege to be asked to address an influential gathering like this on a subject which has been nearest my heart during the last five years and which has assumed great importance in the present-day life of India. I would also like to express my thanks to Lord Lothian for the very courteous manner in which he has introduced me.

When I went back from England after doing my work on the Round-Table Conference in 1933, I was asked by my own University of Allahabad to deliver what is known there as the Annual Convocation Address, and in the course of that address I raised this question of unemployment in its relation to the system of education that prevailed in India. A few months later I was invited by the Government of the United Provinces, which was then presided over by Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey, to be nominated to a Committee on the subject. I agreed to serve as Chairman of that Committee, particularly because I felt that the question was such that no one had a right to say "No" when he was invited to make his contribution, however small it might be, to the understanding of it, if not to the complete solution of it.

My task was by no means easy, and for ten months my colleagues and I had to enquire in the midst of great difficulties. Our first difficulty was that there were no statistics to be had. The Universities could not furnish us with statistics of unemployment among educated persons. The municipal boards and district boards had no statistics to offer. I then approached the local Governments, with hardly any satisfactory results. And yet, as an Indian living in my own Province, in direct and close touch with educated young men of the various Universities, it was difficult for me to believe that the problem did not exist.

We recorded a large mass of evidence from officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, business men, professors, professional men; indeed, people of all classes. And we went round

the Provinces. We visited the various important educational centres and saw things with our own eyes.

I take the United Provinces as a very good illustration of the acuteness of the problem. In the United Provinces, with a population of 48,000,000 people, you have got five Universities (Allahabad, the oldest, Lucknow, Benares, Aligarh and Agra), and a very large number of secondary schools, and a fairly large number of primary schools. The evidence, particularly that which came from official quarters, left no doubt in my mind that the problem was very acute, and that it would not be right for anyone to assume that it did not exist or to deny its urgency.

INDIGENT GRADUATES

Among the witnesses who appeared before my Committee two particularly stand out in my memory. One was the Inspector-General of Police of the United Provinces, Mr. Hollins, who now happens to occupy the same position in the Hyderabad State. The other was Sir William Stampe, the Chief Engineer of the United Provinces, and I may tell you frankly that I look upon him as one of the greatest benefactors of the Province. He has been responsible for the grid system in our Province, which has cost our exchequer a very large amount of money. I do not in the slightest degree regret that so much money should have been spent over it, because it has done an incalculable amount of good to at least twelve of the western districts where the system is in force.

In addition to these two high-placed European officers, there were a number of others who came before my Committee. Their evidence, particularly the evidence of Mr. Hollins, opened the eyes of many of us. Mr. Hollins said that in the course of the last few weeks preceding the day on which he appeared before the Committee he had enrolled a number of graduates as constables. In the United Provinces the constable's salary varies from anything from thirteen to fifteen rupees a month, with an allowance of one or two rupees if he is posted to certain important districts. So that it came to this, that the market value of a graduate, roughly speaking, was something like £1 a month.

There was evidence from other quarters equally available. I concentrated more upon the official evidence than upon the non-official evidence; not that I distrusted the non-official evidence, not that I was not prepared to attach value to it, but because officials could give men concrete instances from their own experience.

One of the officials of the Government came and told us that in the course of his enquiry at Cawnpore and other places he had come across cases of young graduates selling milk in the streets because they had nothing else to do. These instances were multiplied. I referred to them in the course of the Report which I drafted at that time.

As to the professions, I had some knowledge of the legal profession, of which I have been a member for over forty years. Although it is customary to speak of the legal profession as very prosperous, yet people forget that for five men who make money by the profession there are ninety-five who are starving. Yet the remarkable fact is that these five Universities in the United Provinces attract a very large number of men to legal education. Most of these men join the legal profession not because they feel that there is any urge for joining that profession, or not because they feel sure that there may be a chance of success for them, but because they have nothing else to turn to. So the position of the legal profession is extremely bad.

ENGINEERING

I then examined the figures with regard to civil engineering. We have in the United Provinces two institutions, one the well-known Engineering College at Roorkee, which has acquired a fame which travels beyond India—a very efficient college which has been in existence for nearly eighty years—and the other the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering College attached to the Benares Hindu University.

I should think that the engineering education in India and in my Province is the most expensive education. The evidence given by the officials of the college showed that on an average a student at an engineering college has to spend something like Rs. 130 to

Rs. 140 a month. Having regard to economic standards in India, nobody could say that that education was very cheap. And yet the Engineering College at Roorkee showed that a very large percentage of their students could never get any appointment anywhere. On the other hand, it was rather an agreeable surprise to me and to the other members of the Committee that the products of the Benares Hindu University in civil and mechanical engineering had done remarkably well. According to the figures supplied to me, something like 70 to 80 per cent. of their men have been fixed up in various jobs either in Government service or in private concerns.

The main source of employment of the Roorkee men was Government service, but recruitment in the building branch had been stopped some ten years before. At that time it was welcomed by public opinion and it was supported by ministers, but unfortunately the result showed that not only had these men not got jobs, but that much of the work which was then efficiently performed had been much neglected.

Another sort of employment for these engineers was the service in the municipal bodies and the local boards. I made very close enquiries as to how many of the municipalities employed qualified engineers and how many were content with ordinary mysteries, as they are called in India. The municipalities were very reluctant to give me any information, notwithstanding repeated attempts. The local government had hardly any figures to give.

Then I made enquiries about each individual municipality and my worst suspicions came to be established as real facts. I believe out of 85 or 86 municipalities, just a few of them employed qualified engineers; the rest are content with *mistris* or unqualified men. Of course, their explanation was that the engineers were expensive things, and they had not the money to spare.

CHEMISTS

Then, coming to other professions, one prominent matter was brought to my notice by a very distinguished professor of chemistry in our University, a man who has acquired by now a

world-wide fame. He informed us that a good many of the owners of mills, and particularly those who were interested in the sugar industry, came up to him and asked for chemists. He recommended to them a certain number of chemists. These young men were engaged at a certain fixed salary. At the end of the sugar season—which lasts in the United Provinces for about four to five months—they were asked to vacate their jobs.

So that from one branch of occupation to another we made enquiry, and the result was that we came to the conclusion that the position of our young men in the various professions was extremely bad. If you ask me as to how far it is possible for Government to absorb the products of these Universities, my answer is very plain. I have gone into the figures very closely, and it is impossible for me to think that any Government, whether it is foreign or whether it is national, can absorb the entire products of the Universities in the various departments. I should be sorry for India if the entire aim of our young men was to get Government jobs.

Therefore on the question of fact as to whether the problem did exist and as to whether it was acute we had no doubt whatsoever.

THE EDUCATIONAL SIDE

When we came to the question of remedies our trouble began. I will not cover the ground which I have covered in the Report, but I shall very briefly tell you what our conclusions were.

It is true that the essential thing for any Government in India and for Indian society to do is to provide more openings and more avenues for our young men, but in my opinion it would be a great mistake to ignore the educational side of the problem. I do not, frankly speaking, look upon this multiplication of Universities in India as a blessing. It may be that I am very old-fashioned, but I certainly do not think that the Universities or the products of the Universities derive the fullest benefit from their education at the University by staying there for four, five or six years. Do not misunderstand me. I am not suggesting that University education should be discouraged or that we should not spend adequate sums of money on our University education. In-

deed, if it was in my hands, I would spend more money. But what I am saying is that it is no good to the country or to these young men that there should be an indiscriminate multiplication of indifferent graduates year by year.

It is very customary in my country to say that having regard to the total population the number of graduates is very small, and people compare the position in India with countries in the West. It was from that particular point of view that in 1935 I travelled over some countries of Europe, collected material and went into this problem, and I must express my great sense of obligation to those of my friends in England and other countries of Europe who gave me most valuable material and assistance in investigating this problem. The point to my mind is not whether we are producing a sufficiently large number of graduates in proportion to our population. The point is whether we can make effective use of the number of graduates that we produce year after year.

Why is it that University education in India attracts such a large number of men from classes from which you would not have expected to see any young men, say, twenty-five or thirty years ago? At the present moment the position is that not only those classes who used to send their boys to the Universities do send their boys, but also those who were content to remain on the land, to follow certain avocations which could be remunerative—those too are sending their boys to our Universities.

The reason for that is this: that in the large majority of cases our young men go to the Universities because they look upon the Universities as passports to some careers in Government service. The number of men who go to the Universities for the sake of culture is limited.

WASTAGE

Again, I should not be understood to run down our Universities. Frankly, I do think that the standards in various Universities have been considerably raised during the last twenty or twenty-five years, and I am prepared to admit that the first-class man of today is much better educated than the first-class man of twenty-five or thirty years ago. But it is not really the first-class

men who form the backbone of education. It is the second-class or even the third-class men to whom we have to look, and it is when you turn to these second- or third-class men that you find that either they have not sufficient grounding at their schools on which they could build up their careers at the University, or that they were not men who came to the Universities with the object of deriving that benefit, intellectual and moral, which University education is capable of giving. It is a case of wastage.

I think that in the case of many of these men, if there were a proper system of education, which after giving that general education had weaned them away from the ordinary customary education given in schools and Universities and put them on to some vocational or occupational training, they possibly might have done better.

The great trouble about our educational system in the schools has been that it is far too theoretical, far too literary, much too divorced from the practical side. When you come down to primary education, you find that the boy goes to a village school for about five or six years, and after some little time he relapses into the same state of ignorance in which he was when he went to that school. The education which is given to him has no direct relation to his environment, to the life which he lived before he came to the school, and to which he will return when he goes back to his village.

Similarly, when you come to secondary education it again is of a very mechanical character. His head is stuffed with a certain amount of knowledge which he may or may not assimilate, but his character is not developed. He cannot stand on his own legs. There is no such thing as self-reliance or self-dependence. He cannot make very effective use of his hands; he is weak there.

Therefore it was to me a matter of satisfaction when the Government of India issued a resolution, which was followed by a resolution of the local government, in which they suggested that in the secondary schools there should be bifurcation. There may be some controversy as to whether a student should be taken away from the literary education and put to vocational or industrial training in his sixth, seventh or eighth year.

We had those resolutions before us, and we very thoroughly examined the position, and I was forced to the conclusion, and so were my colleagues, that there must be a stage prescribed when in the case of those boys who were likely to do better with their hands they should be given a more practical education which would equip them for success in life in some vocation or in some profession. In the cases of others who in the opinion of the teachers were qualified to go further up on the ladder, so that they might go ultimately to the University, by all means I would ask you to give them every encouragement.

So that the problem, so far as education is concerned, is a problem first of adjusting the education to the surroundings in the midst of which our boys live; and, secondly, of prescribing a stage in the life of every boy when his parents and his teachers should ask themselves seriously the question whether he is likely to do well by going on to a University, or to do better by remaining out of a University and going into some vocation.

Here again we are aware of the difficulty of the problem, for if you multiply a large number of men who have received technical education, vocational education, industrial education, and who afterwards find themselves stranded—well, the problem becomes still more acute. But it seems to me that there is no one particular remedy which can be applied, and not only will the Governments who are responsible for education have to revise their policy very materially, but also Indian society will have to change its outlook.

INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS

So far as Indian society is concerned, I have been compelled to the conclusion that among people who are in a position to help our young men by employing them in various jobs there is absolutely no active desire to render assistance to these young men. I can illustrate that to you. Take, for instance, a large number of landed proprietors in our Province and in other Provinces. There is no reason why they should not employ men who have received some education in agriculture, in estate management and things of that kind, and yet they will not employ them. It may

be because an educated young man does not suit them. He is not prepared to do those things which an uneducated agent will be prepared to do. I have some positive evidence on that particular point. The experience of those of our young men who have received an education in agricultural colleges and schools has been most disappointing.

Similarly, when you come to trade and business, you find that the old-fashioned business man in Northern India has no use for a young man who has received an education in commerce, trade or business. When I went to Cawnpore, which is a very important business centre, I examined a large number of business men, both European and Indian, and I must say to my regret that the evidence showed to my mind that there was no demand for many of these young men, men who had received training as Bachelors of Commerce, among Indian business men. There were some of them employed by European firms. So far as that is concerned, I must say that I feel very strongly that our own society has still to wake up to its responsibilities.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

With regard to Government service the position is this, that you can command the services of any number of graduates at present in my Province for anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 a month. I was talking to two district officers only very recently, and they told me that they had within the last few months employed graduates at salaries of Rs. 11 to Rs. 15 a month—less than £1.

That is the position. If I were responsible for the education of a boy, and if I found that I had to stint myself and to find something like Rs. 50 to Rs. 60, and at the end of five years my boy could only get Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 a month, I would not waste that money on him. That is my own feeling. I consider it a tremendous waste that all this large output of graduates from our Universities should aspire to nothing more than these small and petty jobs, and I can see no reason why we should insist on having graduates as constables or as members of low-paid staffs of other departments. I should be quite content with men who had received a general education, who had received some education

which qualified them to be of assistance to their immediate superiors, who had been able to build up some sort of character in their schooldays, but I would not waste any money over producing graduates for these small and low-paid appointments in the United Provinces or any other Provinces.

It is for that reason that our Committee recommended that the Government should have their own standards for admission into various departments, but that they must not insist on a person being a graduate, a B.A. or M.A.

The next recommendation we made was that the age of entrance into the various departments of the Government should be reduced, so that young men after receiving their secondary education, which they would be able to complete at the age of sixteen or seventeen, should at once go into those minor jobs, and there should not be the temptation in their way of going to the University and spending their parents' money for five years and at the end then getting the very job which they might have got at an earlier stage.

I will not go into details of the various recommendations, but I will only say this: that while I was carrying on investigations in the United Provinces, I put myself in touch with the various Governments in the country—Bombay, Bengal, Madras—and also with certain Indian States where the problem seemed to me to have arisen and was most acute.

Although I would not be dogmatic about other Provinces, the general conclusion left on my mind after reading the official documents and the unofficial reports which came to me was that the problem was more or less the same nearly everywhere in India. The Bengal Government had attempted to tackle the problem. I wrote to the Ministers, and the Ministers sent me very useful information. I found that they had been able, by spending some money, to fix up something like eight or nine hundred young men. They spent money; it was wholly inadequate; nevertheless they did spend money and held themselves responsible for seeing some progress made.

INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE

It has been said that the real solution of this problem lies in industrialization of the country. Well, we went also into this problem, and we came to the conclusion that although there was a considerable amount of scope for some of these young men in small industries, village industries, provided they were helped by society, provided they received some practical training, yet it would be wrong in my opinion to assume that the development of heavy-scale industries alone could furnish the completest answer to this problem. It would no doubt absorb men with a technical knowledge, but up to a certain point and not beyond.

On this point I was furnished with some very valuable material by the Government of India, to whom I applied for some information. Therefore it is not my proposition that there should not be industrialization or that we should not take steps to foster heavy industries, but it would be wrong to suppose that by merely promoting heavy industries we would be able effectually to solve this problem.

Similarly, with regard to land, it is sometimes suggested in India, and has been suggested in very high quarters, that we might establish colonies of young men to work as farmers. Something of that sort has been done in the Punjab, and only last December I was invited by Sir Herbert Emerson to address the Punjab University. In the course of the preparation of my speech there I made some enquiries, and I found that the Punjab Government had been to a very great extent successful in establishing colonies of these educated men in different parts of the country; but it would be wrong to assume that what can be done in the Punjab can be done in other Provinces as well.

In the United Provinces there is no land to be had. There is one scheme of colonization. I have examined it. The land is very limited. It is full of malaria, and I doubt very much whether our young men can stand the strain of the life of a farmer in that malarious tract for many years to come. Therefore the solution of the problem will have to vary from Province to Province according to the needs and situation of each particular Province.

But I should not stake everything upon a simple formula of that character. Therefore the remedies will be various, and I do not think that the most enthusiastic among us could hope to produce results immediately. It would require great patience; the efforts will have to be spread over a series of years; but above everything else it would require money.

The numerous recommendations that were made by my Committee presupposed that the United Provinces Government would be able to find money. Unfortunately our position is none too prosperous; indeed, we are very unhappily situated so far as the financial position is concerned.

GOVERNMENT GRANTS

At the time when this Report was coming up for discussion by the United Provinces Council, I was told by the United Provinces Government that I must accept a nomination to the Legislative Council for two days, which I did. I was asked to make an appeal to the members of the Legislature for funds, which I did make, and I am happy to tell you that as a result of some bargaining between me and those who were in charge of the finances the Legislature almost unanimously voted new taxes which I asked for.

The condition which I imposed was that the Government of the United Provinces should definitely commit themselves to a policy of action in regard to this matter, and that they must make recurring grants. Accordingly the Legislature gave us Rs. 4½ lakhs, which is like a drop in the ocean. Nevertheless I welcomed it, because it committed the Government to a policy of active assistance in regard to this matter. There was no trouble in raising the fresh taxation.

The important point to note about it was that the Government definitely committed themselves to a recurring grant, and I have no doubt that whichever party be in power, whether it is the Congress party or any other party, this will be one of the big questions which will have to be tackled. I have no doubt whatsoever that money will have to be found, and money must be found.

The only satisfaction that I have after working over this problem is that to a very large extent the public conscience has been aroused in this matter. The problem is attracting the attention of Governments in the various Provinces and also of Indian society. I am also happy to know that the problem has been taken up by certain Indian States, such as Travancore and Baroda. I am happy to say that my friend Sir Krishnamachari, the Dewan of Baroda, was good enough to take the Report into consideration in his own State, and I believe he did appoint a Committee to go into that matter. I do not know what has been the result, but I could mention other States too who wrote to me about it.

The problem therefore does exist. It is a very acute problem, and if it is neglected it will be fraught with the gravest danger.

I will end by saying what I did say publicly during my two days' membership of the United Provinces Council, that if I was not a man of sixty, but of eighteen, and found that neither my Government nor my society made it possible for me to get two square meals in the day, I should not hesitate to belong to those disruptive movements in India of which you hear so much.

At the present moment Indian political thought is running on very different lines from those on which it used to run, say, five or six years ago. Essentially the problem before India is one of an economic character. The problem of the landlord and the tenant has got to be settled, and it must be settled whatever differences there may be on the question of remedies. Similarly the problem of unemployment among the educated classes has got to be settled, and it must be settled as quickly as possible; because I believe that if this problem is ignored, then it is not merely a danger to Indian government, but to Indian society itself.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

At a social meeting of the Association at the Hotel Rubens on May 31, 1937, attended by some two hundred members and friends, the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian presided and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru lectured on "Education and Unemployment in India." Mr. and Mrs. H. S. L. Polak kindly entertained the company to tea.

In opening the proceedings LORD LOTHIAN said: It is with the very greatest pleasure that I take the Chair for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru this afternoon. It was my misfortune that I never made his personal acquaintance until the first Round-Table Conference, but my old friend Lord Reading had often told me about him when he was one of the members of his Executive Council, and earlier of perhaps the most brilliant Parliamentary team that ever faced an opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly, a team that set a standard of Parliamentary debating in India which I venture to say will bear comparison with the most brilliant traditions of the British Parliament, and of that team Sir Tej was one of the most distinguished members.

I often saw him at work during the Round-Table Conference, and then I realized that not only was he a great Parliamentarian and a great advocate, but a great statesman. I do not think perhaps full credit has ever been done to the statesmanlike way and persistent manner in which Sir Tej steered the first Round-Table Conference from the critical decision that the principle of responsible government should be adopted not only at the centre but also in the Provinces in India, the critical decision which some of you may approve of and some of you may not, but which none the less was the root of all the real troubles during that Round-Table Conference.

Then year after year we found him coming back, always polite, always wise, always brilliant in his presentation of his case, but quite inflexible in his fundamental purpose. And therefore there are few men in the world for whom I have either a greater affection or a deeper respect than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I now call upon him to speak.

(Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then delivered his address on "Education and Unemployment in India.")

SIR SELWYN FREMANTLE: I should like to ask Sir Tej whether the real root of the problem of unemployment in the educated classes is not the fact of the small scale on which agriculture is conducted. After all, India is an agricultural country, and is it not the case that if there were a real rehabilitation, a real development of agricultural resources, which might be arranged and which Governments are now attempting to do, would that not make the whole difference to this particular problem?

I am especially referring to co-operation, because through co-operation

the small-scale industry that agriculture now is can have to a great extent the benefit of large-scale industry. In that application of co-operation and the application of science to industry seems to me to lie the only real hope of more billets for the educated man.

There is one thing I would like to say about the lecture, and that is that in my opinion the boy does not go on from the school to the University in order to get a Government job, but in most cases because he has nothing else to do but to continue his education, and that is the reason why there are so many people at the Universities.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU: That point of view was present to my mind, and if Sir Selwyn will look into the Report he will find we have attached considerable importance to agriculture, and also to further expansion of co-operation. But I would not say that that would be the sole or the ultimate remedy which would provide a solution of the problem. It will be very effective no doubt, and it would to a very large extent help our young men, but along with that you will have to provide other remedies too.

SIR ROSS BARKER: I was Chairman of the Public Service Commission in India for six and a half years, and consequently I saw a great deal of Indians who were seeking entrance to the Public Service.

Is it not part of the answer to the problem to aim at quality rather than quantity at the Indian Universities—that is to say, first to restrict the men, choosing those who will most profit by University education; and, consequently, to ensure that teachers shall not be over-burdened by an excessive number of students who are not able to gain any benefit.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU: In point of fact several Universities do exercise discrimination in admitting young men from the schools. I know it for a fact that there are Admission Committees who will not admit in some cases even second-class men, but they generally refuse to admit third-class men.

What has been suggested is that an arbitrary limit shall be fixed for admission into the Universities. For instance, it might be laid down that there should not be more than four or five hundred students in any particular year. I am not in favour of that. If at a lower stage you wean away those men, then the number will automatically be reduced.

As regards the number of teachers, all I can say is that the number of teachers has considerably increased in the Universities. I can tell you that up to fifteen or twenty years ago, when Sir Selwyn Fremantle was Collector at Allahabad, the total number of teachers and professors was probably not more than twenty. Today it is something near one hundred and twenty, and many of these men have received their education at Oxford, Cambridge, or one of the provincial English Universities or one of the Continental Universities. So that the quality of the teachers has undoubtedly improved. Recently, during the last ten or fifteen years, we have introduced a tutorial system in nearly every University. But while I would discourage those students from proceeding to the University who are not likely to make good, I would not set any arbitrary limit.

Mr. LALKARA : Sir Tej has said that Indian employers are unwilling to employ educated Indians. Is there not one exception to that? In the development of the sugar industry in India, has there not been a greater employment of educated Indians in engineering, chemistry, and agriculture? They are employed by Indian capitalists in Indian sugar factories run by Indian capital.

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU : But not in adequate numbers, and they have not been always fairly treated. That was the evidence before my Committee. The unfortunate fact is that so far as the old-fashioned Indian business man is concerned, he has still to learn the value of expert advice and knowledge.

In reply to further questions, Sir TEJ BAHADUR said : So far as the sons of the landed proprietors are concerned, I admit that there is considerable room for education among them, and unfortunately their education has been neglected very much in the past, but I see distinctly a change in the right direction now.

Assuming that the sons of these landed proprietors were to receive agricultural education, yet you have no right to assume that they would be able to go and cultivate their own lands, because the lands are already occupied by tenants, and unless you change the whole land system you cannot hope that these men will go and work on land which does not exist.

There is a whole chapter devoted to medical education in my Report, and the proper solution is this. Most of the medical graduates turned out by medical colleges try to settle down in big places where there are cinemas and all the amenities of modern life. It is no use your saying that the Government should provide grants. As a matter of fact, something like Rs. 70,000 a year is given as a subsidy to qualified young men if they will go and settle down in the small towns and village areas, but the medical men were in my opinion the most disappointing in that respect. They will not leave big towns with their cinemas.

It is no use thinking of the hakeems and vaidas today in terms of the last century. There are men with medical degrees which they have obtained either in Indian medical colleges or European who educate these vaidas and hakeems in some branches of medicine. They are trained for five years in Benares and Aligarh, and the actual result of the investigation was that these men settled down in village areas and were able to make something like Rs. 56 to Rs. 60 a month, while your qualified medical graduate was starving because he went and settled down in areas where there were very well-established doctors already.

I have gone into this question of medical education as thoroughly as I could having regard to the nature of the evidence.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG : I want to ask Sir Tej one question about the establishment of small industries. When I was in Bengal I made a good many enquiries about the possibility of establishing small tanneries, in view of the fact that Bengal produces more skins than any other part of the world. I was told that the great difficulty was this. One could not get

capitalists to invest their money in a small industry which would only bring in 8 per cent. or 10 per cent., when they could lend money at a much higher rate of interest.

Perhaps you will allow me just to add one thing which is not a question, and that is to express my deep appreciation of the services which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has rendered, and is rendering, to India by the writing of that splendid Report and by the action which he has taken following it. (Applause.)

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU : The days of the moneylender in India are over. There has been legislation with regard to moneylenders both in my province and in the Punjab, and the result of that legislation is that moneylending has become in India a very precarious profession indeed, and it is becoming a thing of the past.

Further, let me tell you from my practical knowledge as a lawyer that when I joined the legal profession some forty years ago, at least eight out of ten cases in my province related to monies lent on mortgages on landed property. Those cases have now become practically extinct. There are other modes of investment now adopted by Indian capitalists.

Therefore I am not very much afraid of there being competition between moneylenders and capitalists, or rather industrialists seeking to invest their money in small industries.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA : It gives me great pleasure in the absence of Lord Lamington, our President—who, I am sure you will all be very sorry to hear, is ill in hospital—to propose a somewhat comprehensive vote of thanks.

Before doing so I should like to say how much we appreciate the presence with us this afternoon of our trusted friend, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who, despite the numerous other calls upon his time in this busy season, always seems to be able to drop in to the meetings of the East India Association. He must have listened to this address on "Education and Unemployment in India" with very great pleasure. Indeed, I am sure he has already had Sir Tej's Report very carefully analyzed with a view to measures in his own territory.

This afternoon it is my pleasure to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman and to the lecturer. It struck me, with two such fine specimens of Liberalism on the platform, that, however much that political party may be under a cloud both in India and in England, it is very much alive this afternoon in the East India Association.

I cannot call you, sir, as yet an elder statesman, but we all know what you do for the Liberal Party and what you have done for India. We read your speeches in the House of Lords; we hear you on the wireless, and realize that we have a very staunch friend of India in the Marquess of Lothian. (Applause.)

As for Sir Tej, who can fairly be called an elder statesman, it must be some twenty-five years since I first met him in the old Legislative Council in Simla during Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. You, sir, have referred to his inflexibility. I should add another quality, and that is consistency.

Throughout his whole career he has stuck to his guns. He has been, like all good Liberals, horribly consistent, even to his own destruction.

Having disposed of the Chairman and the speaker, I am sure you would all wish to give a very hearty vote of thanks now to two other very good friends of the Association—that is, to Mr. and Mrs. Polak, our host and hostess of this afternoon. (Cheers.) We much appreciate such acts of hospitality on the part of members offering us entertainment.

Finally, may I bring in a more domestic matter. This is the first meeting of the Association where we have the opportunity of congratulating our Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, on the honour which His Majesty has conferred upon him. (Loud cheers.) We are all delighted.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to accord this comprehensive vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, the Chairman, the speaker, Mr. and Mrs. Polak, and to Sir Frank Brown.

SIR FRANK BROWN, in response to calls for a speech, said: My Lord Chairman, Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen,—I did not expect for one moment to take any part in these proceedings. It is my duty here to get others to speak rather than to speak myself. All I can say is that I am very deeply grateful to you for including me in this vote of thanks, thus turned into a vote of congratulation. I am very proud to serve the East India Association; and I am happy if any work that I have done as Honorary Secretary has contributed in any way to the aim that it has in view: that of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of India. (Applause.)

RECEPTION TO INDIA'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

THE East India Association and the National Indian Association held a reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on June 11, 1937, to meet the representatives of India at the Imperial Conference and other distinguished visitors.

In the absence in hospital of the President (Lord Lamington), the guests, some 500 in number, were received by Lady Lamington, Lord Goschen, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Malcolm Seton (Chairman of the East India Association) and Lady Seton, Sir Selwyn Fremantle (Chairman of the National Indian Association) and Lady Fremantle.

SIR MALCOLM SETON presided at the brief speech-making which followed the serving of refreshments. He said:

We very much regret that Lord Lamington, President of both Associations, is unable to be here today. He has undergone a serious operation, and I am thankful to say that he is doing very well indeed. We think it very kind of Lady Lamington to have come in the circumstances. (Applause.)

I want to explain that this is a joint party of the East India Association and the National Indian Association. Lord Lamington is President of both bodies. The National Indian Association is at present without a home, but it is pursuing the policy which it has pursued for so many years with so much success, of promoting social intercourse between Indians and English, and therefore they have been kind enough to give us substantial financial aid in organizing this party and to join us in getting it up. We owe our gratitude to Sir Selwyn Fremantle, the chairman of the Committee, whom we are glad to see here with Lady Fremantle.

The main purpose of the reception is to welcome the delegates of India to the Imperial Conference. Lord Zetland unfortunately is unable to come, and has written the following letter to the honorary secretary:

"I need hardly say how greatly I regret the fact that an engagement to speak at Oxford prevents me from accepting the hospitality of the East India Association on Friday afternoon. I should indeed have been glad to accompany my colleagues on the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference to Grosvenor House. My only consolation is that in the persons of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and Sir Zafrullah Khan the delegation will be adequately and most efficiently represented. You have my best wishes for a very successful and enjoyable afternoon."

Also I am sorry to say that the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord Stanley, is prevented by illness from coming today.

Of the Indian representatives it is unnecessary for me to say anything about His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, but there are one or two things that it is a duty and a pleasure to say. One is that it is largely due to His Highness's generosity for a number of years that we have been able to organize our entertainments. In 1932 he was good enough to make a five years' grant to the Society, and he has now very generously renewed the grant for five years more. (Applause.) You will all have followed His Highness's speeches during the Imperial Conference and at the Empire Day Banquet in which this Society participated. We are also very glad to see here his Prime Minister, Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari.

Sir Zafrullah Khan is an Indian statesman, distinguished at the Bar and in public life in the Punjab, and Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for Railways and Commerce. He took a leading part in the Round-Table Conferences, and I am assured that he has at his fingers' ends the Government of India Act.

Both His Highness and Sir Zafrullah had the honour yesterday of receiving the degree of Doctor of Law at Cambridge, and I think we should wish to congratulate them. Those of us who have not entirely forgotten our Latin admired the graceful language in which the Public Orator greeted His Highness and Sir Zafrullah. I think we ought to have prepared two congratulations in Sanskrit and Arabic respectively for them. (Laughter and cheers.)

We are very glad to welcome also the Nepalese Minister and members of the Special Mission from that country for the Coronation.

Yesterday was marked by the conferring of honorary degrees at Cambridge to the delegates from India, and this morning has been marked by a ceremony which is of great interest to this Society. Our honorary secretary, Sir Frank Brown, received the honour of accolade from His Majesty this morning. (Applause.) I do not know of anything in the Coronation Honours which has given such widespread pleasure and which has been felt to be so thoroughly earned by years of devoted service to India. It is unnecessary for me, and really it would be an impertinence for a comparatively late-comer like myself, to enlarge on the services Sir Frank has done for the East India Association, but until I had the pleasure of becoming his colleague in administering the affairs of the Association, I had not realized the true meaning of the word indefatigable.

We hope very much that His Highness the Gaekwar will be so good as to say a few words to us.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA: The Chairman has referred to us in such an appreciative manner that it would be impossible for me to answer him adequately. It is not the first time that I have been the guest of the East India Association, and for its hospitality I shall always be grateful.

The East India Association and the National Indian Association are doing a great work. It is good that the people of this country and of

India should mix socially as much as they can and try to understand each other's ways, manners, weaknesses and strength. If this is studied impartially and with an open mind, I am sure the respect of each for the other will be much more than exists today.

The East is said never to move, but the East is changing fast. We are imitating some of your best things, and I think with the adoption of those manners and customs it will be more easy to mix than it has been in the past. Take the question of caste. Let me tell you that many of these old ideas are slowly but gradually disappearing. At my table I have had people of the depressed classes invited to dinner, and all men of different castes including Brahmins come and share the fare. Years ago this would have seemed revolutionary, but now people look upon such intercourse as an everyday thing and a thing that many of them think ought to come. I was some years ago invited by my Muhammadan friends to have a dinner at a mosque. I went with several of my *darbaris* and gentlemen, and none of them refused to come. We had a good dinner, great hospitality and a very hearty reception. That shows that religion does not divide us as much as some people think. The Muhammadan religion has certain principles which any intelligent man will adopt, and in the same way there are certain principles in Hinduism which others also can adopt without the least hesitation. After all, the principles of ethics and love are common to humanity, and if those are properly interpreted and laid before the people, many of those differences of feeling and sentiment will gradually dwindle away, and there will be a bond of friendship and close sympathy.

Sir M. ZAFRULLAH KHAN said: The first thing that strikes me is the generous and munificent hospitality that we have been offered this afternoon by the East India Association and the National Indian Association, but then His Highness as well as myself are members of the East India Association, as most of you are, and therefore we are really a family gathered together.

The East India Association is no mere ordinary association. It has long been an institution, and I wonder whether to gentlemen who visit and revisit London, and those of Britain who have been connected with India, London would be the same place if there were no longer an East India Association. The Association has for the last seventy years sought to bring Indians and Britons together in social functions and in functions where they exchange ideas upon different matters that touch the welfare of India and individual relations of India and Britain. It is difficult to estimate how much good has been done in promoting mutual understanding on these matters between India and England through the efforts of the East India Association.

I have known Sir Frank Brown, the very energetic secretary of the East India Association, for now over a quarter of a century, and if you knew how large a part of my age that is, you would be able to guess that we started our relation with each other very early in life. You have already had proof, those of you who have been connected with the East India Association, how persuasive he can be; at any rate his commands are never to

be denied. This morning, when we met at that very pleasant function, where His Majesty bestowed upon Sir Frank Brown the honour of knighthood for his long and distinguished service in the cause of India, Sir Frank's first question to me was, "Have you received my commands to speak today?" I said, "Yes, but if you will also tell me what I am going to say this afternoon it will make it very much easier for me."

Well, here we are all together, and it is not necessary to say in words what kind of work the East India Association has long been doing and is doing. When I walked into this room it was already fairly full, and Sir Frank gave me no opportunity of walking about and meeting more than the occupants of these two tables. The first person I met was Sir Louis Dane. Each time I come to England my vanity continues to prompt me to remind Sir Louis Dane that as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1911 he bestowed several prizes upon me when I was a student at the Government College at Lahore. Of course, it is mostly in these functions of the East India Association that we have met each other in the last few years. Here is an arithmetical problem for you as to the relative ages of Sir Louis and myself. Seven years ago Sir Louis was double my age, and in seven more years he will be more than double my present age.

Then I see Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with whom one had differences in political views during the sittings of the Committee on Indian Reforms, but whom I venture to claim still as a very sincere and fine friend, and I am sure the sentiment is mutual. One used to tremble in one's shoes when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, but when one came in closer contact with him and Lady O'Dwyer, one began to learn how much kindness there was behind the sternness.

Then I have met Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode. Sir Philip, as you all know, is the very distinguished Commander-in-Chief who has only lately retired from India, and I had the honour to sit with him as a very humble and sincere admirer of his on the Viceroy's Executive Council. I see at another table that very distinguished lawyer and judge the Rt. Hon. Sir Shadi Lal. Then I have had the honour to speak to the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, whose husband was so illustrious and distinguished a Viceroy of India.

But this is only at this end of the room, and if all of you were to tell one another how many contacts you have renewed during the afternoon, you would be able to estimate the work that the East India Association is doing at this time when mutual understanding means so much more than ever it did in the past. I am sure we are extremely grateful to the East India Association and the National Indian Association for providing this opportunity for so many of us to come together and spend an afternoon with one another. (Cheers.)

PURDAH IN INDIA

BY DR. S. N. A. JAFRI, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

THE literal meaning of "Purdah" is nothing more than "Privacy," a thing which is needed by women in even the most advanced countries. But the system, as practised in India, is perhaps peculiar to India, just as the caste system and untouchability, is something more rigorous than mere privacy. In its extreme form, its characteristic is the seclusion of women within the four walls of the zenana, preventing them from seeing the outer world.

As can well be understood, such restrictions are only feasible among the upper and the upper middle classes. On the other hand, the hard reality of economic necessity makes the observance of these restrictions wellnigh impossible, and hence they have always been free from restrictions in this respect. It may be of interest to note objectively the gradual disappearance of this system. Owing to the impact of Western civilization, our upper classes, including in a general sense the upper middle class, had the first opportunity to come into contact with it, with the result that they yielded to the liberal outlook of Western civilization. Gradually this change in outlook and behaviour spread to the generality of the upper and middle classes as a whole. The Dolis or palanquins gave place to motor-cars and other modern conveyances; also, the Purdah clubs or Purdah parties are symptomatic of this change. An important section of the lower middle class, however, succumbed to this change owing to their economic condition necessitating some sort of additional income from the women of the family to add to that of the men. In short, the adoption of Western culture and the stress of economic forces have been responsible for cutting at the root of this system.

The system of Purdah has come in for much adverse criticism, and this has led some Indian enthusiasts who are unacquainted with their histories to disown it and attribute it to extraneous influences. Students of history, however, know very well that Purdah, as it exists in India, is an ancient indigenous institution and that it existed in one form or other in ancient times in many countries of the world. As Mrs. Frieda H. Das writes in her book on *Purdah*, "It arose along with the division of persons into high and low castes and the seclusion of women became the hallmark of aristocracy." Another authority on Indian social questions, Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., writes in his book on *Contribution*

of Islam to Indian Culture: "It is, of course, untrue that Islam brought the Purdah into this country. Seclusion of women can be traced in all ancient communities, and it was particularly among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hallmark of gentility." Purdah tended to become stricter, and Manu's Laws, a special feature of which was distrust of women, contributed especially to that state of affairs. The only time when women were allowed to come out was the "Swayambra" or the wedding ceremony.

The following few quotations and instances from the most authentic Hindu scriptures and ancient lore serve to prove the existence of the Purdah system in this country from the times of the Aryans. Let us take the two most authentic records of civilization which every Hindu regards as sacred—namely, Ramayana and Mahabharata. It will be seen from these books that Purdah of the most rigorous type existed in those days in the distant past when women like Sita and Drupadi could claim that their persons were not seen by the sun and the winds, and not even by the gods themselves.

When Sita came out of her seclusion to accompany Rama in his banishment the people felt greatly agitated seeing their Rani out and cried out, "How bad times have become that Sita, of whom the gods could not obtain a glimpse, has now come out to face the vulgar gaze." *Ramayana, Yodhia Kandam, Swarj 33, Sloka 197.*

In another episode in the Ramayana it is said that when King Rama, after his conquest of Ceylon, asked for his consort Sita to be brought to his presence, the companions of the King began to clear the hall of men, on which King Rama, as one learned in the Hindu scriptures, pronounced the following verdict:

"Listen, gentlemen! On the occasions of grief or helplessness or war, or the ceremony of choosing a husband, or a sacred sacrifice, or matrimony, it is no sin for a woman to come out of her seclusion or for men to cast their looks on her. This Sita is grief-stricken and helpless, and there is no harm if she comes before men, especially in my presence." *Ramayana, Yudh Kandam, Swarj 114, Sloka 942.*

When Raja Bibhesan brought out Sita from her seclusion and conducted her to the presence of King Rama, she felt so shy that she bent low and could not walk "as if she was covering herself in her own body" (*ibid.*).

Similar references to the strict seclusion of women are found in the Mahabharata, and one characteristic episode is that of Yudhistar losing his wife Drupadi in the gamble, and when the

winner Duryodhan tried to take her out in the open, she bewailed: "The Rajas had seen me only on the occasion of choosing a husband (Swayambara). No one saw me ever before or after it. Even the sun and the winds could not see me. But misfortune has forced me to appear before men today. Alas! The Rajas have lost their ancient faith (Sanatan Dharm). No gentleman ever brought his wife before man. But, alas, now religion finds no place in the family." *Mahabharata, Sloka 4, 5, 8, 9, Sabha Paroh, Adhyaya 69, p. 61.*

In the Puranic days we also find the same rules of Purdah, and it is said that when Raja Manas, the uncle of Raja Sri Krishna, held a wrestling bout in Muttra and invited the royalties from far and near to attend it, he constructed enclosures for females in such a manner that they seemed to be floating high in the air, and thin porous cloth was drawn over to let the women watch the match below. *Hariwans Purana, Vishnu Paroh, Adhyaya 19.*

In the *Brahma Purana*, Sloka 39, Adhyaya 22, the public appearance of women is most emphatically condemned and a feature of Kalyug—i.e., the age of decline—is said to be that "women will become so corrupt that they will adorn their tresses and walk about in the open, not caring for the admonitions of their husbands and elders."

From these sacred books we come down to lighter literature, and we find in the *Harish Charitam of Ban*, Act 1, Scene 3, that the veil is mentioned as a sign of a noble woman, and at one place it is said, "As a veil on the face of a noble woman."

When Raja Dushyant saw Shakuntala for the first time, he exclaimed, "This appears to be a fully veiled girl, who has covered her body so closely that her body is completely hidden. In the house of these mendicants she appears to be a little sapling covered with dry leaves." *Shakuntala Ankor, Sloka 13.*

We also find a trace of this in *Kautalia's Artha Shastra*, a book written about 300 B.C. We find there laws for making contracts between women who lived in seclusion and others which are absolutely peculiar to such women. *Artha Shastra*, edited by Shama Shastri, 1919, p. 188 of English translation, and p. 147 of original edition, 1909, 3rd Adhi Karan, Dharn Shastriyam, pp. 147-148.

Mr. N. N. Law also mentions this in his book on *Ancient Hindu Polity* (London), 1914, p. 144.

Mrs. Frieda H. Das, commenting on the effects of Manu's Laws on women, says, on page 27 of her book on *Purdah*, "It is Manu's code that has had the most negative effects forging the unbreakable shackles on Indian women for countless generations."

The same author remarks on page 93 of the book referred to above, "Classical and later Hindu literature teems with slighting

references to woman's character. 'One may trust most deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful, large and fierce elephant, the tiger roaming for prey, the Angel of Death, a thief, a savage, a murderer, but if a man trusts a woman, he will surely be reduced to wander through the streets in desolation.' It soon inculcated in their minds the deep conviction that freedom of movement outside the house would lower their standing and place them on a common level with low castes."

It is important, however, to remember that this is not peculiar to Manu or India alone. In ancient times the view commonly held by the sages of different countries was not different from this. According to Socrates, "Nothing in this world is a greater source of trouble than woman." The Greeks, indeed, thought that it was easy to treat a snake-bite, but it was impossible to counteract the wickedness of woman. John of Damascus said, "A woman is the daughter of wickedness and an enemy of peace."

Islam, however, recognized companionship of women, gave them contractual rights in marriage and rights in movable and immovable property both for husbands, parents and other relations.

It will be of interest to note here how Muslim thought influenced this system. At the advent of Islam in Arabia, there were some kinds of veiling current there. But Islam did not countenance any of them. Being, however, opposed to coquetry it encouraged two things already in vogue there—namely, "Jalbab" and "Khimar." The former is a loose sheet worn over the dress also in India, especially by the Kshatriya women when going out. The latter was precisely the same sort of dress as nuns wear. In this the face, hands and feet were never covered. Women were allowed to walk freely and were never kept in seclusion. Only they had to go about modestly. The following quotations from the Quran clearly bear out the point that women were free to go about, only they were required to be modest. "Say to the believing women that they cast down their looks" (Part 18, Chapter 24, Section 31, Act 30). The same injunction is repeated at the same place for men also and they are also ordered to cast down their gaze. It is quite evident from this that men and women have been treated alike in this matter. There was no need for these injunctions, if men and women were not allowed to go about freely and come in contact with each other. Another passage of the Quran clearly shows that Islam never ordained concealing of face and hands. It enjoins upon women "not to display their ornaments," but says that this restriction does not apply to things that must appear (Part 18, Chapter 24, Section 4, Act 31). Again, the Quran sanctions that the women should go about and earn their living.

It is a historical fact that Muslims took their women into battle with them and allotted to them the same duties of nursing the injured and giving relief as is discharged today by the Red Cross and Red Ahmar Societies and Seva Samaties.

During the lifetime of the Prophet, women used to be taken by the Arabs in holy wars. Thus Omme-Atiya had accompanied the Prophet in various wars seven times. The Prophet also took with him his wife Aisha, and other women of the tribes of Omme-Muslim and Ansars (*Sahih Muslim*). Safia bravely killed a Jew in the War of Khandaq. In the same war Omme-Amara saved the life of the Prophet. (*Sirus Sahabiyat*, pp. 4 and 5.) Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* relates the story of the wife of Aban in connection with the battle fought on the plain of Aznadin. She had followed her husband to the holy war in which he was killed. She took an oath to avenge his death, and was actually successful in wounding the aggressor. History also proves that during the days of the Prophet, women attended mosques as they still do in many places.

According to the late Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, "Women continued down to the accession of Mutawakkil, the 10th Caliph of the House of Abbas, to enjoy an extraordinary amount of freedom. . . . Fathers were still proud of assuming surnames after their accomplished and beautiful daughters and brothers, and lovers still rushed to battle acclaiming the names of their sisters and lady-loves." (*A Short History of the Saracens*, p. 200.) The well-known author Abu-Tyyab Mohammad-al-Muffazal ad-Dibbi, returning once from Mecca, halted at a watering place not far from Medina. He was very tired and fatigued and went to stay in a neighbouring house, where he was welcomed and allowed to stay for a while by a maiden who was all alone in the house. Both began to chat, and "the words like pearls were scattered from her lips." Whilst they were thus conversing, her grandmother entered and sat down by their side, "laughingly warning the stranger to beware of the witchery of the fair girl."

Islamic history furnishes innumerable examples of their learning, writings and oratory. Ummul-Banin, wife of Walid I. and sister of Omer II., was a remarkable woman of her time, who scolded and gave a memorable lecture to famous Hajjaj. Sakina, the daughter of Hosain, the martyr of Karbala, has been regarded as "the first among the women of her time by birth, beauty, wit and virtue." Her residence was the resort of poets, jurists and learned and pious people of all classes.

This was the position when Muslims were in their pristine glory and the influence of other civilizations had not dominated them. Later some shades of seclusion developed among them

too, especially through Persian influence. But women were never shut within four walls even then.

This was the state of things when Muslims came to India. Those, however, who came were very few, and the millions of Muslims we find in India today are all Indians by birth, descent and race and naturally the aristocracy among them kept up the old habits of their forefathers which came to them as a legacy from their old civilization. The humbler of them, however, began to use Burqa (the covering from head to feet—very similar to the shape of a shuttle-cock) and go about in that dress to visit friends or for shopping purposes. Those, however, who came from the menial class, as unfortunately it is known in India, in spite of the Islamic injunctions to the contrary, did not use any such covering. However, modern influences and national needs are coming to our rescue, and we see now even elder women of the aristocracy shaking off seclusion. The intelligentsia, especially the young intelligentsia, both among Hindus and Muslims, feel themselves in opposition to this old custom, and as education is increasing and consciousness is growing among women they seem determined to eliminate the system.

THE ROMANCE OF MODERN JOHORE

BY SIR R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT.

(Formerly General Adviser to the Malay State of Johore.)

As I watched Sultan Ibrahim of Johore riding in the Coronation procession behind Mr. Baldwin and the Premiers of the Dominions, my mind leapt back to April 25, 1935, when, on the day before I left Malaya after thirty-two years' service, I heard His Highness' voice over my telephone in Johore Baharu, the capital of his State, saying, "I am very fond of the King and I want to do something about the Jubilee. Can Johore afford to give half a million pounds for the defence of Singapore as a Jubilee gift and would it be acceptable to the British Government?" His Highness, who weekly presides at his Executive Council, was as well aware as I that Johore could afford it, but the offer was startling in its magnitude, even for one of the wealthiest of the Malay protected States, and doubly startling broached in His Highness' informal way over the telephone. But what to my mind gilded that offer above price was that neither I nor any other Britisher had ever breathed such a proposal into the Sultan's ear.

It was as a youth in 1895 that Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne of Johore, when on a June evening his father, Abu-Bakar, died at Bailey's Hotel, an event today perhaps within the memory of few Englishmen except the Duke of Connaught, who twice visited the dying Malay ruler. Abu-Bakar was the grandson of the chief who in 1819 sold Singapore to Stamford Raffles to become a British possession, and indeed from that time down to 1889 the ancestors of Sultan Ibrahim actually lived in Singapore, wars having compelled the Malay court to abandon in 1718 its Johore capital for Riau and then Lingga, islands in the archipelago of which Singapore is a geographical unit. In fact, when the British started to develop Singapore, the sole relics of a former kingdom in Johore were, as a Malay MS. remarks, the dilapidated tombs of its nobles and a few gold coins. It was my fortune to discover far up the Johore river one of those tombs, that of a Sulaiman Shah, mentioned in D'Albuquerque's *Commentaries* but otherwise unknown until the inscription on his grave revealed him as the son of Mansur Shah, Sultan of Malacca from 1458 to 1477 and grandson of Muzaffar Shah, Sultan of Malacca from 1445 to 1458. The tomb of Sulaiman's brother, who became Sultan Ala'u'd-din Shah of Malacca, I discovered with the help of Tengku Ahmad, the youngest son of the present Sultan of Johore, in

Muar, a province of Johore, in an old graveyard, along with an anonymous fifteenth-century tomb, inscribed with the usual texts from the Quran and with a quatrain from *The Arabian Nights*, which Burton has rendered:

Thou wast create of dust and cam'st to life,
And learned'st in eloquence to place thy trust;
Anon, to dust returning, thou becamest
A corpse, as though ne'er taken from the dust.

These and a few other tombs and the dragon creese of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, now in Raffles Museum, Singapore, are practically all that is left of fifteenth-century Malacca and Johore, though both have older relics surviving from Hindu and even neolithic times. Their later history, too, is a fascinating subject for those interested in the chronicles of Portuguese, Dutch and English trade and adventure in Eastern waters, but I have told it at length elsewhere, and here space confines me to an account of how modern Johore rose from its dead past on the stepping-stone of that great port which British enterprise created out of the mangrove swamps of Singapore.

For with their indefatigable industry the Chinese who flocked to the new British settlement got the Proto-Malay pagan aborigines to bring down Johore's rivers rattans, wax, lime, resins, eagle-wood, ivory and gold-dust, and tin in small quantities. Still, however, even in Johore's more populated districts near Malacca, a writer in the 1830's records, "Owing to fighting among petty Malay chiefs, the thriving rice-fields have degenerated into barren marshes; an enormous forest, peopled with wild elephants, overshadows a soil naturally rich and prolific, while the gaunt rhinoceros and uncouth tapir stalk unmolested over spots once, if tradition belies them not, the sites of large and populous towns." Then, between 1835 and 1840, the failure of the spice plantations on Singapore island caused many of its Chinese agriculturists to migrate across the narrow strait of Johore, the strait since 1924 bridged by a causeway carrying a railway and motor road. Opening pepper plantations, these Chinese began to increase Johore's small population and revenue, and in 1843 gutta-percha (Malaya's wild indigenous forerunner of the imported para rubber) was discovered and fetched such a high price that the few civilized Muslim Malays then living in the State abandoned their rice-fields to collect the latex. In five short years the trade, of which nine-tenths was in the hands of Sultan Ibrahim's grandfather, was worth \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year, and if this old chief copied the obsolete Dutch system of monopoly, he made a public-spirited use of his profits, endowing Malay and English missionary schools in Singapore and defraying half the cost of two gunboats for the

suppression of piracy in local waters. At the same time he displayed that fearless independence which was to characterize his son and grandson, and occasionally he paid a Singapore lawyer two or three thousand dollars to indict stinging epistles to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, epistles which the dispassionate historian of today must hold to have been justified. One of his last political acts was to protest that the phrase, "adjacent seas, straits and islets, to the extent of ten geographical miles from the coast," in the 1824 treaty finally ceding Singapore, was never meant to imply the surrender of the southern part of Johore itself, and those interested in the law's delays will note that this error, though admitted, was not rectified by Act of Parliament until the present century.

When, in 1826, Abu-Bakar succeeded his father, the Malay States were no longer united against the Dutch East India Company or controlled by the old Malacca-Johore Empire (which Holland and England had split up for ever), so that for years what are now the prosperous Federated Malay States, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, had been in a turmoil of civil war and difficulties with immigrant Chinese tin-miners. But though the Governor of the Straits Settlements duly reported that outside Johore and the northern Malay States under the suzerainty of Siam there were confusion and anarchy, with consequent disturbance of trade, yet inheriting the tradition of John Company, the India Office steadfastly refused to intervene. Abu-Bakar, however, could not thus stand entirely aloof. Marriage-ties and the cession by his cousin, the ruler of Pahang, to Johore of Tioman and other islands compelled him to do his utmost to support that ruler against invasion by a younger brother. The pretender won, took back the islands and founded the present Pahang dynasty, whereupon, with the opportunism he had studied in the old John Company, Abu-Bakar accepted defeat, had indeed to do so as Fort William refused to assist him against invasion. In the fratricidal struggles of Selangor royalty Abu-Bakar did not see eye to eye with the British Government, and said so, "with the full knowledge that I should not lose a tittle of the confidence or consideration of your Government because my views did not coincide with yours. Instead, I may claim to more, if anything, as my own sentiments were suppressed, because opposed to those of your Government, I have acted in conformity with the latter." Lord Kimberley declared that he had never suspected Abu-Bakar's good faith, so that when in 1875 Mr. Birch, the Resident of Perak, was murdered, the Johore ruler was again called upon to be the intermediary between his own race and the British, and there was even a proposal from London that he should be offered the Perak throne. By a series of treaties signed at Government House,

Singapore, in 1876 and 1877, several small Negri Sembilan chiefs agreed to refer their disputes and difficulties to the arbitration of Abu-Bakar, who went so far as to send a sort of Malay Resident to advise them. Finally, in 1886 the British invoked his aid to bring peace and security to Pahang. For a while it had looked as if Abu-Bakar might hope to restore Johore's ancient suzerainty over the Malay States of the Peninsula, but in 1867 Malaya's affairs had been transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office, which in 1873 decided to start the Residential system. After the Perak war consequent on Birch's murder, that system grew rapidly and led to Great Britain acquiring the suzerainty once exercised by Abu-Bakar's ancestors and before them by the Sultans of Malacca.

But if he was disappointed in his imperial ambitions, Abu-Bakar's abundant energy wrought miracles in Johore. Struck by the dignified tempo of Malay life, the European is too apt to accuse the race of laziness and apathy, whereas the amazing industry of Abu-Bakar in the Pahang war and in Johore affairs, for example, led me elsewhere to compare him with D'Albuquerque, who found time to sign indents for flags, for dressings for an elephant, and for food for a panther on its voyage to Portugal and to initial payments to natives who had carried oyster-shells to make mortar. So, too, Abu-Bakar's correspondence covers advice on opium-smoking, advice on Pahang taxation, instructions for cleaning rifles, the proper doses of medicine for fever, the housing of Pahang women refugees, the supply of salt, rice, tobacco, biscuits and guns for the fighters, timber-cutting in Johore, the indebtedness of Chinese sawyers, the provision of a Chinese graveyard, modern land laws for Johore, requests for flowering forest trees for his palace garden, and innumerable other details. In 1866 he paid his first visit to Europe, was granted an audience by Queen Victoria, met the Prince of Wales, and toured England with an eye to the needs of his own country. When he came to the throne, Johore's present capital had been little more than a fishing-village. In 1885 the then Duke of Sutherland, visiting it in his yacht, found a little town with 10,000 Chinese and "a market-place of architectural pretensions," and was taken to inspect plantations of coffee, tea, cloves, gambir and pepper. The Duke's piper trained the first Malay ever to play a Scottish reel, and the Duke tried to eat a durian. His host played cricket and billiards, quoted Tennyson, and kept a stud. In 1882 the Sultan had already entertained the late King George V. and his elder brother; the royal princes finding "the huge drawing-room like one of the state-rooms at Windsor and furnished from London," and being entertained by a Malay regatta, Chinese conjurors and the Singapore races, to which the Sultan drove them in his coach.

Like his son, Abu-Bakar was a great traveller, visiting India, Java, China and Japan, and in Europe meeting the Kaiser, the Emperor Francis Joseph and Sultan Abdu'l-Hamid of Turkey. For her Jubilee in 1887 he had presented Queen Victoria with a silver model of the Albert Memorial, and on his next visit was invited to Windsor Castle; Johore still treasures a letter in the Queen's own hand thanking Abu-Bakar for a walking-stick and signing herself his "affectionate friend."

Travelling *en grand seigneur* must have cost Sultan Abu-Bakar large sums, and absence from his State owing to ill-health had led to its finances getting into a mess. When the present Sultan came as a youth to the throne, he found an empty Treasury and no staff competent to keep proper accounts. He sealed up the Treasury, collected a staff and defied the "wicked uncles," who reported him to the Governor at Singapore for violating tradition and prophesied openly that he would die young. The Governor considered that Sultan Ibrahim was a young ruler trying to do his best in very difficult circumstances, and he declined to interfere unless the Sultan invoked his aid. As for threats, a boxer in his youth, a keen horseman and ardent big-game hunter, who shoots driven tigers on foot, Sultan Ibrahim has never known what physical fear is. On two occasions when armed lunatics attempted his life he dodged their weapons and captured them himself with his bare hands. One day he found his police hunting for a murderer. When the fellow emerged from the jungle, drawn cutlass in hand, Sultan Ibrahim, unarmed, walked up to the madman and, offering him a cigarette in return for his weapon, persuaded him to surrender. Like his father and grandfather, Ibrahim has boundless energy, needing only a few hours' sleep. As a boy he was intolerant of book-learning, and though he passed through a Malay school, he studied in an English school for one day only, after which he ran away to the horses he loved. Today he is bilingual, speaking English and Malay with equal fluency, and having also a smattering of Chinese, Tamil and Arabic. Quite early he recognized the need his growing State had of expert financial and legal assistance, and employed as his unofficial adviser Mr. Buckley, a well-known Singapore lawyer. Later he engaged a former Resident of one of the Federated Malay States. And then, finally, in 1914, he asked that there should be accredited to his court a seconded British civil servant to be styled General Adviser, whose advice His Highness engaged to accept on general administration and on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom. At the same time he stipulated that Malays and Europeans in his service should be treated on terms of equality, and he arranged to appoint Europeans, official and unofficial, to his State and Executive Councils. For years as its

Colonel His Highness had devoted much care to the very fine Johore Malay regiment, for some time giving up half his privy purse towards its maintenance. At the outbreak of the Great War Sultan Ibrahim placed himself and his regiment at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, and under his personal command the regiment, whose marksmanship and smartness on parade are above the ordinary, took part in the suppression of the Singapore mutiny, while the wife of the Governor and other ladies found a refuge in his palace at Johore.

In 1914 the revenue of Johore, a State of the size of Wales, was £507,838, in 1928 it was £2,414,776, and in the current year is likely to reach a higher level than it has ever attained. The main sources of that revenue are Customs duties on tin and rubber, land rents and excise. There are Government Departments dealing with administration and justice, land and surveys, agriculture, forestry, mines, medical services and health, education, police, all of them with a mixed personnel of British and Malays. Enough for most men would be the labour Sultan Ibrahim has personally exerted in the development of his State, with its modern roads and railway, its postal and telephone services, its electric-lit towns and their water supplies and its medically inspected estates. But his abundant energy, coupled with a keen business brain, led His Highness in the very early days of rubber to plant several thousand acres of his own property with para, about which he would ride on daily inspection while many of his subjects were still in their beds. Another example of his prescience is that he could foresee the development of motor traffic, and, rather against the views of British officials, insisted on the construction of a motor road alongside the railway on the causeway joining his State to Singapore.

I met Sultan Ibrahim in London after the Coronation festivities and told him that I was writing this paper on Johore. "Is there anything you would particularly like me to say?" I asked. "Only this," His Highness replied. "Say that the Sultanah and myself have been overwhelmed at the warmth of our reception in London and at the hospitality that has been lavished upon us." Yet, when they return to Johore, time will not hang heavy upon their hands. The Sultan will go back to his life-long task of studying the interests of his State, and the Sultanah will take up again her work for Malay womanhood and devote to a new palace, now building, those talents for decoration which have made the Sultan's Singapore house the most tastefully furnished in Malaya.

EDUCATION IN TURKEY

By Z. M. NIKSEL

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

THE present state of Education in Turkey cannot be fully understood without a survey embracing the origins of the Turkish Empire and its subsequent political and social phases. The edifice of education in Turkey is so new, so different from the past, that it seems to have no relationship to the system prevalent until a quarter of a century ago. Amazing changes have effaced all vestiges of parentage between the old and the new. Nevertheless, the link between the past and the present must be detected and described. Without knowledge of the past the present would not impress itself with the necessary strength and clarity. If today the principles governing education in Turkey are so divergent from those prevailing before, that may be explained partly by the fact that Turkey was very backward and partly by the impact of the reaction.

Education in Turkey may be divided into three main periods:

I. The theocratic period: from the origins to the Tanzimat (1300-1839).

II. The transition period: from the Tanzimat to the proclamation of the Turkish Republic (1839-1923).

III. The reform period (1923-1937).

Of these three periods, the first has endured five centuries, the second scarcely a century, while the third, only 15 years old, has already achieved a deep and far-reaching transformation.

THE THEOCRATIC PERIOD

The Turkish tribe of Kayihan which came from Central Asia and settled down on the borders of the Ægean and Marmara Seas, adopted the Islamic faith. This event exerted great influence on the future destinies of the Turkish Empire. At their first contacts with their Muslim neighbours, the Turks found a high stage of theological and juridical learning. The Islamic religion had already an all-embracing code regulating the relations between the citizens and the State and between the citizens amongst themselves.

When the Turks abandoned their nomadic life and settled down in the conquered country they had to create in addition to

the military hierarchy and discipline a civil and judiciary organization. This led the Turks to open early, in Nicea and Broussa, medresses which trained the "kadi," the "muftis," and the major part of the State officials. The medresses increased and thrived until the end of the reign of Soliman the Magnificent. They provided the State with many prominent dignitaries. But, by their very nature, they could not develop. Furthermore, they degenerated with the decline of the Turkish Empire. The few attempts that were made to introduce in their programme matters of modern science remained sterile. The spirit of the medresses was irreconcilable with the spirit of evolution. Not only could the medresses not keep pace with the progress made in Europe, but they even constituted a stronghold of the fiercest and blindest conservatism.

Besides, the medresses were deeply marked with the Islamic stamp. Islam, like the Roman Catholic Church, is universal. It has no frontiers. It takes to its bosom all who are willing to tread the path to salvation, and it erects walls between Muslims and non-Muslims.

That was perhaps one of the reasons which hindered the multifarious elements of the ancient Turkish Empire to become amalgamated. That explains also why Turkey awoke so late to a national consciousness and why Arabic and Persian literature took such deep root in the Turkish written and spoken language.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The Tanzimat represents the big exertion made by the Turkish Empire to follow new paths. It created the modern school, but left the medresses in their original state. The men who had the care and the nurture of the young could not free themselves from the rooted prejudices of the time. While the medresses continued their old activity in their old channels, the country had one eye turned to the past and one eye turned to the future. Mediæval and modern teaching, the first under the authority of the Sheikul Islam, the second under the authority of the newly created Minister of Public Instruction, was inculcated into the minds of the youth. This created a state of things which greatly jeopardized the unity of the nation. Though timorous and vacillating, the reform was nevertheless a rosy dawn. Schools, primary and secondary, were erected in many parts of the Empire, where Arabic was not the sole teaching.

Apart from the School of Engineers, the War Academy and the School of Medicine, created during the last years of the theocratic period, the following schools were established in this transition era: The modern Lycée of Galata Saray (1868). In this

lycée the instruction was imparted mostly in French by French professors. This school provided the majority of the diplomats of the ancient and new régimes.

The civil service school "Mulkiye" (1876). This school trained the majority of the governors ("valis") and sub-governors ("kaymakans") of the provinces.

The law school "Hukuk Mektebi" (1879). The shariat had been codified before and promulgated as law under the name of "Mejelle." During this period a large volume of legislation had been achieved.

THE REFORM PERIOD

The salient feature of this period is its complete detachment from the past. The transition period had already shown that half measures and compromises would hamper the speeding along the road leading to new democratic ideals. In consequence, four main principles were accepted as the basis of the new system of education: (1) Laicization; (2) unity; (3) abolition of difference of teaching between the two sexes; (4) training of the body as well as of the mind.

The outstanding changes which have given to the Turkish cultural life of the last decade quite another aspect are: (a) The adoption of the Latin alphabet, (b) the reform in the tuition of Turkish history, (c) the reform of the language.

The adoption of the Latin alphabet has contributed greatly to the spread of instruction in all the layers of society. The Arabic alphabet uses very few vowels. The Arabic moulds or forms made up, to a certain extent, for the absence of vowels, but the Turkish language has quite a different morphology. They formed on account of this fundamental difference an ill-assorted partnership. The adoption of the Latin alphabet is one of the most sweeping reforms of Atatürk. People who had remained illiterate until middle age could learn in a few days to read and write.

The corporation of public writers, which in the corners of mosques wrote petitions and letters with reeds of different sizes and lengths, belongs to the picturesque old Turkey. Certainly one still sees today in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul a few public writers who with rickety old typewriting machines draft epistles and documents, but they are the last remnants of the profession.

THE TEACHING OF TURKISH HISTORY

During the ancient régime the history of Turkey was considered to be a continuation of the history of Islam. The Turks were after the Seljukians, the standard bearers of the Muhammadan

faith. Until twenty years ago the history of Turkey was taught in the primary and secondary schools after the history of Islam and as a natural and chronological sequel. Now the history of Turkey is taught as a part of the history of the Turks. Under the auspices of the society for historical researches a new history book has been compiled with the required gradations for different classes. The new tuition makes the Turkish boy and girl feel themselves not an heir to the Arabs, not a crusader of the faith, but a scion of the Turks and the torch-bearer of another culture with its cradle in Central Asia.

THE REFORM OF THE LANGUAGE

The Turkish language has been rendered cumbersome and unwieldy through the infiltration in the course of many centuries of a quantity of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. In reality the evil was engendered less by the words themselves than by the plurals and phrases. The Arabic forms of plural, the Persian possessive and adjectival forms linked together in long sentences ("terkibi izafi" and "terkibi vasfi"), gave to the Turkish language a hybrid appearance and made its acquisition extremely hard. This gave birth to a class of "mandarins" and dug a gulf between the learned classes and the people.

Since Shinasi, Namik Kemal, Ekrem and others the Turkish language has undergone a purification and little by little rid itself of its dross. But this process seemed to the radicals to be too slow. As a reaction from the subordination of the Turkish language to the Arabic and Persian, the movement to abolish the Arabic and Persian forms was begun and the watchword circulated to dispense with Arabic and Persian words whenever Turkish substitutes were available. In order to employ as few Arabic and Persian words as possible, Turkish philologists searched in Turkish provinces and villages and in other countries where Turkish is spoken for Turkish words which would fill the gaps left by the abolition of non-Turkish words.

This movement has so far followed a zig-zag course. The sharp turns have been corrected by the good taste of the enlightened part of the nation. The movement seems to have subsided somewhat, but as the process is going on and its boundaries are not yet quite visible it would be premature to pass judgment upon it.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

During the Sultanate and until twenty years ago primary education was imparted in Turkey by the Ministry of Public Instruction, by foreign schools, by schools belonging to non-Muslim

communities, by those under the authority of the Sheikul Islam, and by those managed by the Evkaf (religious endowments). The law of March 3, 1934, unified the education and put an end to this anarchy. All primary schools are now either under the direct authority of the Ministry or under its effective supervision. The primary teaching lasts three years in the villages and five years elsewhere. In the first three classes only one branch is taught. It is called "life knowledge" ("Hayat Bilgisi") and comprises, as may be easily guessed, the whole range of human knowledge, but only in their rudiments. Children are made acquainted with the objects that surround them and with the phenomena that strike their imagination. Specially they are taught to develop their power of expression by speaking, by writing, by drawing, and by moving.

In these schools the teaching is led and inspired by the outstanding actual events. The big headlines of the daily papers supply the themes. For instance, a few days ago Turkish public attention was dominated by the Sanjak question. By this opportunity, children were taught how Syria as an ancient Turkish province had the Sanjak under its sway. What is the importance of the Mediterranean Sea? Why is language a powerful factor in preserving the national feeling? What is a mandate? What is the League of Nations? What are treaties?

Every year between January 12 and 18 there is a "Buy Turkish week," also called "the savings week." This week, when the weather is propitious, is dedicated to the inspection of the industrial equipment of the country. Children visit plants, factories, banks, and railway stations. This affords an opportunity for imparting to young minds a knowledge of economics. What does the Turkish soil produce? What is exported? What is imported? Why does deposited money bring interest? What are public loans?

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The grammar school ("orta okul") is the link between the primary school and the lycée. Before the Republican régime there were secondary schools, called "Idadié," comprising five or seven classes. They were institutions giving under the same roof grammar school and lycée education. Today the lycées are completely separated. The grammar school teaching lasts six years and is divided into two equal periods. The second period of three years belongs to the lycée curriculum.

Boys and girls in the grammar schools are taught history, geography, civic knowledge, mathematics, science, hygiene, foreign languages (as many hours as Turkish), drawing, music, laboratory work, military training (during these hours girls are busy with

housewifery). In the second period sociology and philosophy are added to these branches and the hours devoted to foreign languages are increased.

THE LYCÉES

The lycées have taken in the new régime the place of the ancient "idadiés" of the villayets (provinces). Their programme has been broadened and modernized and their standards raised. In order to make a better selection for the university, the school-leaving examination has been dissociated from the matriculation examination. The number of alumni in 1936 (11,746) is ten times greater than ten years ago. New schools have been erected in many villayets. They have all been equipped with quadrangles, gymnasiums, laboratories, and libraries.

In spite of the increase in the scientific branches, the timetables are less overburdened than before, because Persian and Arabic, which occupied the third part of the curriculum, are no longer on the programmes. The loss, in this respect, if any, is not very great. The methods employed in teaching Arabic and Persian were antiquated and rested chiefly on learning by heart. Like all things hoarded in the memory without passing through the channels of comparison and discrimination, a very small part of the mass of the incoherent knowledge resisted the corrosive action of time. Among those Turks who graduated from the old "idadiés" fifteen years or more ago one seldom meets a fortunate scholar who can read and understand an Arabic or Persian text.

THE UNIVERSITIES

At present there is only one university in Turkey: that of Istanbul. It has five faculties: law, literature, economics, science, medicine. The university includes among its professors prominent people of European standing. Most of them are German professors, ousted by the Hitler régime. Lectures are given either in German or in French, and they are translated into Turkish by young Turkish professors mostly graduated from foreign universities. Some of the foreign professors have begun to lecture in Turkish. They have pledged themselves by a clause of their contract to lecture in Turkish at the end of four years. Some have been able to do so before the expiry of the term.

Ankara will in a few years be the seat of the second Turkish university. It has already a faculty of law, a faculty of languages, geography and history, and an agronomic institute with a veterinary branch. The school of political sciences which prepares for the civil service has lately been transferred to Ankara.

The creation of a faculty of medicine will be realized in the near future.

In Istanbul and in Ankara the number of girl students is approximately the fourth of that of the boys. Only in the faculty of literature of Istanbul the number of girls is slightly superior (207 to 287). The Turkish girl frequents the university not only to train her mind and broaden her horizon, but also in order to secure a financial independence even when she belongs to a well-to-do class of society. There are no careers in Turkey from which women are debarred. They have not only invaded the clerical positions but are also judges, lawyers, physicians, agronomists, and State officials.

When one sees in Ankara and in the other big cities of Turkey girls hurrying in the morning to the Ministries and banks, and remembers that their sisters twenty years ago stagnated in idle expectation behind the high walls and latticed windows of their houses, one may well wonder how this magical metamorphosis has been possible. As Ankara, which was during the old régime a city of hardly 40,000 inhabitants, now shelters 130,000 people, the question of the completion of the university involves the problem of residential accommodation. Every time that the Ministry creates a new school in Ankara, it provides for a boarding institution for the students. Perhaps one day a sufficient number of hostels for students will be erected to enable them to separate the problem of education from that of lodging.

The universities have assumed a high task unknown in the past. They are now independent centres of scientific research. The Turks will no more look at their own histories through the eyes of foreign authors. They are getting equipped in order to plunge in the depths of their soil to exhume the vestiges left by the past, and they do not expect that archæologists from other countries will come with spades and catalogue the buried treasures of their subsoil. They will gladly accept the help of others, but not with the indolent complacency of their predecessors.

PROFESSIONAL TEACHING

The plan of industrial equipment established and carried out by the Turkish Government could not fail to open new fields of activity to craftsmen of every category. That accounts for the favour which is enjoyed by the numerous schools of arts and crafts which supply practical and modern training.

The "exhibition of domestic arts and crafts," opened three months ago in Ankara, showed a revival of the ancient Turkish deftness and skill.

Apart from the schools which train the officers for the army and

navy the following are the principal technical schools that can compare with competitive foreign institutions: The Normal High School, the Pedagogic Institute, the High Agronomical Institute, the High School of Engineers, the School of Fine Arts, and the Conservatoire.

In technical training the girls have the biggest share. The Institute of Ismet İnönü of Ankara was created to supply the new requirements of the emancipated Turkish woman.

The Turkish lady is no more wrapped in a uniform dark "charshaf." The "charshaf" itself was not exempt from the caprices of the almighty Goddess Fashion, but it was less exposed to arbitrary change.

Now the models of London and Paris are anxiously scrutinized in Ankara and the other big cities, and its dictation is followed with reverential obedience.

ARE THERE ANY FOREIGN INFLUENCES?

It would be misleading to imagine that in the huge work of transformation the present statesmen of Turkey have copied this or that country. The edifice of education in Turkey is a composite one. One traces in it American, French, German, and other influences. Perhaps it would not be erroneous to perceive the features of the kindergarten in the Turkish primary schools, or the principles of the technical American schools in our professional teaching, or the structure of the French lycées in our lycées.

The Turkish statesmen did not hesitate to follow the paths of others when those paths were held to be the right ones, and have always kept in mind that the foreign systems were to be applied to the Turkish boy, who has different idiosyncrasies, brains, and hereditary instincts, and have, therefore, made the required adjustments.

No State and entity nowadays attempts to reform an institution or to create a new one without previous documentation of what is being done on the same lines in other countries. On the other side, among the young Turks filling now the offices of the Ministries and who have studied in France, America, England, Germany, and other countries, many have climbed the summits and have brought each a stone to the new edifice. No wonder that the architecture that has resulted is such a composite one.

PROBLEMS AND HINDRANCES

The lycées have reached standards far above those of the ancient "idadié," but new Turkey wants them to be what they are in the best European countries. All efforts converge towards this ob-

jective. The level of a graduate of a lycée determines the standard of the university student, and graduates of the universities now fill all the Ministries. Therefore, experience is gained until the properly co-ordinated curriculum suitable to the needs is found. The knowledge of foreign languages is a problem far more momentous and urgent in Turkey than anywhere else. We have to complete our national library. Many masterpieces of literature have not yet been translated into Turkish. This task remains for the rising generation.

The high standard reached by the University of Istanbul must be placed to the credit of the constructive policy of the Turkish statesmen. Neither the quantity nor the quality of the teaching is below the European universities. If improvement is needed, it is not on the teaching but on the learning side. That explains the active policy of the Government to raise the standard of the lycées. After the completion of the University of Ankara the Government will have to choose the seat of the third university.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE

The purification of the Turkish language has raised another problem. As the Turkish schools do not teach any longer Persian and Arabic grammar and syntax, many Persian and Arabic words have become obsolescent in the course of the last ten years. They are not used in the official language and are banished from the language of the newspapers. The pupils who now throng the schools are not able to read the works of early Turkish literature. Nefi, Nabi, Fuzuli, Nedim, and many others are for them mere puzzles. Nobody thinks of suppressing altogether from the school programme the ancient literature. The literary works are the mirror of the past centuries and are an essential part of national history.

On the other hand, the ancient works of literature could not be expurgated in order to make them intelligible to the new generation. The expurgation would be so extensive that nothing or very little would remain of the originals. This is one of the present issues that are being discussed in educational circles in Turkey.

VILLAGE SCHOOLS

In Turkey the villages are scattered in wide areas and have a very scanty population. The long distances prevent villages from being merged. Geographical hindrances will perhaps be overcome in a few cases. But this will not alter the general aspect of the problem. The building of forty thousand schools and the recruiting of sufficient teachers is mainly a question of State

funds. The appropriation for public education has been increased every year since the proclamation of the Republic. But the needs are too vast to receive satisfaction through the normal resources of the budget. The Government will perhaps in the near future, when the plan of industrialization nears completion, establish a quinquennial plan for the educational equipment of the country.

CONCLUSION

The education in Turkey rests essentially on democratic and civic foundations. From the lowest class of the primary school to the highest class of the university there is no such thing as social distinctions. Education is gratuitous in all its stages. For the boarders, too, the rule is: no fees. When pupils pay, the tuition is very low and measured according to the economic circumstances of the town where the school is situated.

The school prepares not only men who have to conquer a place under the sun, but citizens conscious of their duties to the nation. Pupils are taught to love the régime which has led Turkey to independence, dignity, and responsibility. The enthusiasm is not suffered to tarnish. The flame is carefully fed. I do not think there is exaggeration in the movement. The boys and girls know not only what has been achieved, but also that which remains to be done. They are told that the biggest part of the task depends on them. There is no self-complacency but constant goading. They are not told to believe that Turkey is a paradise. They are told that it behoves them to make their country an Elysium. Nobody conceals the fact that the path is full of thorns. But the results acquired in the last fifteen years are highly stimulating. The groping period will soon be over. Turkey has displayed unsuspected talents of organization. The new generation which inherits the experience of their elders who have done the arduous pioneer work will pass with a steadier pace to higher goals.

THE CHINESE RAILWAYS TODAY*

By GEORGES MASPERO

(Formerly Resident-Supérieur of the Civil Service in Indo-China;
Member of the Academy of Colonial Sciences.)

THE imposition of the Conventions of Peking, in October, 1860, upon the Chinese Imperial Government by France and England, and the signature at Peking and Tientsin of the various treaties similar to them which the Western Powers secured between 1860 and 1864, gave Europeans the illusion that henceforth they could indulge, according to their own inclinations, in the exploitation of the riches of China in the service of their particular interests. The Chinese, on the other hand, had for the most part definitely decided never to submit to obligations which they had only agreed to under the constraint of military force and their intention, therefore, was, by trickery and inaction, to bring them to nought.

The story of the building of the first railway on Chinese territory affords remarkable evidence both of the mistake which the Westerners made and of the rooted intention of the Imperial Government to free itself at all costs of the intrusion of the "foreign barbarians." Twenty-seven European merchants of Shanghai asked permission, in 1863, to build a railway between Shanghai and Soochow, an important place about sixty kilometres† to the west of the great Chinese port, and Li Hung Chang, who was then Imperial Commissioner and Governor of the province of Kiangsow, declined to place their request before the throne. The reason which he gave was that he did not consider that a railway would be profitable to China except in so far as it was built by the Chinese themselves. If it were constructed by strangers it would merely have the effect of increasing their influence, which the Imperial Government was anxious at all costs to avoid.

Two years later a new request was made. This time it was a question of a tramway on the road, about seventeen kilometres long, to connect Shanghai with Woosung, a small town situated on the Yangtze (Blue River), opposite which anchored the large

* Communicated to the "Comité d'Études des Problèmes du Pacifique" on December 17, 1936.

The most recent documents which I have been able to consult in drawing up this article are those which Mr. Lawrence Chen, Research Fellow of the Council of International Affairs, published in the *Information Bulletin*, Vol. I., No. 3, June 1, 1936, under the title "Chinese National Railways and Reconstruction."

† 8 kilometres = 5 miles.

steamers which were not able to pass up the Wangpo to Shanghai itself. Though consent was given, the construction of the tramway, begun in 1865 and stopped in the following year, was only resumed in January, 1876. Put into part use over a distance of nine kilometres on June 30 following, and used over the whole distance in December of the same year, the line was bought in October, 1877, by the Chinese, who immediately stopped all traffic on it and finally demolished it. The Europeans did not insist.

The defeat of the Chinese armies by the Japanese forces at the end of 1894 and the signature of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, revealed to the astounded nations of the West the weakness of an Empire which they had thought invulnerable. Judging it to be powerless to offer resistance to their demands, they made no further attempt to conceal their ambitions, which henceforth took an urgent form. Between 1895 and 1911 they exacted from the Imperial Government a whole series of concessions for railway contracts. The result was the building, without any collective plan, of a certain number of main lines, which were constructed not so much for the normal exploitation of the economic wealth of China as with the actual object of serving the interests of certain individuals and the political ambitions of the Powers which secured the contracts.

During this period five thousand kilometres of lines were laid, the work being paid for by means of loans which the Imperial Government found itself compelled to accept and to guarantee on the security of the revenue from customs and excise, and this without being able to take into account the economic requirements of the country nor to have any say in the financial burdens imposed upon it. These lines are: Trans-Manchurian from Manchuli to the port of Vladivostok, afterwards extended to Peking (Peiping); Peiping—Hankow; Tientsin—Powchow; Peiping—Kalgan (Tchang-kia); Taochow—Tsing-ha, called the Tao-ts'ing line; Chengtung—Taiyüan, called the Tcheng-t'ai line; Nanking—Shanghai; Shanghai—Hangchow; Kiaochow—Tsinan, called the Kiao-tsi line; Kaifen—Loyang (Honanfu), called the Long-hai line; Canton—Hankow, first section; Canton—Kiolong.

The Chinese revolution (1911), with the internal disorders involved by it, the World War (1914), with the abrupt cessation of all activities on the part of the Western Powers in China, caused for some time a suspension of the building of railways.

It was only in 1922 that work was resumed. Nearly two thousand kilometres of new lines were laid during the subsequent years:

Canton—Chaochow, Wuchang—Changsha, Ta-p'ou—Ling-hong ho, Ta-p'ou—Ling-pao, Kalgan (Tchang-kia)—Fengchen.

The Western Powers, however, were not wise enough to profit by the situation. Instead of joining forces in a common effort, they injured one another by their actions in rivalry, and China once more exhibited her skill in profiting from this state of affairs: she succeeded in raising loans on unexpectedly favourable terms and at the cost of guarantees of no great value. Payments of interest were gradually suspended through lack of the necessary resources and of foreign credits; the construction of new railway lines was entirely held up. Disorders in the country, the lack of a strong government, the failure of budgetary resources, resulted in the gradual abandonment of the upkeep of the existing lines. This had reached such a pitch that by 1927 the railway lines of China were in a deplorable condition, the rolling-stock in bad condition, and financial assistance and the possibility of raising it had ceased to exist.

In less than ten years the National Government of the Chinese Republic has succeeded, at the cost of wonderful efforts and discipline, in reversing completely the condition of affairs; at present China may justly pride herself on a railway system already extensive, and look forward to the promise of a future worthy in every respect of the economic wealth of the country.

Established at Nanking on April 18, 1927, the National Government formed in 1928 the Ministry for Railways; to this Ministry was allotted, as its first task, not only the completion of existing lines and the elaboration of a scheme for new lines intended to form, with the old, a national co-ordinated system, but the establishment of a standard form of contract for collaboration with the foreign Powers. This form of contract, while safeguarding the political and economic interests of China, would ensure to these Powers and their dependents a profit which should be legitimate but which should possess no political significance.

In spite of all the difficulties which the National Government of the Chinese Republic has had to face, the trade deficit consequent upon the stoppage of exports as the result of the world crisis, the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese which has robbed it, since 1931, of the revenue which it secured from this province under the heading of Customs and Excise, the Hoang Ho (Yellow River) floods in the same year (1931) which involved heavy expenditure for assistance and works of repair, the Ministry for Railways has had considerable success in the task assigned to it.

It has, to begin with, pushed on actively with the completion of the main lines primarily required.

The putting into service in October, 1933, of a train-ferry on the Yangtze (Blue River) between Powchow and Nanking has secured direct traffic between Tientsin and Shanghai. This ferry,

of 1,200 ton power, is capable of transporting on each trip from one bank to the other a load of twenty-one 40-ton goods trucks or a passenger train of twelve coaches of the largest size and of a similar weight. The cost amounted to 3,800,000 Chinese dollars taken from the British Boxer indemnity fund and repayable in four instalments from the net profit of the transporting service.

The extension of the line called the Long-hai has been actively pursued. To the east, the line, lengthened by 30 kilometres from Ta-p'ou, opened to traffic in the first half of 1935, now reaches the port of Lien-yun Kang, which thus becomes the terminus of the Long-hai on the Yellow Sea, to the north of Kiangsu. Towards the west, the line was first extended from Ling-pao to T'ong-kouan, a distance of 70 kilometres put into service in August, 1932, then from T'ong-kouan to Sian, 132 kilometres, inaugurated in December, 1934, then over 180 kilometres to Paoki, this section having recently been put into use. The whole work has cost the sum of about 40,000,000 Chinese dollars which includes the cost of supplying the port of Lien-yun Kang with water.

The line called the Tcheng-t'ai, which runs from Chengting in the Hupeh province on the Peking (Peiping)—Hankow line to T'ai-yuan in the Chansi province has been connected, by a one-metre line from Yu-tseu station, to T'ai-ku, 35 kilometres off in an E.S.E. direction.

The Wuchang—Canton line, a prolongation of the Peiping—Hankow line, has been constructed, in its northern section, from Wuchang, on the south bank of the Yangtze facing Hankow, to Tchou-tcheou 35 kilometres to the south of Changsha over 417 kilometres, and, in its southern sector, from Canton to Lo-tch'ang, reached by the first locomotive in August, 1933, over a distance of 274 kilometres. The central section between Tchou-tcheou to the north and Lo-tch'ang to the south, 406 kilometres of railroad, was finished in May, 1936; in order, however, to allow of a proper settlement of the permanent way, traffic was not to be allowed on it until the end of 1936. The cost was about 62,000,000 Chinese dollars.

To the south, the line called the Chekiang—Kiang-si, which runs over 336 kilometres from Hangchow through Kiang-chan in the Chekiang and Yu-chan to the Kiang-si, was opened to traffic at the end of 1933. Constructed at their joint expense by the province of Chekiang and the Ministry for Railways, it cost 13,000,000 Chinese dollars, including a 24-kilometre branch line from the station of Lang-k'i to Kin-hoa. Its extension to Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi, was officially inaugurated on January 15, 1936. The construction of these 300 kilometres was carried out by the Chekiang Kiangsi Railway Company with a capital of

16,000,000 Chinese dollars, contributed jointly by the provincial governments of Chekiang and of Kiangsi and by the Central Government. A permit to exploit had been granted to it by the Government. Finally, the sector Nanchang Ping-siang, 300 kilometres in length, is now under construction and will be put into service in 1938. The cost is borne by a chartered company formed under the auspices of the provincial authorities of Chekiang and Kiangsi and of the Minister of Railways; it has a capital of 60,000,000 Chinese dollars, of which 24,000,000 were obtained through public loans issued, in equal parts, by the Ministry for Railways and the provincial government of Kiangsi. Thus the line Hangchow—Kiangchan—Yu-chan—Nanchang will connect, near P'ing-siang, the centre of an important coal-mining district, with the line Peiping—Hangkow—Wuchang—Canton to Tchou-tcheou, situated 35 kilometres to the south of Changsha. The provincial government of Kiangsi proposes to construct another narrow-gauge line from Nanchang to Kan-tcheou, which may eventually be taken to Chaochow on the Wuchang—Canton line.

The construction has also been begun of a line to connect Nanking with Canton across the eastern and central provinces of China—Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Fukien, and Kwantung—serving by branch lines the ports of Foochow, Amoy (Hia-men), and Chan-t'cou (Soua-tao). The first sector from Nanking to Souen-kia-pou by Wou-hou, 170 kilometres in length, was opened to traffic on April 1, 1936. At Nanking itself a 16-kilometre connecting line joins the terminus of this line to the terminus of the Nanking—Shanghai line.

The increase of traffic on the Shanghai—Hangchow—Ningpo line and the opening of the Chekiang—Kiangsi line have necessitated the construction of a bridge over the Tsien-tang River; the amount required for its construction have been jointly subscribed by means of a 5,000,000 Chinese dollar loan from the "China Development Finance Corporation" and the "Chinese British Corporation." It is to be about 1,400 metres long with two platforms one above the other, one exclusively reserved for railway traffic, the other consisting of a 6-metre road for vehicles, and on each side of the road a 1.50 metre footpath; it should be completed towards the end of 1937.

A glance at the map of China will show that the railway system of the Republic, as it exists today, still fails to cover, to the west of the main line Peiping—Hangkow—Wuchang—Changsha—Canton, the greater part of the provinces of Hupeh and Honan and the whole of the far-eastern provinces of Kiangsu, Szechwan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi. One only among them, the province of Yunnan on the border of Tonkin, has a railway for the export of its products, and this is merely a prolongation of the railway

system of French Indo-China. From Saigon, the port and capital of French Cochin-China, this line follows the coast of Annam, passes through Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, and enters the territory of the Chinese Republic to the north of Lao Kay and ends at Kong-ming (Yunnanfu), capital of the province of Yunnan.

But these provinces, from the Chinese economic point of view, are of the first importance. Kansu is the caravan route; by this route, through Lanchow, Kanchow, and Yumen, the "Gateway of Jade," by Kou-tchéng and Ouroumtchi, capital of Sinkiang, trading is still carried on by means of slow-pacing camels, between the eastern Yellow River provinces and the Asia of the mussulman. The Long-hai line actually stops at Pao-ki, about 50 kilometres from the eastern border of Kansu. The Minister for Railways has naturally put the extension of this line on his list of urgent works. Prospecting for it has hardly yet begun. It would appear, however, that the conclusion has already been reached to abandon the line of country originally proposed, which was through P'ing-leang and Tsing-ning by the valley of the River Woei.

In the south, Kweichow is still more cut off from the rest of China owing to difficulties of access presented by the mountain ranges which cover it and by the absence of any navigable river allowing it to be entered.

But, from the point of view of general economic interest, it is the province of Szechwan which should first be opened up. At present its only means of communication with the coast is by the Yangtze, a river difficult for transport and 2,600 kilometres have to be covered to reach the sea. It is still more difficult to return up it because of transshipments required in the middle of the river's course, the rapids and sandbanks in the upper reaches. Navigation is difficult enough when the river is high; it is a still more painful process during the dry season. And yet, while in 1934, according to the statistics of the Customs' authorities, 740,872 tons of goods were brought down to Wan-hien, 392,694 tons were conveyed up to Tchong-king. What a terrific task it must have been. In the Yi-tch'ang sector twenty-four vessels, in the course of one year, 1934, were severely damaged as the result of running on to banks of sand or against rocks in the rapids. The figure for imports from and exports to Szechwan amounts at present to as much as 100,000,000 Chinese dollars, the figure for imports generally exceeding the export figure by about 1,000,000.

The plan of campaign drawn up by the Ministry for Railways has as chief object the removal of the isolation of these western provinces and to bring them into the general economic exchange system of China.

A line from Changsha, which thus becomes the great centre of

the Chinese railway system, will go through Pao-king to Yuan-chow. In this neighbourhood it will split into two main routes. The first, running in a north-westerly direction, will cross Peng-chouei, reach the Yangtze, which it will cross at Tchong-king, go up the river towards Yong-tchouan and Kiangtsing, and then make towards Tch'eng-tou, passing Nei-kiang. The second, running south-west, will reach Kouei-yang, which it will cross, and then continue to Kong-ming, capital of the province of Yunnan.

From Tch'eng-tou, capital of Szechwan, a railway will rejoin the line from Long-hai to Pao-ki. And from Nei-kiang, on the line Tch'eng-tou—Tch'eng-king, a branch line running south will cross Tseu-liéou-tsing, an important salt-mining centre, and, by Sou-si-tcheou, will rejoin Kong-ming in the province of Yunnan, where it will connect both the Chinese Kouei-yang—Yuan-techeou—Changsha line with the French Indo-China railway system (Trans-indochinois Yunnanfu Hanoi Hué Saigon).

Finally, Kwangsi will be served by a railway which, starting probably from Chaochow, on the Canton—Hankow line, will run to Nanning, the capital of the province, and connect at Long-tcheou with the Indo-China railway system on the line Lang-són to Hanoi.

Thus Szechwan will be in communication: by Pao-ki with the Hoang-ho railway (Long-hai line), by Yuan-chow with the Blue River and south-east China system, by Tseu-liéou-tsing and Kong-ming with the French Indo-China railways which will put it in direct communication with the ports of the Gulf of Tonkin and of the China Sea.

The execution of this enormous scheme, remarkably conceived for ensuring both a reasonable economic exploitation of China and the connection of its national railway system with that of the railways of the world, will commence with the construction of the line Tchong-king—Nei-kiang—Tch'eng-tou, about 600 kilometres in length. The funds required for the purpose, about 45,000,000 Chinese dollars, will be raised under a scheme of Franco-Chinese collaboration, the details of which have been drawn up in a contract signed at the end of 1936. French capital, through a loan repayable in fifteen annual instalments, will supply 8,000,000 Chinese dollars in cash and 27,000,000 Chinese dollars in railway material, the balance—namely, 10,000,000 Chinese dollars—being found by the "China Development Finance Corporation."

The Minister for Railways, who has thus fulfilled the third task which, on the foundation of the Ministry in 1928, was allotted to him, has carefully drawn up the conditions of this collaboration, the success of which he has guaranteed, in the spirit of the instructions given by the founder of the Chinese National

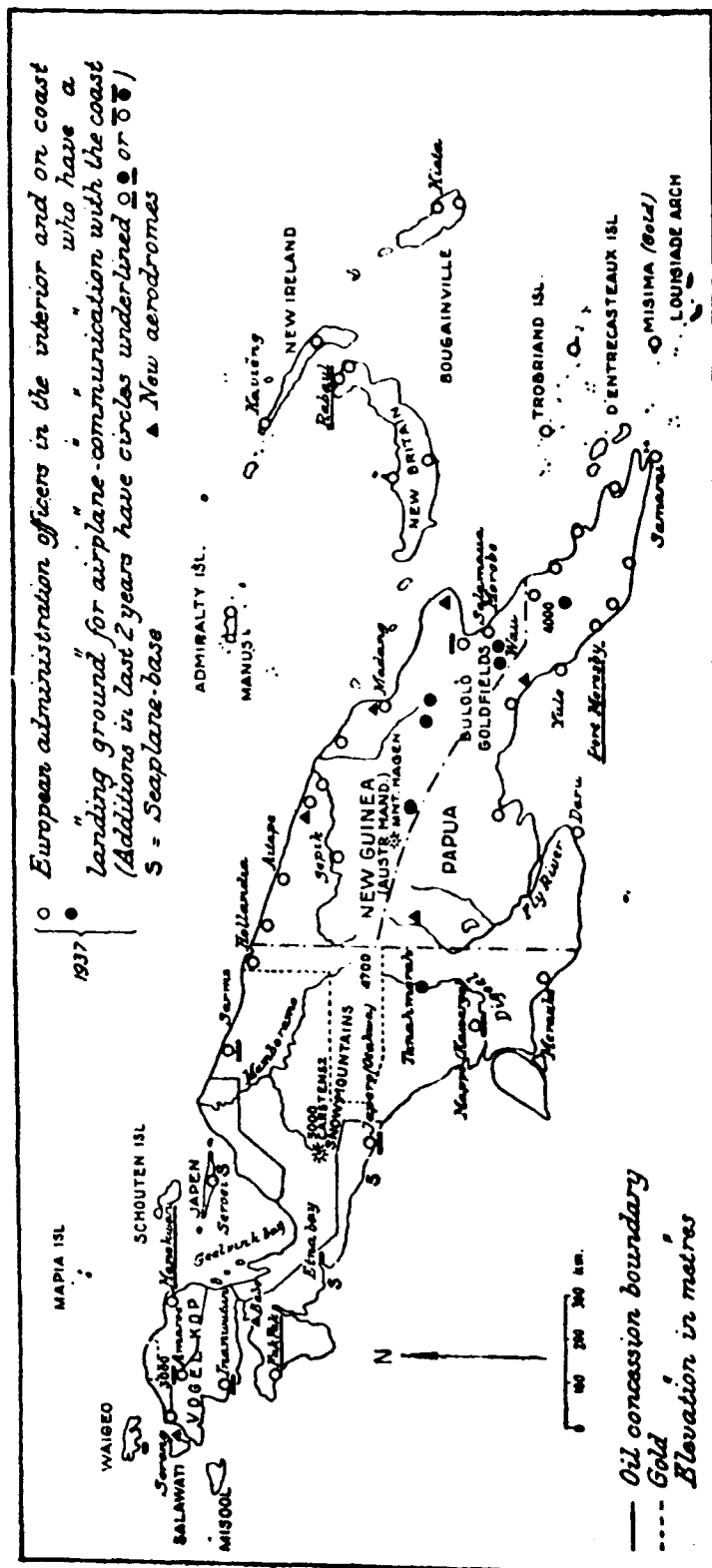
Republic. Sun Yat Sen was, in fact, fully aware of the magnitude of the effort imposed upon China by an equipment on modern lines which was indispensable for her social and economic development and of the impossibility of her being able to do this with her own resources only. In his view foreign collaboration in China would remain an unavoidable necessity. "Europe and America," he wrote, "are a century ahead of us in the way of industrial development. In order, therefore, to overtake them we must secure the help of their capital and above all of their machinery. If we cannot obtain capital from them, we should at least invite their experts and inventors to come to us, and thus, with their assistance, secure the industrial equipment which we lack." This desire to attract foreign collaboration by guaranteeing a fair profit but to keep it strictly to the limits of industrial and financial activities without it being able to intervene in the sphere of politics, also inspired the Ministry of Railways when the new railway statutes for China were drawn up. Their object may be summarized thus: to give complete security to capital borrowed to assist in the completion of the railway system of the Chinese Republic while at the same time keeping these activities within national bounds.

To guarantee the security of the capital invested, the Ministry has been careful, remembering the saying "exploitation should pay for construction," to include in its plan of campaign only those lines of action which, while meeting as closely as possible the normal requirements of the exploitation and economic development of the country, would enable a productive and rapid return to be anticipated with practical certainty. Further, the Ministry being anxious to retain political and social control of the work, has decided to act itself as manager of the enterprise and itself to exploit the newly constructed lines. By exercising its own control it claims that it can ensure not only the most economical utilization of the capital borrowed, but also the promptest possible repayment under the most advantageous conditions. It is the Ministry which sets to work capital supplied by foreign collaboration and from national sources, the Ministry which controls repayment from the receipts from exploitation, the Ministry which, on its own responsibility, guarantees success.

To facilitate the task it has established, to work with it, a "Commission for the Construction of New Railroads" with four departments, Secretariat, Technical Service, Financial Department, Staff Department, each with its own responsibilities. Finally, under the title of "Reconstruction Loan," the National Government of the Chinese Republic has voted it an "Internal Loan" of 120,000,000 Chinese dollars, the first part of which, 40,000,000, has been issued. Ten million dollars have been

allotted for the construction of the line Tch'eng-tou—Tchéng-king to Szechwan.

Such, in the sphere of railway construction, has been the work of the National Government of the Chinese Republic since its establishment at Nanking. The democratic States cannot do less than offer their congratulations, especially France, which has been enabled to observe the establishment of a still closer economic relationship between the two nations.



for Dutch New Guinea, 1935, 2,725.5 tons, and for Australian New Guinea, 1934, about 350 tons.

As to gums, bark and rattans I see the main reason for the difference in the fact that the Chinese trader in Dutch New Guinea knows how to induce the native to bring these articles to his trading stations—for instance, by advancing import trade goods to him, and by keeping him in constant debt. Many people think that the small profits which these products yield are more attractive to a Chinese than to the European traders, but this is not



correct, as copal commands a price per ton which is more than double of that of copra, and bark is much more valuable still. Only rattan and timber have a value per ton which is a little smaller than that of copra. The European traders control the entire trade in Papua (where there are practically no Asiatics), and the bulk of it in the Territory of New Guinea, where there remain many Chinese from the German period, who are, however, being restricted as to their places of residence and their trade. Rattan and bark are doubtless exportable in Australian New Guinea in

A COMPARISON IN COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

TRADE IN AUSTRALIAN AND DUTCH NEW GUINEA*

By Dr. W. C. KLEIN

(Secretary of the New Guinea Committee.)

MUCH in this article is based on verbal information, which was very liberally supplied to me by my Australian friends during the trip to Australian New Guinea and Papua in 1935. I feel that I cannot mention all their names, but I should quote here at least the Hon. Mac Nicoll and Sir Hubert Murray, the Governors of the Australian territories, as also Dr. Haga, the Governor (Resident) of the Moluccas.

In the present article exports will be discussed first in the following order: Forest products, timber; plantation products, including rubber; animal products; mineral products. Then I shall discuss the imports—viz.: Foodstuffs and luxuries; textiles; tools, ironware, machinery; oils. Finally, the total volume of trade and the export surplus will be considered. It should be borne in mind that this survey deals with conditions during the world depression. The present increase in trade and the effects of the depreciation of the Dutch guilder in September, 1936, are not discussed.

The printed sources for the information required to obtain a good review of the trade of Dutch and Australian New Guinea are more scanty as regards Dutch New Guinea than they are for the Australian side.

We dispose of very good statistics for the Macassar trade, but no figures are published as to the portions of the Macassar trade that relate to Dutch New Guinea. Fortunately the K.P.M. Company (Royal Packet Navigation Co.) and various authorities were very obliging in supplying me with much of the data desired. In comparing the figures for Australian and Dutch New Guinea one is hampered by the various phases in the devaluation of the pound and recently of the Dutch guilder.

The literature consulted is given in a separate list in the original Dutch article, and this list will, of course, be accessible to the English reader also.

In publishing this and similar articles the Netherlands New Guinea Committee, which sent the author to New Guinea, intends:

* Based on material that will appear *in extenso* in the handbook in three volumes, entitled *New Guinea*, edited in Dutch under the supervision of the writer by the Moluccan Institute, a branch of the Royal Colonial Institute at Amsterdam. Volume 2 will appear next August (publisher: De Bussy Rokin 60, Amsterdam). A very brief résumé was published in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* in Sydney (February 24, 1937).

to promote an exchange of experiences between Australia and the Netherlands East Indies. The Committee intends to carry out this exchange on a much larger scale by having translations made of the reports about the developments in Dutch New Guinea and by having these published either in Australia or in a special English periodical, which the Committee will perhaps establish later, if funds permit.

EXPORTS

Forest Products and Timber

Here we see marked differences between the two portions of the big island. The Dutch half has a much bigger volume of trade for gum copal, timber, bark, rattan, nutmeg and mace. The values of the exports were in 1935 in Dutch New Guinea, as compared to those for July, 1934, to July, 1935 (briefly to be taken as 1934), in Australian New Guinea:

Gum copal and other gums:			
Dutch New Guinea	...	...	1,636 tons
Australian New Guinea	...	...	49 "
Timber:			
Dutch New Guinea	...	...	445 "
Australian New Guinea	...	...	138 "
Bark (including massoi):			
Dutch New Guinea	...	...	68 "
Australian New Guinea (Papua only)	...	...	60.5 "
Rattan:			
Dutch New Guinea	...	...	2.4 "
Australian New Guinea	...	...	0 "
Nutmeg and mace:			
Dutch New Guinea	...	...	574.1 "
Australian New Guinea	...	...	0 "

As a rule Papua's bark export was nil, but in 1934 mangrove bark was exported to Australia, mainly from Samarai. Ivory nuts are the only item under the above heading in which Australian New Guinea ranks first, but this is only so because the Solomon Islands belong to the Territory of New Guinea from an administrative point of view.

Ivory nuts:			
Dutch New Guinea, 1935	...	...	0 tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934	...	...	24 " £186.

None of the Dutch or Australian territories export mangrove products like tannin, grass products like paper pulp or sago, but in Papua, I understand, the manufacture of paper pulp will soon start, though not from timber, but from grass (alang-alang or kurukuru).

The total volume of exports of timber and forest products is

big quantities, if we take also the China market into account, which consumes inferior rattan varieties, and if we consider the good shipping communication with China that is available on the Australian side.

As to gum copal and other gums, also in the case of nutmeg, Nature has favoured the Dutch side. Good gum copal rarely occurs in Australian New Guinea, and I know only of trees along the uppermost parts of the Sepik river, located by the Dutch-German boundary expedition in 1910.

As to timber, the situation is very puzzling to me, as both Australian territories imported in 1934 (i.e., July, 1934, to July, 1935) for as many thousands of pounds as they exported in hundreds of pounds.

The 10 per cent. import duty apparently cannot prevent this. As Dutch New Guinea shows only timber exports and even rather big ones, the idea occurred to me when visiting the Australian territories in 1935 that the Dutch side could sell its timber to the Australian side, because the latter now gets it from Australia and the Philippines (mine timber for Papua even comes from Oregon, U.S.A.). As the timber sawn in the mission mills of Finschhafen and Sek is about the same as the Dutch timber (*Intsia* = *Afzelia* = ironwood) one might even suggest that this latter timber could replace the imports. It is also remarkable that the sum of freights and import duty in Australia is higher for Papuan than for American timber. In this and other matters I should be glad of additional information from my Australian friends, whom I did not question in 1935 about many points that only occurred to me after having worked out the collected data.

Plantation Products, including Rubber

These export products, on the contrary, show a marked superiority in quantity and value on the Australian side. Copra is of prime importance in both territories of the Australian part, and if we except the Papuan rubber, both halves of the big island practically have "put all their eggs in one basket" and do not export anything else.

Kapoc and Cotton

These are practically not exported from either of the New Guineas, whereas cocoa shows a steady but always small export figure on the Australian side. It is curious that in the Territory of New Guinea the attractive cocoa export premium (bounty) of £14 a ton, the valuable scientific advice of the Government (studies by the New Guinea Department of Agriculture, e.g., those published by Mr. Green) and the volcanic and other good soils available have not been able to lead to an increase of the cocoa exports.

In the German times (Vitu Island) they amounted already to 135 tons (1913), and this figure has rarely been surpassed since and never after the year 1921 (152 tons). As far as I can see it as a layman the native labour (Kanakas are less intelligent than Accra negroes) is largely responsible, and the latter also accounts for the fact that the few cocoa experiments on the Dutch side were unsuccessful. Australia imports against roughly 100 tons from New Guinea each year more than 5,000 tons from Accra and the West Indies. It is stated that the planting of cocoa during the copra slump of 1932-1934 will result in an increase of the exports of Australian New Guinea to a maximum of 500 tons of cocoa; thus the bulk of the Australian consumption will also in future be derived from other sources.

Rubber is doing well in Papua, and though it is the only commodity that private enterprise would at present like to start on the Dutch side, the international rubber restriction prevents us from doing so. Looking at the absence of restriction in Papua one wonders why the exports did not increase more quickly, and then the lack of a good road leading to the best rubber district (Sogeri) seems the explanation.

Papua exported more than 100 tons a year since 1917; in 1924 it passed the 500 ton mark, and in 1934 the 1,000 ton mark. For this slow increase there may be other explanations beside the above that occurred to the writer, who paid only a short visit to Australian New Guinea, and he is anxious to have additional information for this as well as for every other item mentioned in this article.

Copra

Copra is the main export product, and here we have the following figures:

Copra exports:			
Dutch New Guinea, 1935	...	...	4,586 tons
Independent Territory of New Guinea (T.N.G.), 1934-1935	56,251	..	
Independent Territory of Papua (T.P.), 1934-1935	...	8,570	..

On the Dutch side a relatively small part comes from European-managed plantations (Wakde plantation near Sarmi, another near Hollandia, some on Misool Island and other adjacent islands, and finally the small plantation of the R.C. mission near Merauke), and the remainder is trade copra; on the Australian side the trade copra (native copra) forms the smaller part; in fact, it forms only 3 to 4 per cent. of the bulk of the copra export.

The Dutch-Australian comparison as to copra indicated by the above figures is not fair, as the bulk of the Territory of New Guinea copra comes from New Britain and New Ireland, whereas islands of similar size near the Dutch New Guinea coast, like Geram and

Halmahera, are not included in the Dutch figures, as they do not belong to it officially. If we compare only the Dutch and Australian mainland we have for 1933:

Mainland copra:			
Dutch New Guinea	...	...	2,350 tons
Australian New Guinea	...	...	21,000 "

We see that in any case our Australian neighbours are far ahead of us. Doubtless this is due to at least three circumstances:

1. The more reliable labour supply (indentured).
2. The better shipping facilities, except during the period that the Navigation Act was being applied to Australian New Guinea (1921-1926).
3. The close proximity of Australia as a non-tropical territory consuming tropical produce.

In the Dutch territory the native will work no longer than 2 or 3 months average and then leave. Also there is no recruiting of labour in the interior on behalf of the plantations on the coast, which also limits the number of labourers available.

Native copra is being withdrawn from the sales to a greater or smaller extent after each copra slump, at least in Australian New Guinea. In 1920 and 1921 this reaction was very conspicuous in Papua, where the exports of native copra practically dropped to nil, after the fall in price of nearly 50 per cent. in the period 1919-1920. In the Territory of New Guinea the same observation was made (see Annual Reports of both territories).

In Dutch New Guinea and the Moluccas, though the bulk of the export is trade copra, the fall in price influenced the exports of this copra very much less; in fact, the exports from Dutch New Guinea in 1934, the worst year, were equal to those in 1931. The reason is largely that the administration more or less forces the natives to sell their copra to enable them to pay their taxes, which were only slightly lowered during the slump. They have in many areas no other means at their disposal to earn their head tax, as there are very few regular plantations. The Macassar exports, far from showing the influence of the great slump, increased between 1931 and 1934 by about 100 per cent. Nevertheless they consist nearly exclusively of native copra.

The system of marketing the copra is quite different in the two territories; we have successively for our native copra (1) the Chinese trader on the New Guinea coast; (2) the Chinese firm in Macassar; (3) the European firm in Macassar. The two big firms of the Territory of Papua and the Territory of New Guinea, Burns Philp and Co., Ltd., and Carpenter and Co., Ltd., can be compared to (3) if we take Rabaul as the equivalent of Macassar; (2) is always lacking; whereas, in the case of trade copra, (1) if present

is represented mostly by the European trader or the European planter, who had until 1936, at least in New Guinea, the exclusive right to buy the copra of the native groves adjoining his plantation. The native is paid on both sides in kind, as also the merchant on the coast. In both countries we have merchants travelling around on coastal steamers with a kind of floating shop.

On the Dutch side there is no copra inspection like in the Territory of New Guinea.

The bulk of the Dutch copra is exported to Europe; the United States fell out in the Macassar exports in 1934 in connection with the processing taxes introduced there; in Australian New Guinea the United States fell out about 1930, doubtless as a result of the law that prohibited imports in the U.S. of products made by indentured labourers. As the Molucca copra is all native copra this law did not have any effect on our side.

The ships that carry the copra to Europe nearly all belong on our side to the Batavia freight conference's regular freight lines; real tramps carry only about one-sixth (to Denmark).

On the Australian side tramp steamers play a big rôle and belong chiefly to the London firm of Andrew Weir and Co.; they give a much more regular service than one might expect from tramp steamers.

The enterprising firm of W. R. Carpenter and Co. have introduced their own ships (two of about 6,000 and 7,000 tons) to carry the copra to Europe (W.R.C. Line).

Sisal Hemp and Coffee

These are absent in the list of Dutch New Guinea exports; coffee is gaining a small share in Papua, and sisal hemp was in the past exported from Papua (up to 536 tons in 1919). Apparently the Australian shipping monopoly resulting from the application of the Navigation Act affected this industry in 1922 and 1923, though increased market prices caused a final flicker in 1924 and 1925. The bounty of £6 per ton introduced in 1926 came too late. German New Guinea at one time exported 21 tons in 1912, but this was all.

Desiccated Coconut

This seems a good but also the only example of the successful artificial creation of an industry in Australian New Guinea by means of a protective tariff in Australia. This tariff discriminates, not only against non-British desiccated coconut, but also against the Imperial product as manufactured in Ceylon. The preference is respectively 3d. and 2d. a lb.—i.e., £28 and £18 a ton! In April, 1926, this preference was introduced, and the first exports started in Papua in the same year, and in the Terri-

tory of New Guinea in 1929. In 1932 the Territory of Papua had reached an export level of 1,228 tons, and the Territory of New Guinea that of 1,282 tons.

These figures have increased only slightly since, as the Australian biscuit manufacturing industry is now entirely served by Australian New Guinea desiccated coconut. The biggest factory at Pondo (New Britain) has 600 native labourers and 9 Europeans, producing 1,200 tons a year. Also the Roman Catholic mission of Steyl (near Roermond) has a factory at Sek (Alexishafen) near Madang on the mainland of Australian New Guinea.

Animal Products

The export of these include the various kinds of shell and bêche de mer (trepang), and before 1921 also bird of paradise feathers.

If we include the Aru Islands in the exports of Dutch New Guinea the comparison is as follows:

MOP shells, troca, and other shells:			
Dutch New Guinea, 1934	...	...	609 tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934-1935	...	...	505 "
Trepang:			
Dutch New Guinea, 1934	...	...	61 "
Australian New Guinea, 1934-1935	...	...	98 "

The figures for the Aru Islands in 1934 amount for MOP shell to 505 tons; for trocas, etc., to 5 tons; and for trepang to 40 tons. From this it follows that the exports from Dutch New Guinea proper are relatively small as compared with Australian New Guinea. To my mind, though I may be mistaken, the main cause is the direct relations that exist between Australian New Guinea sellers and Japanese buyers, as also the direct shipping connection. Also the various taxes on our side amount to 15 per cent. of the value to be paid on exporting the shell from Dutch New Guinea, whereas in Australian New Guinea these taxes are much lower (maximum £2 a ton, *i.e.*, about 3 per cent. of the value). The fishing rights of the native inhabitants have been safeguarded only where they really existed to an appreciable extent, and there is no systematic reserving of fishing rights, like on our side, for natives in all the shallow seas of less than 6 fathoms, regardless of the question whether the native avails himself sufficiently of these fishing possibilities or not.

Looking at the figures, produced in the preceding pages, the shell output is apparently incapable of being increased on the Australian side; already in German times exhaustion of the reefs was feared, but they kept up very well, probably thanks to the constance of the quantity fished.

MOP shell is practically absent in the Territory of New Guinea, and the Territory of Papua only produces some 20 tons annually from the Samarai region (in 1935-1936 this figure dropped to 10 tons).

With regard to the trade in trocas we have already observed that those from Australian New Guinea go to Japan. Of the Dutch New Guinea trocas (or more accurately of the Macassar trocas, including those of Dutch New Guinea) only 15 per cent. goes to Japan and the remainder to Europe.

As to MOP shell trade, it is insignificant in the Territory of New Guinea. Between Papua and Dutch New Guinea there is in this case again a difference; Papua sends most of its MOP shell to London, whereas Dobo (Aru) and Macassar send most of its MOP to New York.

Gold and Copper

These are the only metals exported from Australian New Guinea; in Dutch New Guinea we are just now witnessing a first though very big prospecting campaign for gold.

Copper was only exported from Papua, and the New Guinea Copper Mines, Ltd. once occupied 100 Europeans and 1,000 natives when a big slump in prices came in 1926. The year 1925 saw the biggest exports (11,466 tons, value £201,732), and the industry that originated in 1924 saw its end practically in 1926 (582 tons).

Gold is the most important export item. Papua produced it since 1888, four years after the advent of the British Government in 1884. 1889 was a peak year with £89,000, and after big fluctuations another peak year was reached in 1935-1936 (£82,000). The increase in recent years is due to the hopes of finding fields in Papua similar to those in the Territory of New Guinea, that started production in 1921 or 1922, but jumped up in February, 1926, to very high figures after the discovery of the Ediecreek field. In 1927 £436,743 of gold were exported, and in 1934-1935 the annual output reached the figure of £1,897,244. The year 1935-1936 saw the first decrease (£1,649,788), and the industry seems more or less stabilized.

Anyhow the output in one year in the Territory of New Guinea surpasses the whole production of Papua from 1888 to the present day!

IMPORTS

We will consider first the foodstuffs and luxuries.

Rice

The great importance of the Australian half, as compared to Dutch New Guinea, is clearly shown by the rice imports:

Rice imported :

Dutch New Guinea, 1935	...	...	1,262 tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934	...	...	8,837 "

Two steamship lines are running between Saigon and Australian New Guinea, but the Dutch line (K.P.M.) has secured practically none of this business.

If one considers that Australian New Guinea occupied in 1934 nearly 40,000 indentured labourers against Dutch New Guinea none, it is surprising that the imports of Dutch New Guinea are still one-seventh of those of Australian New Guinea.

A remarkable feature in Australian New Guinea is the rice import into the interior by aeroplane: 1,500 tons are each year flown from the ports of Salamaua and Lae to the goldfields. Rice in Salamaua costs £18 per ton and in Wau £37; indeed an expensive transport! One wonders why rice-growing in the goldfields has not been tried on a more extensive scale.

Repeated trials to produce rice in the lowlands could not lead to any appreciable production, except at Mekeo in Papua (175 tons a year).

The rice imports into Dutch New Guinea exactly follow the economic depression; rice imports in each port decreased until 1934, and then in 1935 every port showed a rise, which was not so much due to the big explorations for oil and gold, that have just started, because ports without these activities showed this rise just as well. Apparently rice is, on our side, a very good index for the economic position.

Meat and Fish

They belong in the Australian part, where there are 40,000 indentured labourers, to the biggest import items.

Meat and fish, mainly tinned :

Imports in Australian New Guinea, 1934	...	£50,000
Imports in Dutch New Guinea, 1935	...	unknown

A big portion of this import goes to the indentured labourers of the Territory of New Guinea at Wau and Bulolo; it is to be anticipated that the meat import can be substituted in the long run by meat from cattle, held on "pastoral leases" which have been granted or applied for to an amount of a few thousand acres.

In increasing quantities tinned fish originates from Japan; the meat comes mostly from Australia, but also from the Argentine and New Zealand.

Tobacco

This item is much more important. In Papua, for instance, it is only surpassed in value by the imports of textiles and apparel,

and its value exceeds that of rice. The following figures show the distribution over the Dutch and Australian half :

Import trade tobacco :

Dutch New Guinea, 1935	...	...	87½ tons
Australian New Guinea	...	...	126 "

The figure for Dutch New Guinea is, moreover, too low, as the statistical figure does not include the tobacco sold in Dutch New Guinea by the big "floating shops" on the lower deck of the K.P.M. steamers that serve the Dutch New Guinea ports each month.

Though there are no tariff barriers against the Dutch East Indies all the tobacco imported in Australian New Guinea comes from Virginia (so-called "twisted sticks"), and all the tobacco imported on our side comes from Lombok and Java. An attempt to replace American by Dutch East Indian tobacco has never been carried out, as far as I know, but for many years endeavours were made in Australian New Guinea to manufacture the very popular sticks locally. We must now wait and see whether a recently created factory in Rabaul can drive out a part of the American tobacco. The natives in both New Guineas use and accept tobacco as payment. Australian tobacco is apparently too expensive to be bought by natives.

The import figures clearly show that the Dutch New Guinea native consumes much more tobacco than his Australian neighbour, because the number of the population reached by imports is far smaller on our side, though this is not reflected by the imports.

Textiles (Piece-goods, Apparel, Attire, Drapery Goods)

In the case of this item it is still more obvious than with other import goods, that the Dutch New Guinea statistics are less reliable.

As far as we could ascertain it the position was :

Textile imports :

Dutch New Guinea, 1935	...	Fl. 25,000
Australian New Guinea, 1934	...	£ 70,415

The figures are, however, not comparable, as the Dutch figure should be at least four times as big in view of the large quantities of textiles sold by the "floating shops" on board of the K.P.M. steamers, run by "travelling traders" from Macassar.

Though the figures do not reflect it clearly, it may be stated that per native under Government influence more textiles are imported in Dutch New Guinea than in Australian New Guinea, as in the

latter country the bulk of the males (in Papua also the females) are not allowed to wear clothes above the waist.

The country of origin for textiles is chiefly Japan, but much more so on our side than in Australian New Guinea; in the latter country the Japanese imports appeared earlier and predominate more in the Territory of New Guinea than in the Territory of Papua, doubtless on account of the better shipping facilities to Japan, of which the Territory of New Guinea disposes. The recent introduction of a Japanese line (Japan-Rabaul-New Zealand) will probably increase the quantity of Japanese imports.

Tools, Corrugated Iron, Profile Iron, Rails, Machinery Apparatus, Appliances (not including Automobiles), Vehicles, Aeroplanes

A reliable Dutch figure is unobtainable, though it would be interesting to have it, as it would reflect more than any other item the big oil exploration activities which started in June, 1935.

Iron, machinery, etc.: Imports into Australian New Guinea, 1934, £129,500.

Roof iron is an index of the number of non-natives (Europeans, Chinese, etc.). Their quarters are always characterized by corrugated iron roofs.

Machinery need only be discussed for Australian New Guinea. It is mainly mining machinery which is imported there, as other industries are lacking, with the exception of small saw-mills, desiccated coconut factories, ice plant, light and power plant in the bigger towns, etc. The country of origin of mining machinery for Papua is Australia, for the Territory of New Guinea it is for the greater part America. The American character of the biggest gold company, the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., is here the governing factor; in Papua all the mining companies are British.

Japan's encroachment upon the imports of all the other countries is not perceptible in the case of ironware and machinery. Even the Kanakas dislike Japanese tools and knives, like all the more intelligent natives of the Moluccas, Fiji, Samoa, etc.

I saw, however, Japanese nails and roof iron in Fakfak in Dutch New Guinea; in Australian New Guinea they are lacking entirely.

The natives of Biak and Manokwari in Dutch New Guinea make their own knives, axes, etc.; they understand the blacksmith's craft since many decades.

Oil

As to kerosene (lighting), Dutch New Guinea is gradually equaling Australian New Guinea with regard to the quantity of the imports. In 1934 the figures for lighting kerosene were:

Territory New Guinea, 342 tons; Territory of Papua, 133 tons; Dutch New Guinea, 173 tons.

The latter figure was 210 tons in 1935, and will be doubled in 1936.

Benzine, petrol, etc., including aviation gasoline, show the following figures:

Papua, 1934, 954 tons; Territory New Guinea, 1934, 2,746 tons; Dutch New Guinea, 1935 (no figures for 1934), but strongly on the increase, on account of the air survey of the oil concessions of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Co. (see map, p. 569)* by the Royal Netherlands Indian Airways.

The prices of the various oils are higher on our side, which can be partly explained by the heavy excise tax on our side of 13 cents per L. (about 2 shilling per gallon, as 1 L. = 4.5 gallons).

TOTAL VOLUME OF TRADE

If we study the figures or estimates available, we see the following for the years 1892, 1905, 1907, 1934 and 1935 (Dutch New Guinea in 1,000 fl., Australian New Guinea in 100 £. 1892 and 1905: £1 = 12 fl.; 1934 and 1935 £1 = 6 fl.

		Total for—					
		Dutch New Guinea			Australian New Guinea.		
		Exp.	Imp.	Diff.	Exp.	Imp.	Diff.
1892	...	462	265	+ 197	+ 35	± 47	- 12
1905	...	725	288	+ 437	± 135	± 224	- 89
1934	...	373	828	- 455	2,636	1,128	+ 1,418
1935	...	506	1,217	- 711			

		Total for—					
		Territory of New Guinea.			Territory of Papua.		
		Exp.	Imp.	Diff.	Exp.	Imp.	Diff.
1892	...	20	22	- 2	± 15	± 25	- 10
1905	...	65	144	- 79	± 70	± 80	- 10
1934	...	2,341	948	+ 1,393	295	270	+ 25

We see from the above statistics that in the period of about thirty years, between 1905 and now, the total volume of the Dutch trade increased some 70 per cent., whereas in the Australian part this increase was about 1,000 per cent. The latter rise was mostly due to the development of the ex-German territory, as here the total trade increased by some 1,600 per cent., whereas Papua's trade quietly rose to about the fourfold (300 per cent.).

* The areas for proposed aerial survey and for surface expeditions have no relation to this article and represent plans propagated by the New Guinea Committee.

Much more significant is the export surplus. On our side it was big and positive in 1905, and still bigger but negative in 1934; the other two territories show the more normal change from a negative to a positive surplus. If the Dutch had put money in Dutch New Guinea in the past instead of drawing benefits from it, we might have had the same normal course of affairs, as is shown by the Australian territories. Fortunately from the comparison of the years 1934 and 1935 the reader can learn for the Dutch part that we now put every year increasing sums of money into this country. If the statistics for 1936 were available this would come out still more clearly, as in that year Government, oil and gold mining companies all started to spend big sums in this territory, the former to equip some 5 new European and some 25 new native Government stations (see map on p. 568), the latter to bring in aeroplanes, drilling machinery, etc., to explore the mineral wealth (see map, p. 569). It would not surprise the writer if the total volume of trade in the next ten years would approach that of the Australian part; this of course depends much on the result of the oil and gold explorations, as forests and agriculture alone, even if strongly developed, could not make up the difference.

THE COMING RURAL HYGIENE CONFERENCE IN JAVA

By A. S. HAYNES, C.M.G.
(Malayan Civil Service, Retired.)

PRELIMINARY

FROM August 3 to 13, 1937, is to be held a Conference of Eastern Nations in Java, to consider rural hygiene on a basis of rural reconstruction. No such Conference in the East has ever been held before, embracing, as this one does, all the countries of Asia together with Australia. This vast area includes more than half the population of the whole world. Ninety per cent. of the people are agricultural. To promote their health and happiness the Conference is being held.

HISTORY

In 1931, under the auspices of the League of Nations, there was held a European Conference on Rural Hygiene. At the session of the Assembly in 1932, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Baroda and representative of India, supported by the representative of China, proposed that, as soon as financial conditions should permit, the League of Nations convene a similar Conference in the East. This proposal was repeated by the same Governments at the Assembly in 1934, and the desire was expressed that the Conference should meet in the not too distant future.

In the meanwhile the Health Organization of the League had been studying the question, and finding that it had evoked interest in Eastern countries decided that the Conference take place in 1937. A preparatory Commission,* appointed early in 1936, made a tour from April to August through India, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo-China, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies and Ceylon; and it is upon the basis of the Commission's report that the agenda for the Conference has been drawn up. The main heads of the agenda are as follows:

1. Medical and Public Health Services. Organization and Training. Curative and Preventive Action. Finance.
2. Rural Reconstruction. Co-operative Movement.

* The Commission was composed of: Mr. A. S. Haynes, C.M.G., Malayan Civil Service, retired, Chairman; Professor C. D. de Langen, Professor of Medicine at Utrecht, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Batavia; Dr. E. J. Pampana, of the Health Section of the League of Nations, Secretary of the Malaria Commission.

3. Sanitation: Housing; Water Supplies; Disposal of Wastes; Fly Control.

4. Nutrition.

5. Measures for combating Certain Diseases in Rural Districts—*e.g.*, Malaria, Plague, Leprosy, etc.

Any one of these heads is in itself a vast subject when considered in relation to the area of its application—the whole of Asia. Within the limits of this article it is possible to discuss only certain general considerations, with some particular emphasis on finance, on which nearly all projected improvements depend. If these few pages shall succeed in awakening an enlightened interest in this great Conference of Eastern Nations, a step towards the objective will have been made.

CHANGING CONDITIONS

The agriculturist in the East as in all countries is conservative, not without good reason perhaps. If to this conservatism we add poverty, fatalism, apathy, we seem to get a vision of the unchanging East, a static immobility resistant to the dynamic pressure even of those who wish to help. But however true this picture may have been in the past, or may be today in particular localities, it is no longer a complete picture of the truth. Poverty, malnutrition and isolation may induce fatalism and apathy. These are conditions of environment, and adaptation to environment is a law of all nature. Change the environment, and other changes will follow.

Today all Eastern countries are working towards the removal of poverty, malnutrition, ill-health and isolation. A glance through the list of Government Departments dealing with subjects like Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Irrigation, Education, Co-operation, Medicine and Health, to name only some of them, will reveal these activities and the large sums of money being spent on them. It will be one of the functions of the Java Conference to take stock of the present position, to pool experience and to recommend lines of action.

Changes in world affairs occur rapidly today and their repercussions are felt even in distant villages of Oriental lands. The village is no longer a self-contained unit living by itself, on itself and for itself; it is a small live part of an organic whole. Its fraction of produce may be one of the million units exported for consumption to the other end of the world; and this thin connecting thread of commerce makes it to that extent dependent on the economic conditions of distant countries completely outside its own orbit. Much cotton, jute, rubber, copra are produced on small-holdings. Visualize for an instant the distant peasant on

his fraction of land; his hard work may produce a good crop, but if world markets are suddenly upset and his produce not in demand it will then and there become worthless to him. A new set of conditions has arisen; the problem is to find a right adaptation to them.

The self-contained village did not progress; it may even have disappeared, being wiped out by malaria or famine. Today its contacts provide great opportunities; but it is clearly the duty of the Governments to guide the peasant wisely so that he may not rashly abandon his rice fields, his food crops, for new products which put money in his hand today, but leave it empty tomorrow. There must be a wise combination of food crops and money crops.

THE RESPONSE OF THE PEASANT

To what extent can the peasant respond? What does his apathy mean? A Cochinchina report of some years ago well described this apathy: "Ils (les paysans) subordonnent leurs revenus à la satisfaction de leurs infimes besoins. Ils travaillent d'autant moins que leur travail est plus productif; préfèrent l'oisiveté dans la misère à l'aisance par le travail." The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928) states: "Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." It is easy to overstate the apathy case. It is so commonly stated that it is commonly accepted without question; and perceptions are naturally coloured by that which the eyes and other senses are attuned to perceive. It is the experience of the writer during some thirty-five years of life in the East that many things which it was said the Asiatic could never be brought to do are the accepted practices today. Social customs connected with births, marriages and deaths are notoriously difficult to change. Rural indebtedness is commonly due to the force of village opinion which compels the observance of such customs upon a scale for which there is no money; a marriage feast may involve a lifetime of debt. A change in these things was said to be impossible, the visionary heaven of impractical enthusiasts. But this visionary heaven has in some measure come down to earth. Official reports are little read; let the newspapers speak. In a recent paper from the East we read of specific cases in which the Malays are learning economy (for which they were never famous), that extravagance is being checked and the outlay reduced on marriages and funerals. This is through the instrumentality of Co-operative Societies, called Better Living Societies. These are facts of today, and quite contradictory of the opinions commonly expressed yesterday about the possibilities of co-operation.

It is easy to find instances of failure amongst Co-operative Societies, especially during the recent years of economy depression; it is equally easy to find instances of failure in industry and commerce on Western lines. Progress is often zig-zag. But on the whole there is gain, and each successive generation starts ahead of its predecessor. The extent to which the peoples of Eastern lands are responding to co-operation is not generally known. It is amazing to read that in 1926-1927 there were in British India some 67,000 agricultural primary societies with over two and a quarter million members and a total working capital of nearly two hundred and fifty million rupees. In 1934 in one Indian Province alone (Bengal) there were nearly 25,000 societies, with a membership of 824,000 and a working capital of one hundred and seventy-eight million rupees.

As regards the peasant himself it is necessary to have abundant faith in him. The attitude of those who would go into the villages and persuade the people to better ways of living and rouse them to the desire to attain a higher standard of health and prosperity is an all-important factor. There is ample room for believing in the response of the peasant; and there is little doubt that the Java Conference will illuminate this view. But spectacular progress must not be expected, although it may come here and there. One generation is a short time in the life of a people.

THE PLANTER

In some countries of the East large plantations of sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee, coconuts, rubber and other products are disseminated through the countryside, interspersed, it may be, with the native villages.

What is the effect of such contacts, and what opportunities do they offer? In the experience of the writer, if the concerns are managed on the right lines, the effect should be mutually beneficial and the opportunities mutually advantageous. Amongst the needs of the native are: Cash for his own requirements and for payment of taxes, improved housing, safe water-supply, better sanitary arrangements for the disposal of waste of all kinds, better and more food and generally the experience of a higher standard of living. All these he will obtain on the plantation. At the same time his occupation will teach him better methods of soil management, of plant sanitation, of cultivating and preparing for market the particular crop. All this will be a part of his environment, and the extent to which he adapts himself will be a measure of the contribution he may make towards the improvement of his own village. Admittedly his contribution is often small, but he himself and his children are stronger and healthier beings. The

improved methods now common in small native rubber holdings are largely the result of the examples seen on the large rubber estates; and in soil management the Indore process of manufacturing humus on tea estates has spread in some places to the countryside. Again in health matters there can be little doubt that the efficient control of malaria on many of the large estates must have an educational value of no mean compass on the labouring population who benefit by it. In rural reconstruction the existence of such contacts is a useful element.* This will be revealed in any comparison between localities in which they exist and from which they are absent. They can exist without deracinating the native.

The extension of health services in villages is an activity which planters will strongly support. The anopheline mosquito and other carriers of disease do not recognize estate boundaries, and the expenditure of thousands of pounds on anti-malarial or other health measures on estates may be vitiated by the proximity of unhealthy villages. The complaint is often heard that while the Government on the one hand enforces properly the provision of extensive health services on large estates, it on the other hand neglects improperly to provide such health services for the peasant in his village. Such a charge is not without warrant. But there are extenuating circumstances: the area is so vast. Governments are not lacking in will but in money. The difficulties of finance, discussed lower down, will, it is hoped, be carefully considered at the Java Conference.

THE CAPITAL OF THE CULTIVATOR

Soil fertility is the real capital of the cultivator. The preservation of it intact is vital. It is one of the fundamental questions in any consideration of rural hygiene and rural reconstruction. On it, as the main source of nutrition, rests the basis of the life and health of plant, animal and man.

In some tropical countries, notably in Africa, a system of shifting agriculture has been practised. The soil in primæval jungle, uninterfered with by man, maintains fertility by the processes of nature; shifting agriculture fells and burns the jungle, takes the best out of the soil, makes no replacement and moves on to destroy another patch of jungle. In settled communities loss of

* The official Report on the terrible malaria epidemic of 1934-1935 in Ceylon records that the Planting Community there has great resources of ability, public spirit and local knowledge scattered in many remote areas, relates the valuable services of Superintendents of Estates given from a sense of public duty and without remuneration *before the Governmental emergency organization could get going*, and makes specific recommendations for utilizing such services in future emergencies.

fertility is a more gradual process; it works slowly and almost imperceptibly, but with the inevitability of gradualness, and it may become clearly evident only when it is an accomplished fact. Concurrently with a growing decrease in yield from the land there is a growing increase in the population which the land has to support. In extreme cases fertile land may be turned into desert; in others, the result may be rural decay, extending perhaps to national decay. The case for prevention seems self-evident. And yet there is a strange neglect of warnings even in countries as progressive and scientifically staffed as the United States. An authority states that alternative droughts and floods are perhaps in the order of Nature, but they have been made increasingly destructive by the lack of foresight with which the forest wealth and fertility of the soil have been, and continue to be, exploited. Over-cropping, over-cultivation, over-stocking, the reckless destruction of timber—all this deprives the soil of its protective covering and of its water-holding capacity. During the dry season the top soil becomes powdered, to be swept away by the wind in the dust storms which become increasingly common every summer over large tracts of the country. The soil in its reduced physical condition loses the power to retain moisture and is washed away. A leading American authority estimates that since the country was settled an area has been denuded equal to the total area of cultivated land in Germany.

If the Java Conference can focus interest on such problems in Asia and Australia it will not have been in vain.

How can soil fertility be restored and maintained? The means must be such as will satisfy the requirements of the peasant, means which he has at hand and can therefore afford, and means which he can understand. They must satisfy the demands of common sense, and they must accord with the principles of sanitation. The Chinese have for countless generations maintained a dense population on the land, maintaining at the same time soil fertility. They have attained this by composting. At the Institute of Plant Industry at Indore in Central India, methods of composting have been studied and worked out until there has been evolved the now famous Indore process inseparably connected with the name of Sir Albert Howard.

This process of maintaining soil fertility is based on the natural law of returning to the soil all that is taken out of it. Its unique merit is that it satisfies the demands of both the cultivator and the health officer, and that it relies on means which the peasant has at hand and which he can afford. It is also a process which those who live on and by the land instinctively understand. It is pre-eminently scientific because it is Nature's own process. It is simple. The composting of wastes of all kind, vegetable and

animal, rural and urban, and the returning of them to their original home, the soil, is a fruitful field rich in benefit to plant, animal and human health. The disposal of waste products, especially in towns where population is dense, demands a large and costly organization; it begins and ends with waste. If by a process which satisfies hygiene these waste products can be converted into a valuable form of manure, the gain is immense.* The Chinese agriculturist has from time immemorial returned everything to the soil and so enabled it continuously to support a teeming population for thousands of years; but his methods are not sanitary. The Indore process fulfils all these demands without defect. It is based on simple biochemical principles, by which all kinds of wastes are composted to form humus; and it lends support to the view that soil fertility is ultimately the foundation of quality and disease in crops, in the animals which consume those crops and in the human beings who feed on both. It is being widely adopted to correct that impoverishment of the soil which is a potent factor in faulty nutrition with resultant disease in plants, beasts and men.

Nutrition is one of the most important subjects on the agenda of the Conference, but no consideration of it will be complete without reference to the earth out of which all forms of life are created and to which they must return.

FINANCE

The 1931 European Conference on Rural Hygiene recorded the following conclusion about budgets:

"In view of the wide variation in health programmes in the different countries and the considerable difference in local conditions, it is not possible at present to recommend a model budget for a rural health district or to state what should be the *per capita* expenditure for health purposes. It is also impossible to decide on the percentages of the budgets of States, provinces, districts and communes which should be allocated to the health services."

This is common sense. It can be accepted as regards Eastern countries also.

One of the most difficult tasks for the delegates at the Java Conference will be to find an answer for the common objection to every improvement "That will cost more money. These demands are interminable. Where is the money to come from?"

Picture a teeming race of poverty-stricken peasants, apathetic

* Under this process even pests like the water-hyacinth, which chokes up whole rivers, can be made use of.

and indolent from malnutrition, malaria and general ill-health. More money wanted for all the services which will reconstruct the countryside and for the roads and bridges which will open the way, and every department of Government asking for more staff. The revenue can be increased only by further taxes on a penniless people. It seems almost hopeless. What is the answer?

No Central Government can be expected to bear the burden of caring for the health and welfare of the whole population. There must be help from local bodies and from voluntary organizations. The members of the preparatory Commission were privileged to see and hear of the extremely valuable work being carried on by many of the non-official agencies. They include all those voluntary bodies, associations, societies, organizations, missions and individuals who are working towards the common end of rural reconstruction. Their unselfish labours are of the greatest value. They supply that diversity of treatment which is required by diversity of peoples and conditions; their small units are elastic and capable of rapid adjustments where found necessary in a way which is not possible to a less flexible State organization functioning over a vast area. At the Conference at least one of the delegates will be from such a body.

Official funds for health work in rural areas are usually derived in varying proportions from the State, the province and the district with its subdivisions. In the initial stages, or in poor districts, the State will have to provide the largest proportion, but it is advisable that the principle of local support should be inculcated whenever possible and that the proportion contributed locally should gradually increase. While it is the function of the State to lay down policy and to secure a reasonable uniformity and continuity, it is considered that the greater interest taken in health work when administered locally enables funds in support of the programme to be obtained more readily. Generally speaking, to provide an adequate health service, local units must bear some part of the State's financial burden. Private health agencies can also shoulder a part of this burden. Article 25 of the Covenant of the League of Nations specially provides that:

"The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of diseases and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

There are various other means by which finance may be assisted. First of all there is the increase of wealth or resources by enhancing income and reduction of waste. In countries predominantly agricultural, such policy must have a rural bias. The pro-

motion of soil fertility by a natural method such as the Indore process in combination with improved varieties of crops giving much higher yields will enhance the national income at its source. Other productive improvements are irrigation projects, and in some countries the consolidation of holdings from which increased land revenue results.* Hydro-electric power schemes can help in relieving economic poverty in rural areas; they will provide power for lift irrigation from existing wells. Rural water supplies reduce sickness and mortality figures, increasing economic man-power and converting loss into profit. In the Netherlands Indies a remarkable feat has been accomplished out of rubber restriction: a sum of about eighty million guilders, accumulated from the special export duty on native rubber, is being utilized to provide roads, bridges, health and other services for the sole benefit of the peasantry who contributed it.

There is also the question of obtaining better value in the expenditure of public money. With limited funds it is an unwise use of money to sink it in the construction of buildings unnecessarily large, elaborate or permanent, particularly in rural areas, where a simpler building put up by the local peasantry, of their own local materials, may be equally efficient. The saving on construction will release money for works of health and sanitation. This method will also have the effect of educating the people to a sense of true values, and showing them that health is more important than bricks and mortar.

Mention may also be made of small self-supporting agricultural colonies for mental patients; improved communications and transport facilities for the benefit of the agricultural producer; funds for specific purposes made available by the governing or protecting power such as the Colonial Development Fund of nearly one million pounds annually employed in making grants or loans to territories under the Colonial Office; sickness insurance if it were possible to apply it, in some partial form, to Eastern countries.

There are doubtless other aids to finance which the experience of the participating nations will reveal to the Conference. There is no need to take a pessimistic view. Means will be found. But the most fundamental point of all is the necessity for the Governments, responsible as they are for the happiness and welfare of the individuals composing the State, to realize in practical form that

* In the Punjab Province of India fragmentation rendered 5 per cent. of the holdings useless for agriculture and absorbed 1 per cent. in boundaries. More than 600,000 acres have been consolidated at a small and gradually decreasing cost per acre, with the following advantages: Straightening of boundaries; improvement of holdings from an uneconomic to an economic size; provision of land for schools, recreation grounds, roads, proper ponds, manure pits and other requirements; model villages produced out of previous waste and confusion; increased land revenue.

almost the greatest contribution which can be made towards that happiness and welfare is the attainment of health. The health of the rural population must be in the forefront of the programme, and financial provision must be made for the services adequate to secure and maintain it. It is, we believe, correct to say that hitherto there has been insufficient weight attached to this in the preparation of the budgets of States. And today, when expenditure is rising in many directions, the difficulty will be urged that it is hard to find the money. But every difficulty can be overcome by a determination to overcome it. The determination must be made more powerful than the difficulty. The Conference, if it agrees with this view, has the unique opportunity of pressing, with the force which the unanimity of so many different States' representatives must command, its adoption by each individual State concerned.

Finance is "bifrons": it faces both ways. It is at once the limiting factor, and therefore the bogey; and it is the golden key, the "open sesame" which makes everything possible.

The limitations of space make it impossible to touch on many of the great problems to be studied, such as malaria, that great scourge of the tropics, and the pooling of experience in the administrative as well as the technical field, which was so strongly advocated by M. le Neveu recently in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

SIMPLICITY AND FUNDAMENTALS

There is perhaps a danger today of too much complexity, the common reproach of learning more and more about less and less. It is possible to flounder hopelessly in morasses of statistics, to be fogged and bogged in the mists and masses of reports, to lose direction in the myopy of the microscope. There is a need to get back to the simplicity of fundamentals, to see life steadily and see it whole. The "mellow glory of the Asiatic stage" (if a slight misquotation be forgiven) may perhaps be found in Java.

A Malay proverb says: "Biar lambat asal selamat"; which may be translated, "There is no hurry provided you are on the right road." To show that road is the task of the Java Conference.

THROUGH THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS AND THE ARMENIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM

By E. H. KING

AT the conclusion of an article which I contributed to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* in April, 1936, descriptive of a journey through the Soviet Republic of Armenia, I touched upon the emigrations westwards towards the region of the Taurus Mountains in Cilicia which supervened upon the downfall of the Armenian Kingdom, and of the subsequent formation, under one Reuben in the year 1080, of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia or Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

In the following pages I propose to lay before the reader an account of the journey I undertook during the early spring and summer of last year through the very heart of this forgotten land, but inasmuch as the localities visited in the course of my travels do not, unfortunately, conveniently lend themselves to a chronological sequence of events (in fact, rather the reverse) it appears desirable to preface this article by a brief historical outline of the occurrences which gave rise to the formation of, together with a few general observations concerning, the Armenian Cilician Kingdom which will be amplified later as I proceed.

During the distressful periods which so frequently recurred in the history of their country even as far back as the fifth century, numbers of Armenians had emigrated to various parts of Asia Minor, and colonies sprang up in the regions of Cæsarea, Sivas, Albistan, and in Cappadocia generally. When, however, the city of Ani, the former Armenian capital, fell to the Seljouki Turks, under their enterprising Sultan Alp Arslan, in the year 1063, and when, following upon the sacking of the capital by his ferocious hordes, the Sultan proceeded to drive the Armenians from their plains westward even as far as the town of Melasgerd north of Lake Van, the numbers of emigrants perforce vastly increased. Actually at the time of its capture Ani was manned by a Byzantine garrison since Gaghiik II., last of the Armenian Kings of the Bagratyd Dynasty, had, in the year 1045, been tricked by the Greek Emperor into exchanging his capital for lands on the frontiers of Cappadocia and a palace in Constantinople, and this year thus witnessed the actual decline of the ancient Armenian Kingdom. The exiled and unfortunate King Gaghiik was subsequently murdered by the Greeks near the fort of Kizistra in Cilicia in the year 1079, which fate he had rather brought upon

himself since a short time previously he had visited the Greek Patriarch Marcus in his palace at Cæsarea (one of the bitterest of the persecutors of the Armenians) and at the conclusion of a doubtless excellent meal, caused his servants, upon a given signal, to seize the unsuspecting prelate, together with his large dog (which was contemptuously called "Armenian"), and to fasten them both securely in a bag which had been hitherto concealed. They then proceeded to rain blows upon the innocent animal which, not unnaturally, thereupon turned upon its master and bit him to death. This unfortunate event indirectly gave rise to the formation of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, since after the vengeful murder of Gaghiq, Reuben, his cousin, the founder of the dynasty bearing his name, fled into the Taurus Mountains and established himself in a fastness known as Pandzerpert, where he subsequently gathered about him many of the more adventurous and warlike of the Armenian emigrants.

From the small principality thus formed in the heart of these wild mountainous regions, which had been largely depopulated during the earlier Arab occupation, was evolved the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia. Although they had formed a friendly alliance with the Crusaders who passed through Cilicia in 1097, the Armenian Monarchs, during the 300 years of the existence of the Kingdom, were surrounded by hostile peoples and were almost continuously engaged in warfare with Greeks, Arabs, ~~Persians~~, Turks, and Egyptians with varying fortunes, in consequence of which the limits of their dominions were constantly changing, sometimes being extended beyond the boundaries of Cilicia westward into Isauria and northwards into Cappadocia, whilst at other times they were confined to the mountain fastnesses themselves. Of the ultimate decline of the Kingdom I shall write later.

Before ever quitting these shores it was made abundantly clear to me that the intending traveller in the remote regions of Anatolia must be in possession of something else besides a passport. He must, in effect, carry an official introduction from some *Turkish national* to the Ministry of the Interior at Ankara, who alone can overcome on his behalf the official obstruction which would otherwise be encountered at the very outset of his journey, and furthermore he must state his motive in desiring to travel away from the main lines of communication. Having, by good fortune, been most kindly favoured with the necessary introduction, I presented myself to the appropriate department in the capital, and, being provided with tangible proofs of my occupation as a journalist, I was able to satisfy the officials upon the latter score. Once the ice had been broken, so to speak, nothing could possibly have exceeded the kindness and courtesy of the Turkish authorities, who forthwith telegraphed to the Valis, or

governors, of the vilayets through which my journey lay, requesting them to afford me all possible assistance. Here also I gladly express my gratitude to the staff of the British Embassy for all the hospitality they showed me and for the kindly interest they displayed in my journey, their only regret being that they were unable to be of assistance to me in an official capacity. I had, in my ignorance, always imagined that ambassadorial staffs must be rather formal gentlemen who would scarcely have the time or inclination to concern themselves to any extent with a lone traveller bound for the wilds. Now I know better!

Having left the bulk of my luggage at Ankara, I set forth by a night train for the town of Cæsarea (or Kayseri), which lies some 300 miles south-east of the capital, and arrived early upon the following morning, being the 29th of May. It came as a pleasant surprise to be greeted at the station in atrocious English by my arabachi, or cab driver, a rotund, rollicking, jocular individual, who was at pains to explain to me from the "box" seat of his decrepit vehicle, that he had been captured by our forces during the Palestine campaign, and it came as a still more pleasant surprise when, upon arrival at what Baedeker would describe as the "unassuming" Hotel Istanbul, he flatly declined to accept any remuneration for his services on account of his high opinion of the British people and their considerate treatment extended to prisoners of war.

Cæsarea was not only the most convenient centre from which to set out on my journey southwards, but is also an old walled town of great charm and historic interest, possessing important Armenian associations. The earliest city, known by the name of Mazaca, lay about a mile south of the present town between two spurs of Mount Erjeus (the ancient Mons Argæus, 13,100 feet) at a height of 3,500 feet. The name was derived from one Mosoch, the legendary ancestor of the Cappadocian race, and the city constituted the seat of their Kings as early as 600 B.C. Its importance largely waned during the sweeping westward conquests of Tigranes the Great, between 90 and 69 B.C., who raised the Armenian Kingdom to the height of its prosperity and power, and who deported many of the inhabitants to his new city of Tigranokerta in the south. Later, under the Roman Empire, Cæsarea recovered its importance in a large measure, and it was from the Emperor Tiberius that it received its present name at the time of his conquest of Cappadocia. Christianity was doubtless introduced here at a very early date (1 Peter i. 1) and it was as a great Christian Metropolis that the city acquired its fame. St. Gregory the Illuminator, patron saint of Armenia, of whom I wrote in my former article, was carried here as an infant from his birthplace at Vagarshapat by his nurse Sophia and her brother

Euthalius in 257, and was baptized, educated, and ultimately consecrated Bishop of Armenia by the Patriarch Leondius of *Cæsarea* in 300 A.D. I sought in vain for any recognizable remains amongst the hoary fragments of walls which, together with innumerable skulls and bones, lie scattered on the hills deploying to the south of the town, and with the exception of Mount Erjeus itself, there exists no feature on the landscape upon which the Saint must once have gazed.

The present day town (Fig. 1) actually dates from the time of St. Basil the Great, who was born in *Cæsarea* in 329 A.D., becoming its Bishop in 370, and who erected churches, an orphanage, and a fine bishop's palace, but here again practically all traces have disappeared since, in the time of Justinian, the city was largely rebuilt and refortified. It fell to the Seljouki Turks in 1064, and, as seen today, the walls and the fine old castle, partly built on the foundations of Justinian's day, together with the beautiful Huyant Mosque, represent the work of that famous Seljouki Sultan Ala-ed-din Kai Kubad I. during the thirteenth century, restored in 1577 under the Osmanli Turks.

I am open to correction, but I believe the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator in the southern quarter of *Cæsarea* to be the only Armenian church in Anatolia where services are still conducted. Erected in 1856, it presents, as might be expected, a rather tawdry appearance today, but the Gregorian priest, whom I visited, still contrives to minister to the 2,000 odd Armenians who (out of a population of 70,000) inhabit the town. Upon his death the church will be doubtless either closed or pulled down as was the case a few years ago with the fourteenth-century church of St. Sarkis.

At Evkeré, about 10 miles north-east of *Cæsarea*, lies the great monastery of St. John the Baptist, which, for many centuries, constituted the summer residence of the Armenian Archbishop. According to tradition, it was founded by the Patriarch Leondius in the fourth century, who is said to have here consecrated St. Gregory as Bishop of Armenia, although, according to another version, the actual church stood on the site of a mosque in the village of Hisarjuk south of the remains of the earliest city; either locality may be the correct one or possibly neither! In any event, the original little Greek Church attributed to St. Leondius has, I understand, been preserved amidst the monastery buildings. The Armenians first occupied the domain in 1079, which is picturesquely situated on the side of a hill, and enlarged it enormously, particularly at the time of Archbishop Karamanian from Talas in 1779, and more recently in 1913 by Bishop Terdat from the same town, who added the school buildings. The clergy and monks only left Evkeré as recently as 1928, although on four

previous occasions they had been ejected and later permitted to return. The buildings are now used for military purposes, and I was only allowed to view them from without.

A shrine within the erstwhile monastic domain encloses the traditional tomb of the Baptist (Fig. 2), which is still periodically tended by a priest; it was formerly the scene of important pilgrimages upon June 24 and August 29, being the feast-days of the Saint.

In the same valley I visited the erstwhile monastery of St. Daniel, the cells of which are hewn out of the rock. Tradition assigns it to the Apostle St. Thaddeus, who travelled from Palestine, through Armenia into Cappadocia, between 35 and 43 A.D. A tomb within this monastery is supposed to be that of King Oshin, who reigned over the Armenian Cilician Kingdom between 1308 and 1320. If this be so, which I greatly doubt, then Oshin must have been buried, for no apparent reason, outside the confines of his kingdom and far from his capital where his predecessors were interred. Frankly, I am inclined to accept both of these traditions with the proverbial "grain of salt"!

Before leaving these regions for the Taurus Mountains I accepted, most gratefully, an invitation to spend a few days at the American College at the small town of Talas situated about 7 miles south of *Cæsarea*, and curiously constructed upon the side of a cliff, many of the older dwellings being rock-hewn. Talas was a flourishing centre in Byzantine days and was once the home of St. Saba, the founder of the celebrated monastery near Jerusalem.

The American College, standing at the summit of the town, originated in the Protestant Girls' School, founded in 1886. Today a general, strictly secular, education is provided under the energetic direction of its principal, Mr. Paul Nilson, which is attended by some 30 Turkish and Armenian students, and a splendidly equipped workshop serves to provide them with a trade at their fingers' ends.

To Mr. Nilson and to Dr. and Mrs. Nute, under whose hospitable roof I stayed, I owe a debt of gratitude which I can never hope to repay, for all their kindness and invaluable advice. Their contention that they were only too happy to welcome one of their own folk into their lonely life seemed to me quite beside the point.

About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Talas, and situated in the heart of a profound and narrow ravine, being reached by a pass running half-way up and along the side of the cliff, are the remains of the Armenian monastery of Derevenk. Like that of Evkeré and at Tomarza (which I visited later), it is of Greek origin, having been founded and dedicated to the Holy Trinity by St. Basil himself in the year 363. The Armenians occupied it in 1516, re-dedicating it to St. Sarkis, re-building the church and adding a guest-house

and picturesque archway across the narrow pass, the latter being the only piece of masonry now remaining, since, although the monks only left in 1920 (Mr. Nilson remembers them well), the buildings were subsequently destroyed. The cells hewn in the cliff-side still exist, being far more extensive than those of the monastery of St. Daniel, and by the light of a torch I traversed them, emerging into the open through a large cave-chapel situated beneath the spot where the church formerly stood.

The Vali at Cæsarea (governor of the vilayet of Kayseri), a dapper, efficient little man, upon whom I called prior to my departure, entered with interest into my projected journey across the Taurus Mountains. He spoke fluent French, for which I was thankful since my knowledge of Turkish is negligible, and kindly offered to place at my disposal a police official who, likewise, conversed in the former tongue, it being understood that he was to accompany me only so far as I was able to proceed by car, and having regard to the recent heavy rains, I entertained no grounds for undue optimism on this score! The Nahiehmutdir or local governor of the province of Talas had expressed a great longing to visit his numerous relatives in the village of Tomarza (where I had proposed to pass the first night) whom he had not seen for 13 years, and as he assured me of overflowing hospitality on their part I somewhat reluctantly agreed to his request, for he was no lightweight, and my driver was already carrying a mechanic, so that we now numbered five in all, including the police official.

Armed with a precious document with which the Vali had provided me, addressed to all and sundry headmen of the villages and encampments in the mountains, requiring the provision of food, shelter, guides, and transport on my behalf, I set forth on the morning of June 15 in a due southerly direction, crossing the Tekir Pass, which traverses Mount Erjeus at a height of almost 8,000 feet. A heavy hailstorm overtook us on the pass, obscuring what must have otherwise proved a fine view of the summit and of the surrounding landscape. Descending across the southern slopes of the mountain we soon reached the small town of Everek, but apart from its rather delightful situation amidst extensive gardens, it possesses no special attraction unless the ascent of Erjeus is contemplated, for which it forms a convenient base. An araba (cart) track running due east from Everek across the plateau leads to the village of Tomarza, about 30 miles distant from Cæsarea, where we arrived without mishap at approximately midday.

Tomarza will ever live in my memory by reason of the seraphic vision which confronted me from a balcony of the long, low, ramshackle house within whose walls dwelt I know not how many of the Nahiehmutdir's brothers, uncles, nephews, and cousins, but

how gladly would I not have exchanged the long and tedious hours of polite conversation to which I had perforce to submit, interspersed with the prodigious quantities of food and Turkish coffee so lavishly and hospitably spread before me for one blessed half-hour in the company of the entrancing Juliet, who had bestowed upon me so devastating a smile of welcome! Alas! as I well knew, it was not to be, and I only beheld my "Angel of Tomarza" once again on the following morning at an early hour when I was about to enter the car on my departure; there she stood, clad in a rough magenta smock and surrounded by a group of the womenfolk of the house, ravishingly lovely as ever (in fact, "a veritable rose amidst the cabbage patch"), and with a parting and collective "Allaha ismarlidik" I was swept from the realms of romance into those of stern reality! From which very personal digression the reader must have assumed that, although the veil be no longer compulsory, and is, in fact, only today worn by the more aged, yet the segregation of the women is still strictly observed as of yore in the more remote villages, whereas, as is well known, their complete emancipation now so largely prevails in the town and cities. For this reason it would have been considered highly improper had I, as the guest of honour (and a Christian at that), betrayed the slightest curiosity or interest in those whose sole province was to minister (invisibly!) to my creature comforts!

At the time of the adoption of Christianity by the Greeks, a "baptismal pool" is believed to have existed on the outskirts of Tomarza, near which seven great crosses were erected, the upper arm of one of which protrudes above the ground today. In the year 1065 the Armenian King Appasian of Kars (in Eastern Anatolia) occupied this region and probably added the Armenian inscription seen thereon. He also erected three churches side by side, a large one in the centre dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and two smaller ones to St. Peter and St. Paul respectively. Monastic buildings and a school were added within the present generation, and Tomarza became renowned as an important pilgrimage centre, since upon August 15, in commemoration of the Assumption of Our Lady, hundreds of Armenians gathered here annually until the monks were ejected, within the last decade. In all probability the "baptismal pool" originally owed its inception to some sacred association connected with the Blessed Virgin.

My next objective was the "Comana Cappadocia" of bygone days, or "Golden Comana," as it was styled in the time of Justinian, and which lay some 40 miles eastward within the Anti-Taurus range. The condition of the track from Tomarza only too speedily justified my apprehensions since within 5 miles of the village the car became embedded axle-deep in thick glutinous

mud, from which our combined efforts were only able to extricate it after a delay of nearly two hours. When, however, as we neared the village of Suwangen, scarcely 2 miles further on, a similar fate befell us, I realized that the time had now arrived to discard this luxurious mode of transport for others more befitting the nature of the country I was approaching, the more so as I was informed that the Zamanti River on which the village lay had overflowed its banks and become quite impassable. Accompanied by the police official, therefore, I now sought out the Mukhtar, or headman, and explained the position to him, when it transpired that all the flocks and cattle belonging to the village were located upon grazing land in the hills to the south. My escort, being now assured of additional energy on the part of lusty villagers in coping with our mud-logged vehicle, I therefore bade them farewell, and, in company with a Yuruk tribesman as guide, set off on foot for the "yaila" or summer encampment of these nomadic folk, which lay over hill and dale some four miles distant. The Turkish tribes inhabiting the regions of the Taurus Mountains today consist for the most part of the entirely pastoral Yuruks, who own large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, the Turkomans who are partly pastoral and partly agricultural, and who carry on most of the now largely diminished camel transport, and, to a considerably lesser extent, the Avshars, who originally emanated from north-west Persia, but who were driven out by the Circassian immigrants after the Crimean War, and who then settled upon the slopes of the Anti-Taurus range. I also encountered more than one group of Kurds, whose true country, however, is in Eastern Anatolia, particularly in the region between Erzerum and Lake Van.

Upon arrival at the "yaila" I was able to procure an ox-cart upon which to resume my journey, for I was anxious to reach the Dedi Bel Pass upon the western slopes of the Anti-Taurus before nightfall. Should the reader ever find himself constrained to travel by one of these crude two-wheeled contraptions, let me advise him to ensconce himself well out of range of the ox's tail, particularly as the journey proceeds, since the beast has a playful habit of twirling this portion of its anatomy with devastating effect, necessitating in my own case copious ablutions in a (providentially) nearby mountain stream!

The approach to the Dedi Bel Pass necessitates a precipitous ascent of from 4,550 feet to 8,600 feet, and is used by the natives as a short cut, particularly when travelling from Albistan westward across the Anti-Taurus to the Tomarza district; it is more suitable for pack animals than for the ox-cart, and I proceeded on foot when we entered the rocky gorge leading to my destination, since, quite apart from the relief afforded to the oxen, it would

There came the world slump, and prices fell away till in 1933 and 1934 they dropped as low as Rs. 55. I think that I am correct in saying that this is the lowest price ever recorded since the province of British Burma was constituted in 1862. This price hardly covered the cost of cultivation, and the cultivators were reduced to great distress. Naturally, also, the finances of the Government of Burma were disorganized. During the whole of my period of office we were engaged in the depressing task of retrenchment and cutting down expenditure, and the same unpleasant task fell on my successor, Sir Hugh Stephenson. Fortunately, in the last year or so there has been some recovery. The price of paddy has moved up to the neighbourhood of Rs. 100, and the Burma Government has been able to budget for a small surplus in the current year. A few figures will illustrate the position. In 1927-28 the Budget provided for an expenditure of 12.39 crores, including capital expenditure of 2.58 crores. In 1936-37 the expenditure is put at 9.11 crores, and there is practically no capital expenditure. Thus the Budget in those nine years has been cut down by nearly 27 per cent., and this is a heavy reduction when you consider how relatively small the expenditure of the Government of Burma was even when the province was prosperous. 12½ crores, less than £9½ millions, does not seem very extravagant expenditure for a province which is four times the size of England and Wales and which has a population of 14½ millions. There was thus not a great field for retrenchment, and the Budget has been balanced at the expense of calling a halt in development work, of putting the roads on a maintenance basis and of giving what are called in India the "nation-building" departments, such as education and agriculture, just enough money to carry on. There is therefore much leeway to make up, and after separation careful and prudent management of the finances of Burma will be required in order that the country's credit may be established and that she may be able to borrow, on reasonable terms, when the time comes for her to resume the work of development. It is for this reason that the new Government of Burma Act places upon the Governor a "special responsibility" for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the Government, and makes provision for the appointment of a financial adviser to assist him in the discharge of this responsibility.

I pass now to another of the major problems of the new Government—that of the defence of Burma. Hitherto this has been one of the functions reserved to the Government of India. I do not know what exactly has been decided in this matter, and I can only state what the problem is, and indicate some of the difficulties surrounding it. In itself the problem is

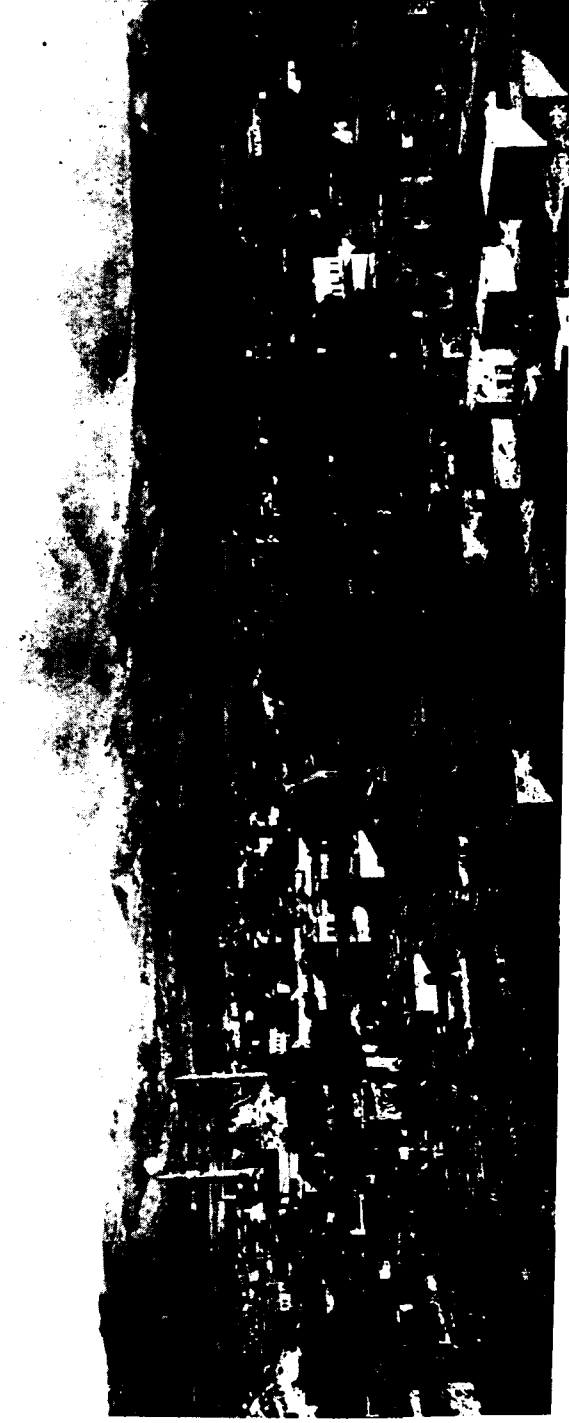


FIG. 1.—CESAREA: GENERAL VIEW SHOWING MOUNT ERJEUS (ANCIENT MONS ARGÆUS) IN THE BACKGROUND.

Through the Founts Moor ruins and the Ammelao Cliff in Kingdom.

Author's copyright

Everyone who followed the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee will remember that two of the main difficulties in arriving at a simple constitution were, firstly, the minority question, and, secondly, this question of the psychological demand for independence. After endless debates it was decided that the only course possible, if a new Constitution was to be granted to India, was one which safeguarded the position of the minorities and also the position of the British Government, and out of that arises that very complicated machinery which everyone admits is difficult to work, but which we shall have to work if we work the Constitution at all. Safeguards may be necessary, but they have the effect of frightening people—both those who want to work the Constitution and those who want to condemn it out of hand.

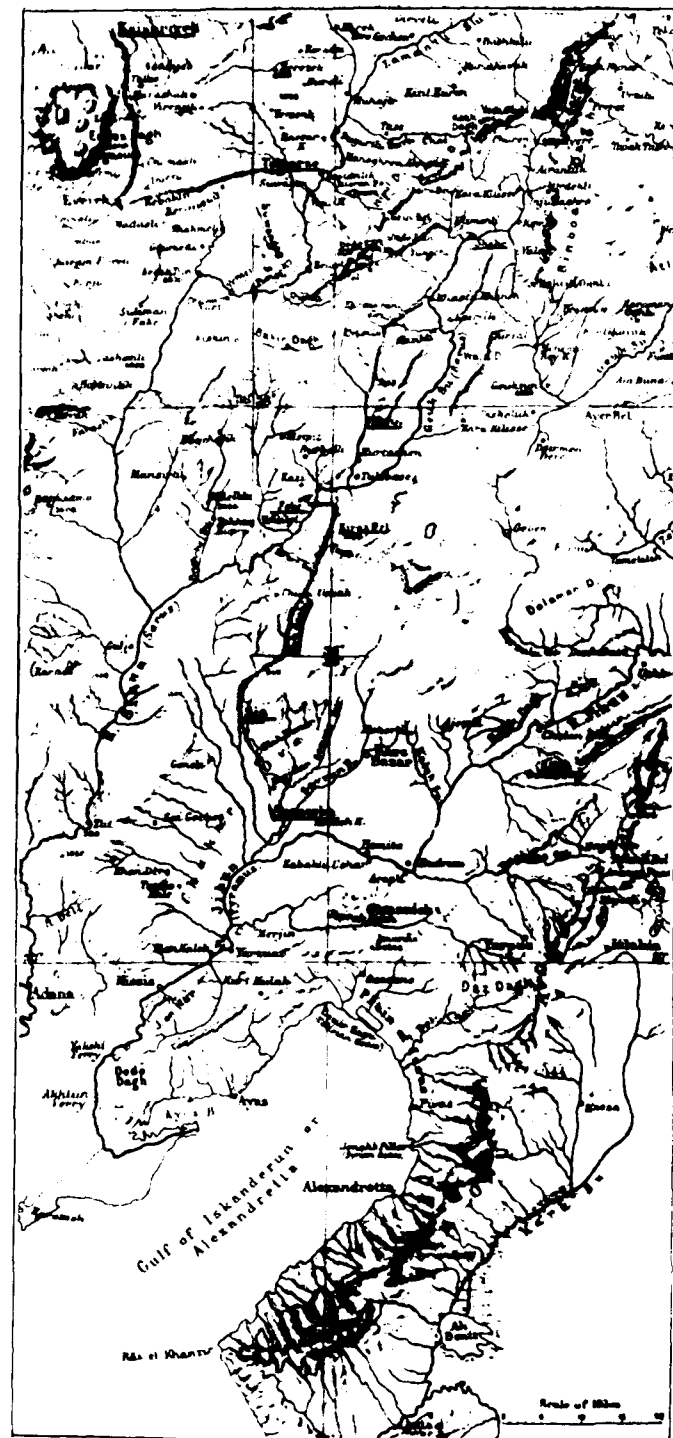
What is the attitude of the Congress at the present day? I do not think there is anyone in this meeting, or in England, or even in India, who can answer that question satisfactorily and completely. Mr. Gandhi has stated his views at different times, and at each stage he seems to take a slightly different standpoint. Even if we could digest and reconcile Mr. Gandhi's views into a consistent whole, we find that a number of Congress speakers diverge into quite different lines on very fundamental questions. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is frankly a very advanced Socialist, and he has always been opposed to any participation by the Congress in the working of the Constitution. Between these there are various shades of opinion. Certain trends are discernible, but we cannot expect crystallized opinions except through the crucible of responsible office.

It is common knowledge in India that if the Congress local committees had been allowed free scope, there would have been a decision to accept office and to work the Constitution "for what it was worth" according to the formula used. But the pressure exercised by what is called the high command resulted in the evolution of a curious formula, which I for one have never completely understood.

Sir Phiroze Sethna suggests two practical courses, as he considers them. First, he wishes that the Governor might give an assurance "that he will use his best endeavours so to exercise his discretionary functions and his individual judgment that on the whole he will refrain from opposing the clearly expressed will of the electorate." On that I should like to make a few remarks.

What is the clearly expressed will of the electorate? You can have it on some definite issue that has been placed before the electorate. As far as I have understood the proceedings in India during election time, the Congress party did not definitely put any issue before the electorate except what they called complete independence and freedom—or, looked at from another angle, the destruction of the present Constitution.

I do not suppose for a moment that one-tenth or one-fifth of the electorate who exercised their votes for the Congress understood what it meant to have the British connection ended, or to have Dominion status, or to have independence of any particular kind. On the most favourable view the Congress electors said, let us give the chance to our own organization to come and work for the good of the people.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "THROUGH THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS AND THE ARMENIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM," BY E. H. KING.



FIG. 4.—FORTRESS ROCK OF SIS.

Remains of King Leon's castle at left along the crest and his cathedral with surrounding monastery wall at foot of rock to the right.



FIG. 5.—ANAVARZA—THE "KEEP" WITHIN THE SECOND ENCEINTE.

Through the Taurus Mountains and the Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

ARMENIA

PLATE I

could exceed the exquisite beauty of this route as we followed the banks of the Hadjin Su southward. Very lovely is this stream, clear as crystal, now roaring in rapid torrent, now foaming in cascades over great masses of rock, now swirling round roots of gnarled and aged tree-trunks, now sleeping in placid pools. As I pursued my journey the clouds dispersed, the sun blazed forth, and with every bend of the pass a fresh vista of mountain scenery, each seemingly more enchanting than the last, opened out before me. Close to the village of Himetli a turning westward leads through a precipitous ravine to the castle of Feké (Fig. 3) and the hamlet of that name lying at the base of the rock upon which it stands. Feké Castle is situated at an altitude of 4,200 feet, or about 1,000 feet higher than Hadjin, to which, in appearance, it is similar, although in better preservation, due, of course, to the fact that it was never subjected to the modern bombardment which reduced the latter to its present ruinous condition. It is of considerably earlier date than that of Hadjin since it was within its walls that King Leon I. and his son Thorus sought shelter in 1137, after the defeat of their armies by the Greeks at Anavarza in the Cilician Plains to the south, as will be presently related. Unfortunately no further historical facts appear to have been handed down regarding this remote yet romantically situated Armenian fortress. To my intense disappointment the inhabitants of the cluster of houses at the base of the rock displayed abysmal ignorance on the subject beyond the somewhat obvious observation that it was "chok eski" (very ancient)!

I did succeed in discovering an Armenian inscription within the castle walls, but it was so obliterated and defaced as to be quite indecipherable.

The sole accommodation obtainable in Feké was of so uninviting a character that, accompanied by the Mukhtar, I set off in the direction of a Yuruk "yaila" about half a mile distant, claiming hospitality for the night. I was, as usual, most kindly received, and appeared to have struck upon a particularly prosperous community judging by the size of the flocks and the jewellery displayed by the women who were attired in exceptionally vividly coloured costumes surmounted by their picturesque headdress, a tall square *coiffe* of white muslin or cotton, the ends being wrapped under the chin.

I had hoped to secure horses at Feké, but since none were then available and I might have been delayed indefinitely, I decided to resume my journey southward by the bullock cart, to which I had become more or less inured! Having regained the Chaussée by

an alternative route, we now commenced the steep ascent from an altitude of 2,330 feet to the Kiraz Bel Pass, which stands at about 5,100 feet. Despite our somewhat laboured progress, it seemed good to be alive in this silent land of romantic beauty and to inhale the ever-present scent of the verdure carried on the soft mountain air, the pine, ash, oak, plane, oleander, and the myrtle, all serving to clothe the slopes through which my journey lay, whilst from the Kiraz Bel itself soared the snow-clad heights of the loftier peaks of the Taurus.

Descending some 2,000 feet, the open valley of the Tapan Dere lay at my feet, and here I passed a somewhat chilly night at a police post, which provided the sole accommodation available. The following day, travelling always southward through the pass, I would especially mention the Kirkgechid Dere, a valley surrounded by one chaotic, intricate, and lofty mountainous mass. Oh! for the skill of a Turner to depict the exquisite tints ranging through richest purple to the softest and most delicate mauve as at length the shadows fell upon this enchanted scene.

Partly upon the site of the little Turkish town recently renamed Kozan (Fig. 4), which I reached at nightfall, once stood the great city of Sis, which lay, as it were, within the very portals of the Taurus Mountains as approached from the Cilician plains in the south, being situated at the mouth of the pass to Hadjin in the north, which I had just traversed. Its name breathes and enshrines the history of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom both during the days of its prosperity and peace and the darkest days of its sorrow and defeat. Captured by King Thorus II. in 1144 during his sweeping victories over the Greeks, of which I shall write in greater detail when describing the fortress of Anavarza, it remained in a more or less ruinous condition until the accession of Leon II. to the throne in 1185, who, after restoring his capital of Tarsus (captured by his predecessor Reuben II. from the Greeks in 1182), set about the rebuilding of the city of Sis with the utmost magnificence in 1186. Royal palaces existed in both cities, and the seat of government alternated between the two according to the residence of the sovereign until the destruction of Tarsus in 1274, when Sis became the sole capital. Of all the princes whose sceptre swayed the Kingdom Leon II. undoubtedly proved himself to be the wisest, the most beneficent, and the most beloved of his subjects, not one of whom it is said ever appealed to his charity in vain.

Plundered and burnt during the ferocious invasion of the country by the Egyptian hordes in 1266, when the great temple erected by Hethum I. in 1225 was levelled to its foundations, the city rose once again like a phoenix from the ashes during the reign of Hethum's successor Leon III. in 1269, who established

his capital within its walls and whither later, in 1294, the Supreme Patriarchate of Armenia, under Gregory VII., was removed from the ruined city of Hiromicla, which lay eastward, south of Marash and upon the western bank of the Euphrates. The city of Sis was blockaded during the combined invasion of the country by Egyptians, Arabs, and Turkomen, under the Egyptian chief Phuntukhtar, in 1274, but being unable to overcome the resolute resistance encountered, this force thereupon marched against Tarsus, which was the principal repository of the royal treasures, and, having plundered it of all its riches, set fire to the Palace and the Church of St. Sophia, returning to Egypt with a large number of its inhabitants who were taken into captivity, Sis, as already stated, now becoming the sole capital.

The final overthrow of the city did not occur until 1374, under the reign of Leon VI., last of the Kings of the Reubenian Dynasty. At this time the country was in the last stages of decrepitude, riven asunder by inner dissensions among the chiefs over the preceding ten years, thus rendering the land an easy prey to the repeated invasions of the Egyptian Mamelukes, who now determined that the name of Cilicia should be finally expurgated from the list of Asiatic Kingdoms. In 1371 sounded the first notes of the death-knell of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, the country being ravaged by the Egyptians with the same ferocity as hitherto, cities being burnt and the produce of the land destroyed; so desperate were the straits of the inhabitants due to the resultant famine, that a bushel of corn was sold in the streets of Sis for the price of 500 pieces of silver. In 1374 the Egyptians redoubled their efforts, and under the Sultan Melek El Ashref (an inveterate enemy of the Christians), an enormous force once more descended upon the unhappy Armenians, who were in no condition to offer effective opposition. After withstanding a siege of two months Sis fell to the invaders, who broke open the tombs of the Armenian princes and sacked the city. Leon himself, realizing that his presence in the stricken capital could no longer benefit his suffering subjects, retired, together with Mary, his Queen, Phinna, his daughter, and a number of the chiefs to the Fortress of Capan, situated at a height of about 1,100 ft. on a rocky eminence northwest of the city, and whither all the royal treasure had previously been transported. Here he was blockaded by the Egyptians for nine months, at the end of which time his provisions were exhausted. On the advice of his followers the King then sent proposals to the Egyptian general, offering to surrender provided the lives of the garrison were spared, which being promised on oath, he issued from the fortress and gave himself up. Capan was thereupon plundered and the whole of the royal family transported in fetters to Cairo in the year 1375, which year records the

final overthrow of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom and the decline of the Reubenian Dynasty. The Egyptian Sultan offered to set his distinguished captives at liberty if they renounced their religion, which, however, they steadfastly refused to do, and were consequently imprisoned for seven years when, at the instance of King Juan of Spain, who had sent ambassadors with costly presents to the Sultan, their release was secured in the year 1382; they then proceeded to Jerusalem to offer up thanks for their liberation. Leaving his family in the Holy City, the King first visited the Pope, Urban VI., at Rome, with whom he had fostered most friendly relations during his reign, subsequently travelling to Spain, where he was received with great honour by his liberator.

At this time war broke out between France and England, and at the instance of the Pope, who sought to act as mediator, the exiled Armenian monarch visited the Kings of both countries who, however, displayed no interest in His Holiness's pacific proposals, nor were they inclined to assist the King in his hoped-for restoration to his throne. In the year 1393 Leon died in Paris, where his remains were interred in a magnificent tomb in the Convent of the Celestines, his wife and daughter speedily following him to the grave.

What of the city of Sis in the year of grace 1936? Little enough did I find to remind me of its erstwhile splendour, and that little will be speedily diminished. Only the north, south, and east walls remain of the Cathedral, the pride of its founder, Leon II., by whom it was built in 1200, having been subsequently enlarged by his successors, and it is astounding to find even the shell still standing of one of the earliest Armenian churches in the city, the greater part of which was swallowed up in the subsequent holocaust of destruction. It was within these hallowed walls that Queen Zabel, dragged from the convent whither she had retired upon the death of her consort, Philip of Antioch, was united to Hethum I. in 1223; here, too, was anointed and crowned Leon IV., amidst great rejoicing in 1305, as also his successors in 1320 and 1365. Where once great gatherings of Armenian clergy assembled and where even within living memory the voice of priest and chorister echoed through its lofty arches, today cattle peacefully and placidly browse within its deserted aisles. The reader will naturally conclude that the ruined state of the building must be attributed to the ravages of time, yet this is by no means the case. In the year 1440, owing to the impoverished state of the Patriarchate and the ruinous condition of the city of Sis, the seat of the spiritual government of the Armenian Church was removed by popular consent to the ancient Monastery of Echmiadzin at Vagarshapat in the modern Soviet Republic of Armenia, which I described in some detail in my former article in the *ASIATIC*

REVIEW and where it has remained to this day. The Catholikos or Patriarch of Sis and his clergy, however, vigorously opposed the transfer and declined obedience to the Patriarchate of Echmiadzin, so that a state of enmity arose between the two churches which was only finally quelled in the year 1901 by the due submission of the former. Up to the year 1916 Sis still constituted the seat of a Patriarch (today living in Beyrout), who, of course, together with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Akthamar (an island on Lake Van in eastern Anatolia) owed obedience to the Supreme Catholikos at Echmiadzin. No Armenian population has naturally existed in this region since the deportations, and within the last few years the Turkish villagers of Kozan have been engaged in the demolition of the old Patriarchal Palace close to the Cathedral, which has all but entirely disappeared, and they are now making substantial inroads on the latter building, the old stones being used to erect fresh houses in the valley below. To the Turks such buildings naturally possess no historical importance, but it is certain that until they were driven from their monastic domain the clergy in Sis had admirably restored and preserved this relic of the city's bygone splendour. The interior of the building consists of a large central apse and two side aisles containing chapels dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul respectively, in each of which are to be seen quaint frescoes depicting Mount Ararat or Massis, the sacred emblem of the Armenian race, whilst in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, on the north side, are to be found pictures of the monastery itself. A winding stair leading to the roof may still be ascended, otherwise this brief description of the old shell is today complete. Vanished with its late occupants are the ancient marble coronation chair of the Armenian Kings, the two great bronze candlesticks which once stood at the base of the altar steps and the fine old early Armenian manuscripts which the monastery housed.

I spent hours clambering (at the imminent risk of broken limbs!) amidst the ruined walls, turrets, and arches of Leon II.'s castle on the Fortress Rock of Sis, which dominated the city. The ruins of the Fortress touch the summit in several places, and a high enclosing wall follows the undulations of the surface. The ascent and descent proved most trying, since this rugged crag is precipitous from almost every angle; small wonder that it frequently proved impregnable! Originally a Saracen stronghold in the early eighth century, inscriptions are to be seen in both Arabic and Armenian.

Having secured horses in Kozan, and accompanied by the Kaimakam himself, I soon left behind me the grandeur and exquisite beauty of the Taurus range, emerging into the torrid heat of the Cilician plains.

The approach to Sis from the plains, as I turned to view it, is one of most romantic beauty, surmounted by the Fortress Rock, which, in turn, is backed by a broken fringe of mountains of the deepest purple tint, and I resumed my journey with some regret, notwithstanding the squalor of the Hotel Kozan, within whose gloomy portals I had lodged.

I could now dimly discern through the haze on the horizon the faint outline of my next objective, the massive Fortress Rock of Anavarza, lying some 20 miles distant in a southerly direction. The fertile Cilician plains dividing the great wall of the Taurus from the Mediterranean seaboard are watered by the Rivers Sihun and Jihun, which rise in the uplands of Cappadocia beyond the mountains through which they force their way southwards, and as I journeyed through these regions it was vividly brought home to me how severely the inhabitants must be, and indeed are, handicapped by the widespread prevalence of malaria. The reason is not far to seek, since with the passing of the centuries the courses of these rivers have changed to a most marked extent, with the resultant formation of stagnant pools and marshy land which, of course, provide the ideal conditions conducive to this devastating disease. Traces of the main aqueduct (one of three) which once carried the water supply from the mountains in the north across the plains to the Fortress of Anavarza may still be observed, particularly in its immediate vicinity, where 32 arches are in a remarkable state of preservation.

If Anatolia should ever seek to entice the tourist to her shores, what glowing posters might not adorn the walls and windows of our Travel Bureaux portraying the stern majesty of Anavarza, together with appropriately garbed and armed warriors manning its grim ramparts, the whole surmounted by alluring catch phrases designed to fill the charabancs to overflowing! If the reader will visualize a great isolated ridge of rock some two miles in length rising from the level plain to a height of over 500 ft., and culminating in the towers and battlements of the ancient citadel, he or she will have gained a fairly accurate impression of the spectacle which greets the traveller's gaze. To this brief description, which will be amplified anon, should be added a confused, overgrown, and shapeless mass of ruins lying at the base, which once constituted the city of Anazarba. The sole remains meriting description beyond the aqueduct already referred to are the fine old triple Arch of Triumph (heaven alone knows how this has survived!) and the inner fortress wall, in very good preservation, which was separated by a ditch (scarcely discernible and choked with rubble) from the now completely ruined outer wall.

In Roman times, at a date which is not recorded, fortifications

were erected upon this great rocky eminence and a town was constructed at its base; moreover a town greatly favoured by both the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar, from whom it received the names of Cæsarea ad Anazarbum and the Metropolis of Cæsarea Secundum. Other Roman rock fortresses existed in these regions, though none could compare in dimensions or importance with Anavarza and the erstwhile city of Anazarba, which became one of the most flourishing in Cilicia, not only under the Roman Empire but also, later, under that of Byzantium, when, during the reign of the Emperor Justin in 525, it was entirely rebuilt and renamed Justinopolis. The city fell to Haroun-el-Raschid in 802, being later recaptured by the Greeks, who retained it until the year 1100, when it entered into the possession of the Armenians under King Thorus I., and it is now necessary to transport the reader back to events which occurred in the earlier days of the annals of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

The citadel of Anavarza may be said to have constituted the earliest capital, since Reuben I. was mainly occupied in gathering followers for his cause, and his son Constantine during his short reign of five years was also similarly engaged, but under the warlike Thorus a definite seat of government was established and the entire fortifications, which had been largely destroyed by a succession of earthquakes both before and since the time of Justin, were now completely rebuilt, and the remains existing today are entirely of Armenian origin. Please mark that I am referring to the Citadel of Anavarza as distinct from the City of Anazarba, or Justinopolis, since I am convinced from the condition of the latter, as already described, that the Armenians only occupied the former and very naturally contented themselves with merely erecting the strong fortress wall around the ruined city for purely defensive purposes against attack upon the citadel itself. (This is not a matter of conjecture but a commonsense deduction.)

Thorus I. died in the year 1123 after a reign of 23 years, and was succeeded by his brother, Leon I., who, by his successful incursions westward into the Greek dominions in Isauria, at length brought down upon himself the fury of the Byzantine Empire, under the Emperor Johannes Porphyrogenitus, who, in 1137, invaded Cilicia with an enormous force, of which a large detachment marched against the capital itself. On the approach of the Greek forces the Armenians sallied forth and completely overthrew them, so that the Emperor then brought all his army to bear and subjected Anavarza to a siege of 37 days, during which time the warlike and undaunted inhabitants hurled down red-hot iron and stones upon the battering engines of the insurgents, which they destroyed and which had to be replaced by others covered with clay. Eventually the Greeks charged and a terrible

conflict ensued, the Armenians defending every inch of the ground, women joining in the fray and flinging from the house-tops furniture, cooking utensils, and every conceivable missile upon which they could lay their hands. At last, overpowered by superior numbers, and realizing that otherwise their capture was inevitable, the inhabitants emerged from the citadel, and, cutting their way through the ranks of the insurgents, left the capital. Leon and his son Thorus (later King Thorus II.) were ultimately captured at the Castle of Feké,* in the heart of the Taurus mountains, and transported to Constantinople, Cilicia then becoming temporarily occupied by the Greeks. Whilst in confinement Thorus experienced a remarkable dream, which he later recounted to his father. "I thought," said he, "that a man of most glorious appearance entered our prison and presented me with a loaf on which was a fish. You asked me for it, and on my giving it to you you did not eat of it." "My son," replied the king, "the time will arrive, as the loaf indicates, when thou shalt recover all the country which I have lost; and as the fish represents, thou shalt become powerful at sea. I partook not of the gifts, therefore I shall not see the accomplishment of these things." The royal captive's interpretation of his son's dream proved correct. His death occurred within a year and Thorus, in the following year, succeeded in effecting his escape from Constantinople disguised as a merchant, whence he sailed for Antioch, subsequently journeying into the Taurus mountains, where he disclosed his identity to an Armenian priest, with whom he remained in concealment.

At this time many Armenians had sought refuge in the mountains from the persecution of the Greeks, from whose tyranny they longed to free themselves. When it became known that the son of Leon was amongst them they rallied round him and soon procured for him an army of 10,000 men, at the head of which the greatest success attended his exploits. Anavarza was retaken together with the cities of Adana, Sis, Arcuzberd, and Barzberd, and thus Thorus succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne of his forefathers in the year 1144.

Anavarza, as hitherto, constituted the capital of the Armenian

* Since the above was written, as a result of further research, I have identified Feké Castle as being unquestionably synonymous with the Armenian Castle of Vahkah which was captured from the Greeks by Constantine I. in the year 1095. Before the King and his son were delivered up to the Greeks, as above described, it appears that a challenge was issued from the summit of the castle walls by one of the Armenian chiefs, possessed of great bodily strength, daring the insurgents to induce one of their number to engage him in single combat. One, Eustratius, accepted the challenge and a bitter contest ensued before the gates of the fortress, the Armenian chief being ultimately worsted and the castle thereupon being invested. It was recaptured by the Armenians under King Thorus II. in the year 1144.

Cilician Kingdom until the year 1184, when the aqueducts broke and the surroundings became unhealthy, in consequence of which the capital then alternated between Tarsus and Sis, as mentioned above.

I was able to procure a guide in the person of an inhabitant of a nearby hamlet, and together we turned our horses towards a ravine leading to the Citadel itself, which winds upwards through great fallen blocks of the bluish rock of which the ridge is composed. After emerging from this ravine we now entered upon a veritable sea of rock covered with immense sarcophagi all broken and displaced, hurled hither and thither by those convulsions of nature which have so often shaken the ancient fortress.

The only appropriate mount under these conditions would be an ibex or a chamois, and after a number of perilous stumbles I dismounted and bade my guide tether the horses. We now proceeded on foot with the fierce heat of a midsummer Cilician sun beating relentlessly down upon us, and shortly reached the southern wall of the Citadel (or outer wall of the first enceinte) constructed (as are the remainder of the fortifications) of yellow limestone protected by four circular flanking towers and stretching across the full width of the rock. A battlemented way reached by steps within connects these towers, the whole being in very fair preservation. The entrance to the Citadel is on the left of the wall as one approached from the south and is partly choked up with rubble. On passing through into the first enceinte I was immediately confronted by the little Royal Church of St. Zoravark, erected, along with the fortifications, by Thorus I. in 1100, and bearing a long Armenian inscription beneath the eaves, and which once encircled the building, the north side of which has, however, now collapsed. Square in form, its architecture is of the simplest, and beyond a few very imperfect frescoes there is little to be observed within, yet it held for me the greatest interest since beneath the fallen masonry lie buried the monarchs of the Reubenian Dynasty, who died during the period when Anavarza constituted their capital (1100-1184), with the exception of Leon I., whose death occurred in captivity, and Mileh, who was slain by his own soldiers on account of his cruelty and vices. I was profoundly thankful for the shade afforded by the part of the roof which still remains intact beneath which to shelter for a time from the sun, whilst lizards sprang in and out amongst the débris (I was also warned against a particularly poisonous species of snake infesting the ruins, which happily, however, failed to materialize). The first and second enceintes are divided by the remains of a square tower of beautiful masonry high up on the side of which is to be seen a stone bearing a long Armenian inscription by Thorus I. and in olden days it was, of course, a per-

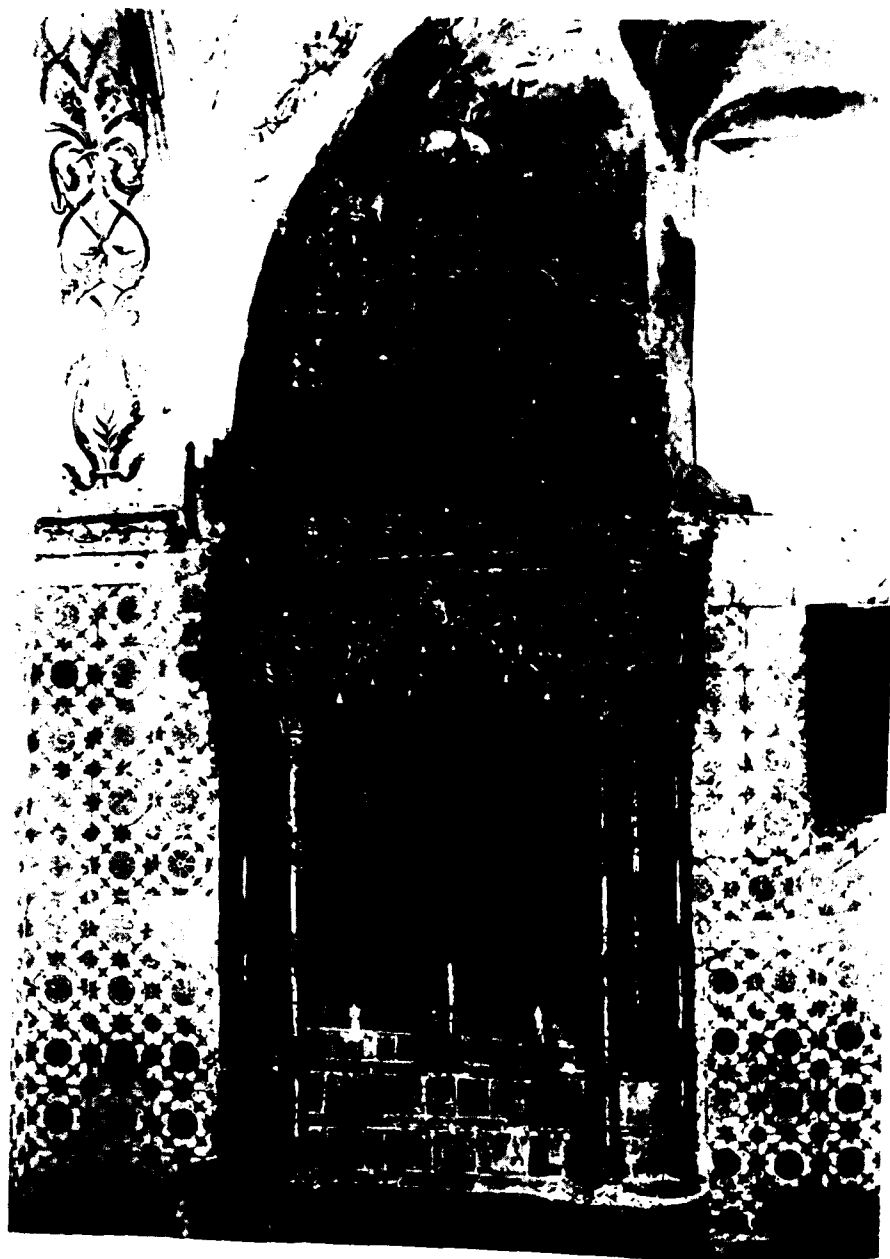


FIG. 2.—TRADITIONAL TOMB OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AT MONASTERY OF SURD GARABED, EVKERE, NEAR CESARIEA.



FIG. 3.—CASTLE OF FERÉ, SITUATED IN THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS BETWEEN HADJIN AND SIS.

Through the Taurus Mountains and the Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

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fectly simple matter to pass to and fro by a drawbridge which once spanned a fosse, at the base of which the rock has been hewn to a sharp angle like the high pitched roof of a house. Today, without the aid of the drawbridge, to reach the second enceinte is a most perilous undertaking to attempt. In the first place the fosse would have to be crossed, and even then there is no direct access save by a jagged path at the base of a wall not more than a foot wide, one false step on which would entail inevitable destruction down the precipice hundreds of feet below. Such antics, doubtless mere "child's play" to a steeplejack or a tight-rope walker, to a common-or-garden traveller, moreover one whose feet are commensurate in size with a height of 6 ft. 5 inches, failed to make any appeal whatsoever! I do not say I would *not* have made the attempt had it not been for the fact that a quite sufficiently hazardous alternative method of attaining the second enceinte from the eastern side of the rock existed which, whilst affording me the additional interest of examining this angle of the Citadel, did not involve the immediate peril of the former means of access and I unhesitatingly adopted it! I deferred making this second ascent until later in the day when the heat had to some extent subsided. I found the eastern rampart to be in a considerably poorer state of preservation than that protecting the southern approach to the Citadel, and this is, of course, probably due to the fact that the most severe fighting took place upon this side, but at the same time the loopholed wall appears to have suffered particularly severely during the great earthquakes which convulsed the fortress and has sunk to a marked angle in consequence.

Within the second enceinte rises the keep of the fortress itself (Fig. 5), to the south of which is a battlemented wall similar to that which I had encountered before entering the first enceinte. The east wall and part of a tower in the ruined north wall, together with a structure which may possibly have been the royal residence, constitute the sole remains of the rectangular fort or inner stronghold of the fortress. A long Armenian inscription is to be seen on the upper part of this latter building, which was the only one I observed in the second enceinte. Just outside the north wall of the fort, and connected with it is a fine old squat round tower, which, to my mind, is the best preserved piece of masonry in the whole fortress, and which, I should say, will retain its pristine grandeur until the Day of Judgment! It may well have formed part of the original keep, but this is pure surmise on my part, for there are no neat little guide-books sold at a turnstile, together with picture-postcards of the ruins, and heaven forbid the advent of such to this remote old fortress, grim and silent guardian of its Royal Dead. . . .

Upon descending from the Citadel I passed the night at the

nearby hamlet where I had sought my guide, reposing in a form of open-air sleeping-place, having two platforms erected within a framework of stout poles and surmounted by a sloping roof thatched with rushes, which are in common use in countries experiencing intense heat. The following day, having bidden a grateful farewell to the Kaimakam of Kozan, I continued my journey southwards with fresh horses and another guide towards the village of Missis, once the ancient town of Mopsuestia, and situated upon the banks of the River Jihun, some 25-30 miles distant.

It proved a long and tiring ride of some eight hours' duration in the intense heat and without a particle of shade to protect us or our flagging horses from the sun's scorching rays, and it was with a feeling of intense relief that I reached my destination on the evening of June 24. From Missis it was possible to telephone to Adana, whence a car was despatched in which I sped towards the (comparative!) comfort of the Yeni Hotel.

Of the early history of Mopsuestia nothing is known, nor does it figure prominently in the annals of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. Willibrand, canon of Oldenburg, visited this region in the thirteenth century, and described the town as being of imposing aspect, having ramparts flanked by towers even then in a ruinous condition. It was at that time subject to King Leon II., although the nearby Castle of Missis was manned by a Byzantine garrison, and it frequently changed hands during the desultory warfare still waged between the Armenians and the Greeks, and later, during the Egyptian invasions. The modern village is a miserable place, devoid of interest, except for an ancient mill picturesquely situated on the bank of the Jihun, said to have stood for over 1,000 years, and serving its original purpose to this day.

At this point I may be said to have achieved the object of the journey, which I have attempted to describe.

I had travelled as a "stranger in a strange land," moreover, a land peopled, as I fancied, by the ghosts of that little mediæval realm now long since passed away; yet the beauty of the scene remains, for the same great mountains, within the fastnesses of which once dwelt those romantic warriors of old, still frown down in unchanging majesty upon the lonely wayfarer today, and it is the work of man's hand alone that has perished or decayed.

Over a total distance of approximately 200 miles I had covered some 160 miles without the assistance of an interpreter and largely through a wild mountainous region, where apparently no Englishman had hitherto been seen within living memory. I mention this fact simply and solely in order that I may pay my tribute to the hospitality, guidance and help afforded me by the Vali at

Cæsarea itself and by the Kaimakams, Yuruk tribal headmen, and others, who rendered the accomplishment of this short journey possible. Although I paid modest sums for the necessary transport and to my guides, at no time was I permitted to pay one single piastre for the food and shelter with which I was provided, except at the Khan of Kozan. My knowledge of the language was limited to little more than the bare essentials of life plus a small handbook of phrases, and it speaks volumes for the intelligence of my hosts that I contrived to make myself understood at all! Later in the year I am anxious to traverse the regions of the ancient Armenian Kingdom proper, which lay between the town of Erzerum and Lake Van; possibly I may continue my journey as far as the Persian Lake Urumia, which once formed a part of the Armenian dominions of old, and upon my return I shall hope to be permitted to furnish an account of these travels in a future article in the ASIATIC REVIEW.

THE MODERNIZATION OF HYDERABAD

By B. S. TOWNROE, J.P., HON.A.R.I.B.A.

(Mayor of Hampstead, 1934-36.)

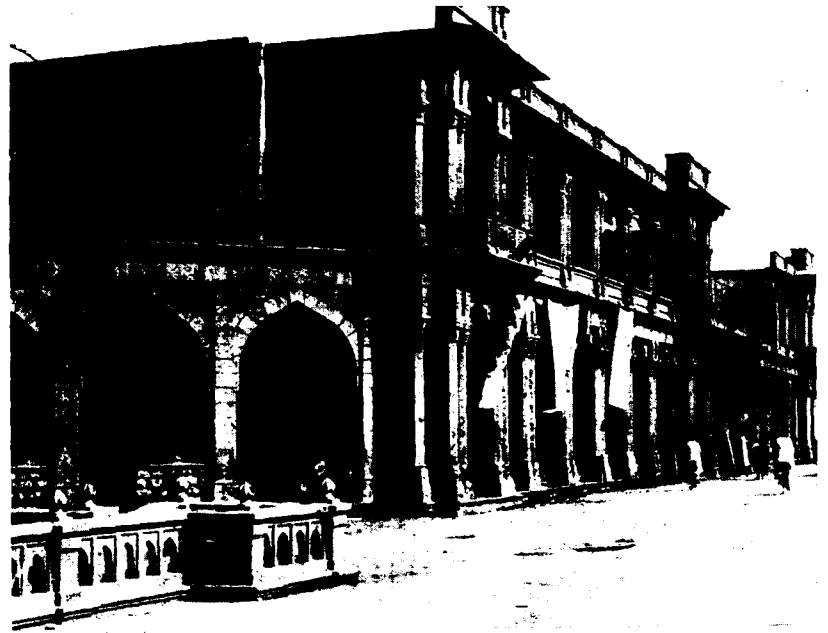
THE living conditions of the citizens of Hyderabad have been improved in many directions since the present Nizam ascended the throne in 1911. His Exalted Highness has indeed amply fulfilled the promise which he made in a speech at the threshold of his career, when he pledged himself to be a beneficent ruler of his people.

In the Address which was presented to the Nizam during the course of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of his reign last February, made on behalf of 14 million subjects, irrespective of nationality, religion, caste or class, grateful recognition was given to the results of his good administration. It was pointed out that under his benign government the people all enjoyed equal rights and whether they were Parsi, Hindu, Muslim or Christian looked upon the Deccan as their own mother country.

The population has increased from the time of the Nizam's accession, when it was 13,400,000. In the earlier years of his reign famine, plague and the Great War accounted for the fall of a million, but in the latest census the population has risen to 14,200,000.

A study of the various official reports and of this Address presented at the Jubilee reveal the extent of the modernization of Hyderabad. Under the Nizam's guidance and encouragement great and far-reaching changes have been brought about in the rebuilding of the capital and other towns; in the clearance of slums and the rehousing of the people; in all branches of the social services; in temperance; in every aspect of education both intellectual and physical; in the care of the sick; and above all in the material matters of improved industry and agriculture which enable social reforms to be paid for. Transport facilities and means of communication have been greatly increased, and modern amenities such as telephones, broadcasting and regular air services have been introduced. Throughout these changes the State has endeavoured to retain all that was best in its old institutions, and has achieved a harmonious blending of Eastern culture with Western progressiveness.

Such unprecedented progress in every department of government, followed by reform and improvement in the social and economic conditions of the people, would not have been possible if throughout the whole of the 25 years complete peace had not prevailed in the dominions ruled over by the Nizam. Many



PATHERGATTI SCHEME : GRANITE STONE ARCADE IN THE CITY
OF HYDERABAD.

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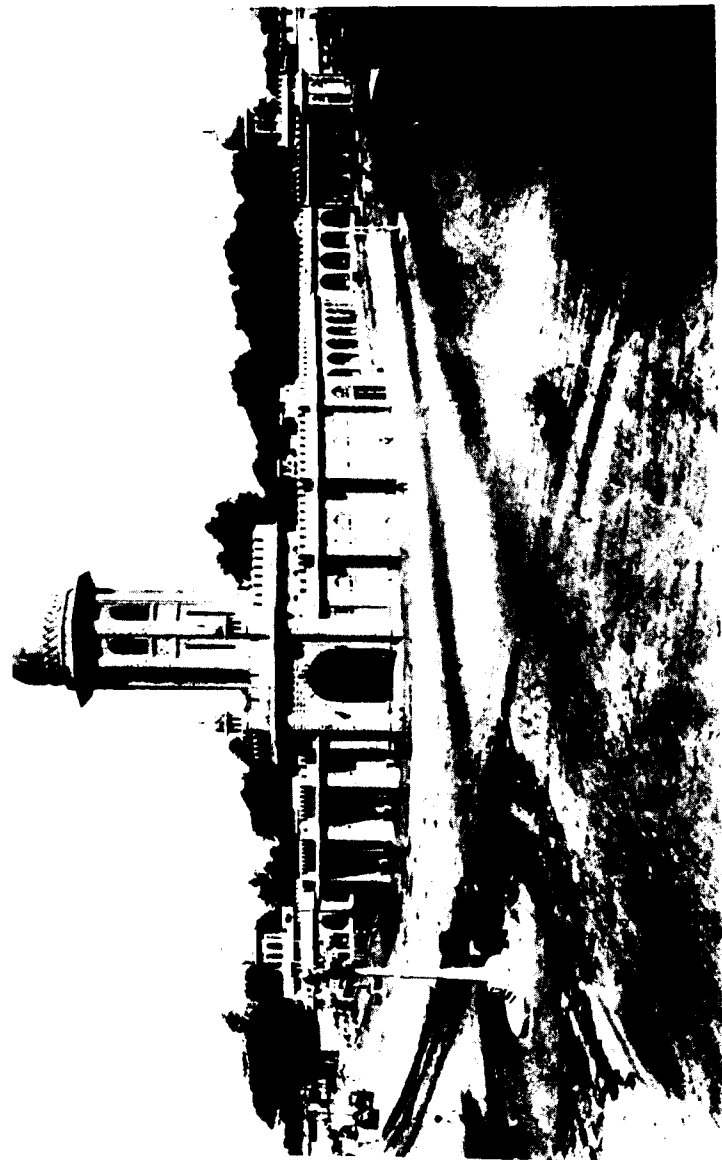


PAVILION IN CHILDREN'S PARK, HYDERABAD.

The Modernization of Hyderabad.

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To face p. 61.



MOAZZAM JAHI MARKET, HYDERABAD.

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SLUM CLEARANCE OF BAILA LOCALITY, HYDERABAD.

and for the completion of roads and bridges, as well as the provision of travellers' bunk-houses and rest-houses on main arterial roads.

Within the capital itself the road improvements have been impressive. Pathergatti, which is the trade centre of the city, has been reconstructed. The illustration (I.) gives some idea of the imposing shops and arcades built along the new roads. The widening and dust-proofing of the main road through the Chader Ghat area has been of very great service to the merchants of the city. A shopping centre has been established near the station road.

Of improvements carried out in this direction, one of the most important is the Moazzam Jahi Market. This is a central market and is named after the Prince who is the President of the Board. The building was commenced in May, 1933, and was completed within 20 months. It was opened in 1935. The illustration (II.) shows a market, to use the words of the President, "built on modern principles with something of architectural distinction in its appearance." The improved roads are doing much to stimulate better business both in towns and country.

ELECTRICITY

The advantages of electricity supply are fully realized by the Nizam and his Government, who have spent a great deal of money in the form of grants towards the development of electricity, which is now widely used in Hyderabad, and is extended to the districts of Aurangabad, Raichur and Nizamabad. Electricity supply both for lighting and heating has also been started at Gulbarga. Plans are under consideration for its further extension. The Government has also given generous grants for the extension of the telephone, which is now available not only in the capital, but at Aurangabad, Jalna, Raichur, Warangal, Bhongair, Jangaon and Alair. The trunk line has been extended from Hyderabad to Warangal, and from Aurangabad to Jalna. A scheme for joining up the trunk line of the dominions with that of British India is now under consideration.

Another proof of the advances made in Hyderabad in recent years is the expansion of the Postal Department. The number of post offices has increased from 386 to 819. The number of articles delivered through the Postal Department has trebled, and that of money orders has gone up from 2,200,000 to nearly 9,000,000. Some idea of the increased prosperity and the thrift of the people may be gathered from the substantial sums deposited in the savings banks.

SOCIAL SERVICES

All this material advance in agriculture, industry, communications and electricity, and such blessings of modern civilization as a reliable postal service, have accelerated the advance in social services. Soon after the Nizam came to the throne, he showed his very live sympathy for his subjects who lived in overcrowded and insanitary conditions in the capital by commanding the formation of the City Improvement Board. As the present President of the Board, Prince Moazzam Jah, second son of the Nizam, stated in the Address at the Jubilee, the work done has resulted in the general improvement of the social, moral and physical conditions of the citizens. The Board has been able to supply many of the wants of a modern city and has effected many improvements.

When Hyderabad was protected from sudden floods by the reservoirs and irrigation schemes, already described, the City Improvement Board proceeded to lay out with gardens and broad boulevards those areas along the banks of the river which were formerly flooded. These gardens have helped to win for Hyderabad her title as the Queen of Indian cities. A spacious park of about 16 acres, in a part of the city where a public open space was urgently needed, has been constructed along the north bank of the river from Musallam Jung Bridge to the Afzul Ganj Bridge. Permission has graciously been given to call it the Osmania Jubilee Park in commemoration of the Nizam's Silver Jubilee. In other places parks have been laid out and children's playing-fields established. As the photographs show, all this activity has done much to beautify the city.

Following the example set by modern cities in Europe, the City Improvement Board in Hyderabad has for several years past been steadily proceeding with a carefully thought out programme of slum clearance, including the demolition of the worst areas and the replanning of overcrowded and insanitary areas. One area, Feelkhana, situated in the busiest part of the city, was a breeding-place of all types of epidemics. According to the last report three-quarters of the area has been cleared, new roads constructed and sites provided on which the displaced are rehoused. The details show with what financial skill this and other areas have been cleared, and that in several cases profits have been made on the scheme. The picture (III.) illustrates a typical slum situated in the south-east corner of the city, which has been opened out by the construction of three new roads. The families in hundreds of cases have been provided with model working-class houses, of various sizes to suit varying families. The illustration (IV.), taken from above, gives a good idea of the layout of some of these houses and of the surrounding belt of trees.

Altogether about fourteen slum areas have been improved at a cost of about £500,000. These cover an area of about 700 acres. The new houses are let at rents which vary from 1s. 6d. to 15s. a month. Up to the present about 2,500 houses have been erected in eleven centres, at a cost of £225,000, and in these there are now living under good conditions about 10,000 citizens. Those who know India best consider that the President of the City Improvement Board was fully justified in his claim that "Hyderabad is perhaps in advance of other cities of India in having successfully solved the problem of housing the poor."

Another interesting aspect of the far-seeing policy behind these reforms is the way the needs of the middle classes, which in India suffer so greatly from unemployment, have been considered as well as those of the working classes. One of the fundamental criticisms of Government housing policy in Great Britain is that debts amounting to nearly ten million pounds a year have been imposed not only upon the present generation of tax-payers, but upon the second and third generations, in order to pay for State-aided dwellings in the main occupied today by the skilled and unskilled artisan class. The City Improvement Board in Hyderabad has done its best to provide for the needs of the middle-class population, and has built roads and drains so as to encourage suburban development.

Naturally, however, the main effort has been to solve the problem of housing the poor, and on this point the Nizam, in reply to the City Improvement Board's address, stated, "It is a source of satisfaction to me to learn that my capital is in advance of other Indian cities in the way it has dealt with this difficult problem." He concluded by urging that the Board should devote its time and resources "more to the clearance of slums and better housing of the poor than to works that are intended for mere show and display." His own words, here quoted, show his personal interest in social problems.

Child welfare work was started in Hyderabad by Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, the late President of the Executive Council, who was particularly generous. In his day and since large sums have been given for the construction of infant welfare centres and the establishment of children's parks well fitted with play appliances. Bathrooms, too, have been provided for women of the depressed classes. The illustration (1A) shows a typical pavilion erected in a children's park.

It must not be thought, however, that the housing reforms have been limited to the capital alone. Among social measures undertaken on the inspiration of the Nizam has been the selection in rural districts of certain centres to be converted into model villages. Following the example set in the city, local magnates

in the country have laid out playgrounds with swings and other amusements for children. Town planning in its broadest sense has been widely adopted, and open spaces provided and roads widened. In many towns and villages markets and slaughter-houses have been built.

PUBLIC HEALTH

For those citizens who fall by the wayside owing to troubles either of body or mind, there are the magnificent buildings of the Osmania General Hospital in the very centre of Hyderabad, which provides accommodation for more than 1,700 in-patients. Throughout the State there are district and local dispensaries, including the civil hospital at Secunderabad. The large medical school has now become a medical college and is part of the Osmania University. A leper asylum, built and supported by State and voluntary assistance working together, has been established at Dichpally. There is also about to be opened a sanatorium for those suffering from tuberculosis. As I dealt fully a year ago in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* with various health measures taken in Hyderabad, it is unnecessary to repeat the details today. There can be little doubt but that the changes brought about in public health have added much to the material wealth and to the well-being of the people.

TEMPERANCE

The Nizam has from the first recognized that social services alone, however generously supported by public funds and private benevolence, may fail in their objective unless the habits of the people are sound. The "slum-minded" on British housing estates are a sociological problem which has not yet been solved, and in Hyderabad the Nizam has always paid particular attention to the injurious effects of undue indulgence in alcoholic liquor or drugs upon his people. He no doubt had watched the failure of prohibition in another Muslim-ruled State, Bhopal, and he and his advisers have pursued a persuasive policy of temperance teaching, while at the same time trying to bring about the minimum of consumption by raising prices and imposing effective restrictions. Changes have been brought about in administering the opium traffic with a view to making it much more difficult to obtain the drug. There are today about 579 opium shops, as compared with 1,575 twenty years ago, and the consumption has fallen from about 30,000 ounces to about 14,000 ounces, while the revenue from opium has increased by 78 per cent.

Drastic measures have also been taken against alcoholic excess. At one time drunkenness was common. Today the Sendhi shops



MODEL DWELLING HOUSES, HYDERABAD.

encouraged to specialize in the branches of study in which trained minds are most urgently required. In the words of Sir Akbar Hydari, "Admittedly as India stands today her need is for trained agriculturists rather than Government clerks; for trained business men rather than clerks; trained engineers, doctors, manufacturers, artists, craftsmen, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, almost anything rather than clerks, because already the supply of trained, or at any rate qualified, clerks is enormously in excess of the demand, while the productive work of the country is largely in untrained and therefore relatively inefficient hands."

The necessity of a well-trained mind in a healthy body is not forgotten by those who are advising the Nizam in educational matters. The Department of Public Instruction has done a great deal to encourage both Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and physical education in its broadest sense is also being encouraged. The open-air cult is becoming more and more popular in Hyderabad, and a fuller recognition of what is described in "Lavengro," "There's night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things." In short, the aim behind the Board in Hyderabad is that "the right education of the mind and body is indivisible, and unless the body is trained to health the education of mind and personality cannot but be incomplete."

AGRICULTURE

There is a danger in writing of such a State as Hyderabad, which is the largest Indian State, with a population of over 14 millions—a denser population than Spain or Ireland—of paying too much attention to the capital and overlooking the fact that the majority of the people are agricultural. Actually about half a million people are town dwellers and the rest live in villages. Agricultural work of one kind or another is the main occupation of the people, and the fertile nature of the land makes it possible to grow with success large varieties of crops, including rice, wheat, cotton and castor seed. There has, however, been severe agricultural depression in the past few years, and one is glad to learn that the collection of land revenue in the affected areas has been either wholly dropped or suspended. Sir Akbar Hydari, during the years that he was Finance Minister, did everything in his power to help the agriculturists by remissions of land revenue and reductions in customs duties. Fortunately the State is by far the most prosperous in India, and thanks to the financial statesmanship of Sir Akbar the welfare of the peasants and their families, who constitute the vast majority of the population, has been cared for.

Generous grants were spent on famine relief works. In order
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are segregated and strictly supervised both by the police and municipal officers. Excise taxes have been imposed so that although the consumption of intoxicants has been reduced by 50 per cent. the revenue is nearly doubled. In order that alcoholic liquor may be more free from dangerous impurities, pot stills, where spirits have been distilled by hand, have been closed, and steam distilleries under firm control have been erected. A Temperance Committee was recently appointed which, with the full assent of the Nizam, is carrying out a far-sighted temperance policy. Roughly, it may be said that the policy is to increase the cost of alcohol and to reduce the number of shops, and in this way to diminish the temptation to alcoholism.

In this respect, as in many others, His Exalted Highness practises what he preaches. In spite of his great wealth he lives without ostentation or extravagance, and is most temperate at the table.

CONCLUSION

This is only a bird's-eye view of the principal aspects of the modernization of Hyderabad during the last 25 years. The present Nizam has been following the traditions first set up by His Highness Asaf Jah, who laid the foundations of his kingdom in the Deccan on the principles of benevolence and affection for his subjects. The jubilee address, from which many of the facts given above have been taken, bore abundant witness to the way His Exalted Highness has aimed at removing the gulf which exists between the ruler and the ruled, and at pressing forward reforms in all aspects of national life.

Hyderabad shows that wise Indian self-government is not a myth, and proves what can be done by Princes who have wisdom and foresight.

THE PROJECTED FLYING-BOAT SERVICE TO AUSTRALIA

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. BURCHALL, D.S.O.

IN the ASIATIC REVIEW published in July last I gave an outline of the history of the establishment of air services from Europe to the East, and a brief description of the plans that had been adopted by the Government of the United Kingdom for the further development of British Civil Aviation on the Empire routes.

The Under-Secretary of State for Air had announced these plans in the House of Commons on December 21, 1934, and had said that His Majesty's Government had decided, subject to the co-operation and support of all the other Governments concerned, to make arrangements under which Empire air communications would, in the future, be developed on the following lines:

- (1) A very material improvement would be made on present schedules between the several parts of the Empire concerned.
- (2) A substantial increase in the frequency of the services would be achieved.
- (3) All first-class mail to the Empire countries covered by the projected services would be in future carried by air.

The announcement that Imperial Airways, for carrying out this development, proposed to use flying-boats on the route to Australia, which up till now has been operated by land aircraft, aroused a considerable amount of interest amongst the public throughout the Empire. Hitherto, only one section of the Empire routes—*i.e.*, across the Mediterranean, has been operated by flying-boats. The new flying-boats will not, however, entirely replace the land aircraft throughout the route from the United Kingdom to Australia, and land aircraft will still be used on the London-Calcutta services, and will, incidentally, make calls at places to which flying-boats cannot go. There will therefore be flying-boats operating from Southampton to Sydney, and land planes flying more or less parallel with them as far as Calcutta.

It is interesting, therefore, to consider some of the causes underlying this change from a fleet preponderatingly land aircraft to one in which flying-boats outnumber the land aircraft.

The experience of the last ten years has clearly shown not only that very important reductions in cost per ton carried must be looked for, but that they can be secured by increasing the size of

the aircraft used and employing them more intensively. Other advantages that follow upon increasing the size of the aircraft are covered by the general term "higher standard of comfort." The large aircraft allows a greater space per passenger, and avoids that "shut-in" feeling from which some people suffer in small aircraft. The larger cabins also allow of much improved quietness and the provision of a full catering service, all of which, as those who have travelled in the East well know, are of paramount importance.

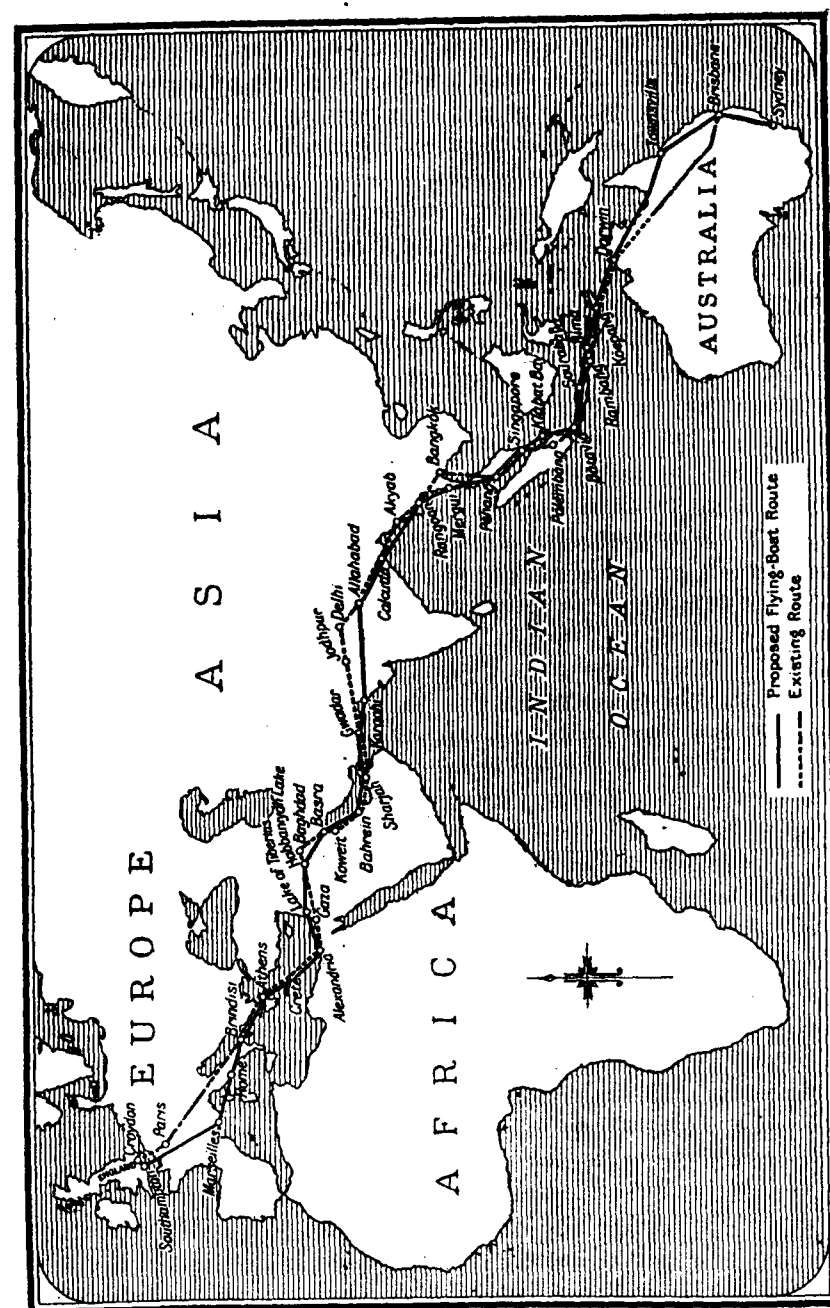
Increasing the size of aircraft is, however, not economically possible unless equally great increases in loads to be carried are forthcoming. The proposal to carry all the Empire mails by air without surcharge at one stroke makes possible low carriage costs, greater frequency, higher speed, and increased comfort.

Steady progress in aircraft construction has made possible aircraft of still larger size, but concurrently it has become evident that in some parts of the world aerodrome construction cannot keep pace with aircraft construction. The successful operation of larger aircraft is dependent upon the ability of the aerodromes to support their weight in all conditions that occur in the course of a year. In parts of the world subjected to heavy rainfall the problem is intensified, and in countries unprovided with suitable materials for building special runways the problem is not susceptible of economic solution.

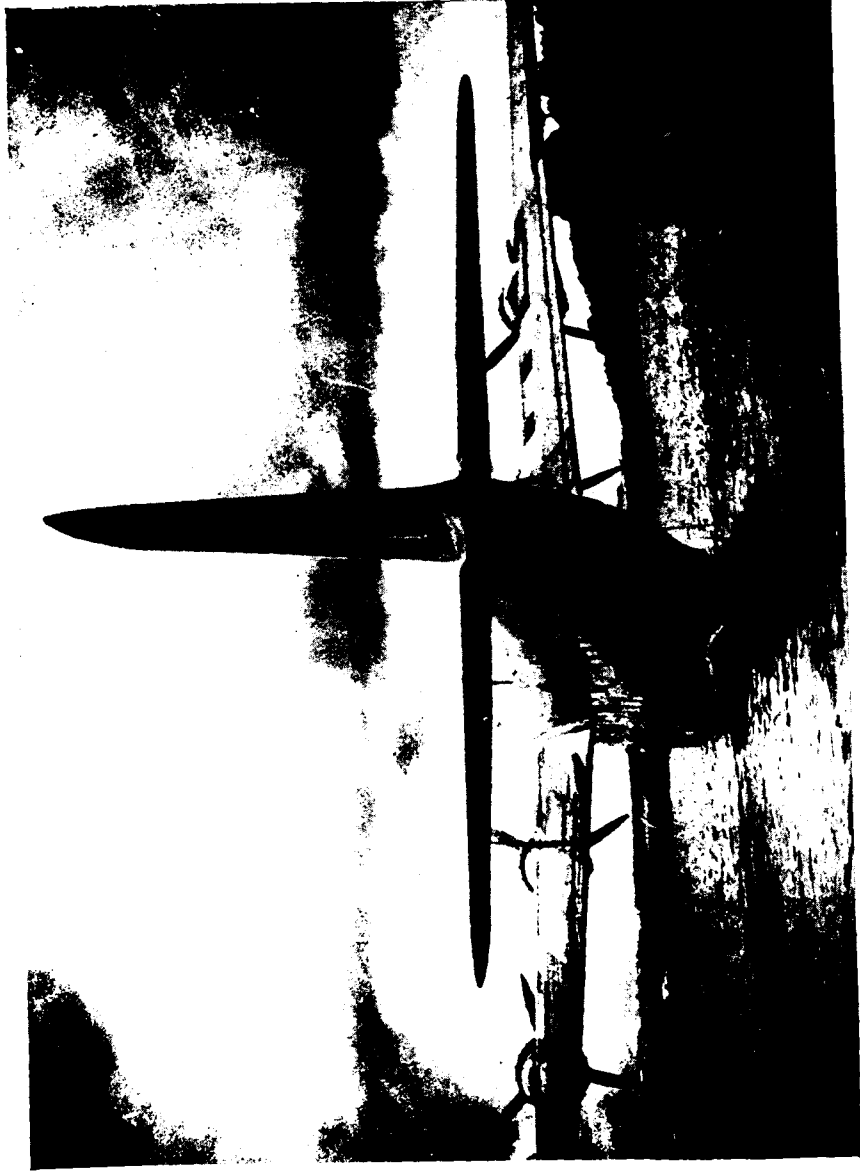
Today there are still many aerodromes along the route to Australia which become quite unserviceable for heavy air-liners after intensive rain, whilst others present difficulties for operations in certain conditions of weather by reason of slope, slippery surface, or obstructions in the vicinity when the aerodrome must be approached from one particular direction. While it is possible to build aircraft undercarriages to support 18 to 20 tons on two pneumatic-tyred wheels, it is becoming increasingly difficult to prepare aerodrome surfaces that will support this weight in all weather conditions, except in countries which have the necessary supplies of material and the requisite skilled labour.

The problem of providing a smooth surface which will support a large land aircraft on two wheels is entirely eliminated with flying-boats. So long as a suitable area of protected water is available, any size of flying-boat can float upon it and operate from it. Moreover, every increase in the size of marine aircraft improves their seaworthiness, and increases their ability to operate in unfavourable conditions of wind and sea. With land planes, on the other hand, increase in size is liable to introduce difficulties on the ground, in handling and manœuvring.

An economy of major consideration arising from the use of flying-boats is that, generally speaking, marine aircraft will be



[Copyright: Imperial Airways.]



THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS EMPIRE FLYING-BOAT "CANOPUS" AT ANCHOR.



THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS FLYING-BOAT "CANOPUS" TAKING OFF.

ways has concentrated on four-engined aircraft. American transport companies have been concentrating on twin-engined aircraft that can fly on one of their engines. Arguments have been advanced that with four engines there are twice the number of power plants to go wrong, and the assertion has been made that from an actuarial point of view the twin-engined aircraft is the better proposition to avoid engine trouble. This argument appears to ignore the vastly more favourable position of the four-engined aircraft when any minor trouble does develop, and it is significant to note that one of the leading American aircraft constructors is advertising in the United States that the four-engined era, with its greater reliability, has now arrived—six years after it arrived in British aviation!

When Imperial Airways was formed in 1924, one of its constituent companies was already operating a service from Southampton Water to the Channel Islands with flying-boats. A new marine airport is, however, to be constructed at Langstone Harbour, Portsmouth, which will be free from the dense marine traffic that passes to and fro in Southampton Water, and will therefore facilitate night flying operations, which are necessary to secure the fastest timetables and the best economic exploitation of the services. Meanwhile, the new Empire flying-boats have been operating out of Southampton since January, and at the present time four services a week leave for Empire destinations, crossing France either by way of Macon on the Soane, or via Bordeaux to Marseilles, where, at Marignane, a magnificent marine airport has been constructed in a lake a few miles inland from the seaport of Marseilles. The illustrations (Plates I. and II.) show "Canopus," the flying-boat which carries the class name of the aircraft of this type, at anchor and during the "take-off."

From Marseilles, the route lies along the Italian coast and a call will be made at either Rome or Naples. Brindisi, Athens and Alexandria have been accustomed to Imperial Airways' flying-boats for nearly nine years, and for some years now, eight flying-boat services weekly have been in operation over this Mediterranean sector of the Empire routes.

From Alexandria the Syrian Desert will be crossed from the Sea of Galilee (or Lake Tiberias) in Palestine to Lake Habbaniyah, 50 miles west of Baghdad. The Sea of Galilee has already been in use for flying-boats, as at one time the Mediterranean section of the India route connected there with the land plane service from Cairo to Baghdad. The connection was discontinued in January, 1933, owing to the absence of housing for land planes, and not on account of difficulties experienced by the flying-boats on the Lake. Lake Habbaniyah is probably known to those who have flown across the Syrian Desert, but to few others, as it has up to

now possessed little commercial significance. It forms, however, a very convenient refuelling point for flying-boats on the way to the East and does not suffer the disadvantages of current or of rapid changes of level due to tide or flood. The new Royal Air Force station of Dhibban is situated near the Lake.

From there the route follows the Euphrates and Tigris to Basra. The Basra Port Directorate has established a flying-boat base at Margil, adjacent to the new aerodrome brought into service last year. From there the route follows the south side of the Persian Gulf via Bahrein to Dibai, near the present aerodrome of Sharjah, and then crosses to the other side of the Gulf and continues via Gwadar to Karachi.

Provision is being made for flying-boats to alight in the harbour at Karachi, and whilst mooring facilities are being arranged in shallower water adjacent to the main dredged shipping channel, connection with the dockside is being effected either by means of launches or a pontoon gangway.

Considerable interest will doubtless be taken in the route that will be followed by the flying-boats in their passage across India. It has been found that there are many lakes and rivers suitable for use by marine aircraft, although some of the lakes do not appear on many maps of the country. The route chosen will be from Karachi to Calcutta, making calls at either Raj Samand, in Udaipur State, or Sardar Samand, in Jodhpur State, at Parichha Reservoir at Jhansi, or at Lake Tighara, in Gwalior State. Thereafter the route will be via the Jumna at Allahabad and to the mouth of the Ganges at Calcutta.

The Akra Reach of the Hoogly is the alighting area at Calcutta, and it is hoped that it will be possible to arrange for co-operation between this marine base and the new Calcutta aerodrome which it is proposed to substitute for Dum Dum as Calcutta's airport. From Calcutta course will be set over the Bay of Bengal for Akyab and then direct to Rangoon.

At Rangoon the flying-boats will alight in the neighbourhood of Monkey Point, but no final decision has been taken as to whether the service shall then go via Bangkok or along the West Coast of the peninsula via Mergui and Victoria Point to Penang. At Singapore the combined marine and land airport, shortly to be opened, will be one of the finest in the world. A special channel will enable the flying-boats to taxi alongside the jetty at one side of the main airport. A slipway and hangar is being built, as Singapore will be the terminus of one weekly service. Two, and possibly three, services a week will, however, go through Singapore and on to Australia.

The existing route between Singapore and Darwin is a natural flying-boat route, passing as it does along the line of islands that

comprise the Netherlands Indies, and negotiations are in progress for the use of refuelling facilities at Klabat Bay, in the island of Banka, Batavia, Sourabaya, Bima, and Koepang. Thus Rambang is the only stop on the present air line route over this sector where a call will not be made.

Darwin, on the coast of Australia, possesses as satisfactory facilities for flying-boat operation as for land aircraft. The route proposed for the service from this point to Sydney has been the subject of much consideration and discussion. Ultimately it was agreed that, although the northern coast of Australia is but little known, it offers an entirely practicable flying-boat route. From Darwin the flying-boats would fly overland to the mouth of the Roper River, where it flows into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and then along the southern coast of the Gulf over Vanderlins Island and Wellesley Island to Karumba, at the mouth of the Norman River. From there, in the south-east corner of the Gulf, the route lies over 350 miles of land to the coast of Queensland at Cardwell, 90 miles north of Townville. The rest of the route is along the east coast of Australia in better known territory, via Rockhampton, Gladstone, and Brisbane to Sydney.

Many problems still remain to be dealt with along the route, particularly where lakes and rivers are subject to pronounced seasonal rises and falls in level, or have no suitable shore facilities, and where they are somewhat inaccessible, making connection with the nearest town area difficult or costly. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the costs involved in the preparation of the whole flying-boat route will show a considerable saving on the expenditure that would have been necessary for the establishment of the equivalent chain of large and suitable all-weather aerodromes.

Before the services can be operated to the proposed frequency, speed, and regularity, the meteorological, wireless, and other navigational facilities along the route must be augmented. Every mile of the route must be covered by an efficient wireless service to aid navigation, and especially at night and in conditions of inferior visibility; and every airport must be provided with all the necessary aids for night flying. Only when the whole route is completely equipped can the ambitious schedule of 2½ days to India, 4½ to Singapore, and 7 to Australia be achieved as a regular practice, and as certain sections of the route need normally to be flown by day, the absence of the desired facilities on any one section may have results which extend far beyond the borders of that section.

The introduction of the carriage of all Empire letter mail by air without surcharge must be done gradually. The aircraft cannot be delivered at once and the delivery of the whole fleet will be spread over at least a year. There are, however, enough flying-

boats now delivered for one section of the Empire routes to be operated entirely by them. At the present time the whole of the Empire services between England and Egypt are being operated by flying-boats. Before these lines appear in print it is expected that the Africa route will also be operated entirely by flying-boats, and it is expected that unsurcharged mail will be carried on that route in June. The Africa service requires less aircraft than the India route, because the mails are less and therefore will enjoy the benefits of the Empire Air Mail Scheme before India, Burma, and the East.

It is expected, however, that the scheme will be introduced on the India and Australia route in stages as enough of the new aircraft become available. At the present time it seems probable that flying-boats may be in operation as far as Karachi by about September, as far as Singapore by about October, and through to Australia by the end of the year or the beginning of 1938.

Plans are not yet complete for the inevitable extension of the Australia service to New Zealand, but the Governments of New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom have for some time had the matter under discussion.

The route involves the use of aircraft having a greater range than is required on either the Africa or Australia routes, but less than that required for the conquest of the Atlantic. The mileage from Sydney to Auckland is approximately 1,450, against practically 2,000 for the ocean link of the Atlantic route. At the present time there is no technical difficulty to prevent the operation of a service between Australia and New Zealand and the Empire. Boats with extra fuel tanks to give them a greater range than is required on the existing Empire services have already flown non-stop from Alexandria to Southampton, a distance of about 2,300 miles, and on more than one occasion between Alexandria and Marseilles, a distance of approximately 1,700 miles.

The extra load of fuel, however, reduces the available capacity for paying load and therefore increases the cost per pound of load carried. The cost of passenger fares on such a route must inevitably be at a higher rate per mile than on journeys operated by means of shorter stages.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to mention that from New Zealand across the Pacific towards North America, as far as Hawaii, similar stages are possible, and the remaining stage, from Hawaii to San Francisco or Vancouver, is of the same order as that from Ireland to Newfoundland. Both routes are already engaging close attention, and in view of the ranges now possible with our latest aircraft, it is unlikely that many more years will pass before regular services span both oceans, completing the girdle of the earth by regular British air services.

THE OUTLOOK IN THE PACIFIC

By E. M. GULL

WHATEVER may be the fate of the proposal made by Mr. Lyons, the Australian Premier, at the Imperial Conference for "a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, conceived in the spirit of the principles of the League," considerable importance attaches to the opinions and sentiments of China in regard to the problems which evoked the proposal. It so happens that one of the most influential of her writers, Dr. Hu Shih, dealt with this subject just before Mr. Lyons's statement was made, and that in the next issue of his paper, the *Tu-li P'ing Lun*, or Independent Review, he expressed his views regarding the minimum conditions for the establishment of normal relations between China and Japan. As neither a pact nor an understanding about Pacific affairs has any chance of success unless existing relations between China and Japan can be improved, and as no improvement is possible without some closer approximation of their ideas, statements by representative Chinese and Japanese of the terms on which their two countries might be brought together cannot but be helpful to the other people directly concerned, especially ourselves, whose natural and dominant desire is to live on terms of amity with both peoples. Unfortunately the most authoritative and useful of such statements are made in languages very much more foreign than most non-English tongues. Not a few of them, therefore, either remain unknown or become known belatedly and, sometimes, inaccurately. In the present instance no very long time has elapsed, for the articles referred to were published on April 18 and 25.

To take first Dr. Hu Shih's views upon the conditions essential to the establishment of better relations between his country and Japan.

A year ago, as he recalls in his article of April 25, his conditions were these:

"(1) annulment of the Tangku Truce agreement and abolition of the neutral zone;

"(2) denunciation of the so-called Ho Ying-chin—Umedzu agreement;*

* This agreement, the precise contents of which have never been published, was made on or about May 29, 1935, when the Japanese made the first of a series of demands relating to the government of North China. The demands included the dismissal of the Governor of Hopei, General Yu Hsueh-chung,

"(3) voluntary renunciation by Japan of the 1901 Treaty—*i.e.*, the Boxer Protocol—and the right contained in the relative clauses to station troops in the area of the Peiping-Tientsin railway: after removal of the Japanese Embassy to Nanking, repatriation of the Legation guards as a lead to the other signatories of the Boxer Protocol;

"(4) denunciation of the Eastern Hopei agreement of June last year: and withdrawal of the 'Manchukuo' troops in Chahar.

"(5) prohibition in all Provinces of North China and in Fukien of the bogus autonomy movement;

"(6) voluntary relinquishment by the Japanese Government of Consular jurisdiction in China as a lead to European countries and America;

"(7) to unify foreign relations, a declaration by the Japanese Government that all documents not formally signed by the properly accredited representatives of the two countries—*i.e.*, China and Japan—are null and void."

These conditions were published (in the *Tu-li P'ing Lun* of April 19, 1936) with the following comment. Dr. Hu Shih said:

"We are convinced that these are determining conditions precedent to a rectification of Sino-Japanese relations. These various items are not sufficient for a basic settlement of Sino-Japanese questions, but we believe firmly that they will inaugurate a new period in the history of Sino-Japanese relations: that they can open up a new road: that negatively they can at least prevent Sino-Japanese relations from becoming worse, while positively they can diminish hatred to no small extent: they can open up a way to new relations through the cliff-like barrier that has been erected between the two countries."

Contrast with the above what Professor Hu Shih says now—*i.e.*, in an article entitled "The Present Stage of the Sino-Japanese Question" in the *Tu-li P'ing Lun* of April 25, 1937. Referring to the conditions just quoted, he writes:

"During the past year moderate public opinion has also gradually recognized those (*i.e.*, the above) conditions as

and of other officials charged with violating the Tangku Truce, the dissolution of all anti-Japanese and anti-Manchukuoan organizations, and the abolition of the Hopei branches of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party. These demands were accepted—presumably in the form of an agreement which contained other items. For further reference, see page 370 of the *North China Herald* of June 5 and page 414 of June 12, 1935.

matters which must be decided during the first stage. For example, a leading article in the *Ta Kung Pao* of February 17 specifies these three items as constituting 'the first stage in the process of rectification,' namely: (1) abolition of the bogus Eastern Hopei organization; (2) rendition of the six *hsien* in Northern Chahar; (3) complete withdrawal of extraneous organizations throughout North China.

"So, too, Mr. Wang Yün-shêng, in the eighth issue of the 14th volume of the weekly paper *Kuo Wen*,* specifies 'three matters that must be completed at the outset,' namely: (1) abolition of the East Hopei organization; (2) complete cessation of smuggling; (3) regularization of all abnormalities in Hopei and Chahar, Peiping, Tientsin, and other places (including the restoration of sovereignty in Northern Chahar and the dissolution of all *ad hoc* organizations).

"Mr. Wang says: 'These matters constitute an initial road-clearing to the establishment of normal Sino-Japanese relations.' They are much more moderate than the seven items I mentioned last year. I also am willing to recognize them as the minimum conditions required. If this kind of moderate 'initial road-clearing' is still incapable of accomplishment, we can only conclude that our powerful neighbour has decided that she wants to maintain and prolong a condition of mutual hatred. At the same time we ought, naturally, not to content ourselves merely with fanciful hopes regarding a miraculous change of heart on the part of our powerful neighbour. We ought to urge upon our Government to complete the following essential parts of the first stage: (1) The Government should declare the so-called Ho-Umedzu agreement and the Eastern Chahar agreement to be null and void; (2) the Government should place upon the authorities of Suiyüan and Chahar the joint responsibility of ridding the six *hsien* of Northern Chahar of the Communist menace within a certain time; (3) the Government should employ the resources of the nation in helping the authorities of Hopei and Chahar to clear Eastern Hopei of Communist dens within a certain time."

This modification of the attitude of Professor Hu Shih and others is all the more promising in view of a survey of the outlook in the Pacific published by him on April 18, in which he urges that the balance of forces there has become unfavourable to Japan.

The survey begins with a reference to the discussion of the

* The *Kuo Wen* may for practical purposes be described as the weekly edition of the *Ta Kung Pao*, perhaps the most influential paper in China.

sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in the Yosemite Valley, California, last August—a conference in which I participated as one of a group invited to attend it by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Dr. Hu Shih, who was Chairman of the Chinese group, says that at the close of the conference he could not but recognize that the majority of those present took a pessimistic view as to the possibility of a peaceful solution of the Far Eastern question. Whether he is right or wrong about this (and some who were there may be disposed to query the point) the interesting and important thing is that in his opinion this “pessimism” was due to a misconception of the circumstances.

“In their mind’s eye,” he says—i.e., that of the pessimists—“the so-called change in the balance of forces in the Pacific is confined to the complete destruction of the previous balance of power brought about by Japan’s domination by force of East Asia since the Manchurian incident, and the entire inability of the old international régime to deal with this domination. They take the ‘changing balance of forces in the Pacific’ as meaning ‘Japan’s domination of the Western Pacific.’ Naturally they feel hopeless in regard to a peaceful solution. For in the circumstances of one country being absolutely dominant, if the men who rule that country have determined entirely to ignore their international obligations, well, then, short of other Powers being able to dispute its domination effectively by force, there is no other way of salvation. Since the other Powers are not willing, in the face of these conditions of domination, altruistically to sacrifice themselves in war, they can only suffer in silence and be ready altogether to give up for a time international good faith and respect for treaties in the hope of picking up the crumbs that fall from the rich man’s table or, as advocated by the weekly paper *The New Republic*, decide to abandon all interests likely to give rise to conflicts and return to a state of isolation.”

“But in my personal opinion,” the Professor proceeds to say, “this way of looking at the matter is wrong. ‘Japan’s domination in the Western Pacific’ is a phrase which describes a reality of the past. It is not applicable to today. (The italics are his.) Japan’s domination over East Asia is not of today, but appertains to the seventeen years prior to September 18, 1931 (1914 to 1931). After September 18, 1931, because she abused her hegemony, she set new forces in motion: she brought a new balance of forces into existence and consequently the position of domination could not be maintained. Such is the historical reality.”

He then goes on to argue, in a manner which he thinks will be regarded by some as paradoxical, that the Nine-Power Treaty, though designed “to establish new obligations limiting Japan’s domination in the Far East,” in fact strengthened her domination by the very fact of recognizing it. For a period—down to 1931—it was a harmless domination and because it was harmless it was at its strongest. Then came the Tsinan incident of May 3, 1928, and the anti-Japanese boycott. The Japanese militarists became dissatisfied with harmless domination (there is an intervening reference here to the patience of the Wakatsuki Cabinet), “broke through international restraints, abused their tyrannical power and brought off the Manchurian incident. Thereafter, the mailed fist was brought into evidence, the more Japan’s international position declined.”

The decline is traced through three stages, corresponding with, indeed consisting of, the introduction of three new sets of forces which Japan’s misuse of her power set in motion: (1) The re-emergence of Russia as a first-class Power; (2) the strengthening of British forces in the Pacific, together with the increase of the United States Navy, and (3) “last, but not least,” the unification and strengthening of China. As a result a new balance of power has gradually been created, and Japan is only one of the factors in it. “We cannot but realize,” the writer declares, “that these new factors can bring about the disaster of war and can also furnish the basis of a peaceful solution. Whether they result in disaster or salvation depends entirely upon the capacity or incapacity of statesmen completely to realize the new situation and their capacity or incapacity to make use of it. The most important key to the situation is still to be found in the capacity of Japan for a fundamental, honest-to-goodness change of heart.”

Upon this follows a passage which, because of its bearing upon Mr. Lyons’s proposal for a Pacific Pact, I quoted in a letter to *The Times* of May 22. It reads:

“If Japan is still unable to perceive that she has created a new situation in the Pacific; if she still cherishes the illusion that she is the sole arbiter of the destinies of East Asia; if she still desires to force China along the path of the deer driven to its death; if these newly arisen circumstances cannot be well and truly blended and developed towards a common purpose—well, then, this new balance of power must certainly lead us towards a second world war which, beginning with a clash between China and Japan, will gradually involve all the Pacific Powers in a most grievous, fierce and monstrous whirlpool. There is not a single Pacific Power which can hope for a lucky escape. But if the world still has far-

sighted statesmen they will be able to see in this new balance of power a new hope for peace, a new foundation for a world order. They should be able to see that these new conditions can be used to establish a new organization for peace and collective security in the Pacific region. In that new organization the U.S.S.R., America, England (with her Dominions in the Pacific), and China and Japan should all participate on an equal footing and together seek a solution for the peace and security of the Pacific and of the world as a whole. Several questions there are which cannot be settled singly by the parties directly concerned, but which should be capable of solution comparatively easily through the new organization.

"To sum up—the days of Japan's domination of Eastern Asia and the Western Pacific are realities of the past. In the interests of Japan's future no less than China's, the far-seeing men of our two countries should see and realize clearly that there is a new situation in the Pacific: they should consider and plan how they may use it for the promotion of a permanent peace between our two countries. The blundering methods of a blind man riding a blind horse must certainly plunge our countries into unimagined sufferings."

An equally definite expression of opinion by Dr. Hu Shih appears in the *Tu-li P'ing Lun* of May 23. In an article upon the talks which have been proceeding in London between the Japanese and the British Governments, he quotes a newspaper report from Tokio of May 10 to the effect that, at a conference of the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War and the Navy, at which Sino-Japanese and Anglo-Japanese relations were discussed, it was decided that "Japan must adopt an attitude of complete opposition to the reported intention of the Chinese Foreign Office to propose the establishment of a system of collective security in the Pacific." The report also stated that "as regards restoring Anglo-Japanese co-operating in respect of Chinese questions," the three Ministers were in favour of "maintaining close relations with England, each country respecting the existing position of the other." Commenting on this Dr. Hu Shih says:

"We do not know when our Foreign Office made the proposal for a system of collective security in the Pacific region. If our Government has made a decision of this kind we ought whole-heartedly to support it. If Japan, while maintaining an attitude of complete opposition to a system of collective security, is discussing concerted action or co-operation with regard to China with Eden, we believe that the Anglo-Japanese talks in London will be fruitless. Japanese politicians should understand that to discuss co-operation with

England in regard to China upon a basis of mutual respect for the existing position between England and Japan—that is to 'divide the spoils,' that is 'to use barbarians to control China through a division of spoils,' that neither the Chinese Government nor the Chinese people can possibly tolerate.*

"That kind of method can certainly never solve the Sino-Japanese question. Nor can it solve the Sino-Japanese-Anglo question. Still less can it solve the whole Pacific question. There is only one road to the solution of these various questions, that is for the Powers of the Pacific—China, Japan, Soviet Russia, England (and her Dominions in the Pacific), and America—to associate themselves on an equal footing in a positive system of collective security and together seek a solution of the difficult problems which confront the various countries of the Pacific and cannot be separately settled by the parties concerned."

* It should be explained that these sentences are used by way of reversing apan's charge, quoted earlier in the article, that China's policy is to "use arbarians to control barbarians"—*i i chih i*.

THE INDIAN COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1936

BY VERA ANSTEY

(Lecturer in Commerce, London School of Economics.)

It has long been widely recognized that weaknesses in the spheres of industrial leadership, organization and finance are amongst the greatest obstacles to more rapid industrialization in India. Another of the chief obstacles—*i.e.*, the dearth of capital—may also be attributed, at least partially, to deficiencies in the former spheres, as the idea has become prevalent that industrial investments carry a particularly high degree of risk.

The deficiencies referred to have proved difficult to remedy, partly because of the working of the Managing Agency System, which has led to a practical monopoly of industrial leadership by a small and closely inter-related number of firms, which undertake management on behalf of the great bulk of large-scale industrial and plantation companies at work in India.

An effort to grapple with the problem has at last been made by the passage of the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1936, which came into force on January 15, 1937. Probably this legislation will not suffice to remedy the fundamental deficiencies, but it may at least be welcomed as a first instalment, offering some contribution towards the solution of a serious problem.

THE MANAGING AGENT SYSTEM

The Managing Agent System has been defined as "one whereby, when a company is formed, the actual management is handed over to another firm—usually a well-known, long-established trading concern—which for this purpose is appointed its managing agent."* The managing agent firm usually promotes the new company, whether the latter is formed in Europe or in India, helps in the provision of block capital (usually retaining enough shares to ensure ultimate control) and directly undertakes production and marketing. Working capital is obtained from private depositors (especially in the cotton mill industry), loans from other firms (frequently either the managing agent firm itself, or other companies which it manages), and loans from banks. In the latter case it is customary for joint stock banks to require two signatures, one of which must be that of the managing agent firm.

As a rule each managing agent controls a number of firms engaged in various types of enterprise. Thus the opportunity for

* G. E. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West*, p. 255.

loans, purchases and sales between the companies under the one management become very great. For instance, the well-known firm of Andrew Yule acts as managing agent for fifty or more concerns, including at least ten jute mills, fifteen coal companies, two hydraulic companies, a flour mill, and many miscellaneous concerns. Payment is made to the managing agent by means of a fee for office expenses, and commission for management (based on output, sales or profit), whilst it also profits from the sale of goods to the concerns managed, and from share-ownership.

In the nineteenth century the system had certain advantages. It provided expert, reliable and continuous management; the promotion and financing of new ventures were facilitated; economies were secured in administration and from joint purchase and sales. No doubt so long as large-scale industry was in its infancy, when it was mainly in the hands of Europeans who did not reside permanently in the country, and when it was above all necessary to inspire confidence in European investors, the system tended to promote rather than retard enterprise. The system was not confined to European companies, but was adopted in the cotton mill industry (which has always been mainly in Indian hands) and spread to many modern types of industry which have sprung up with the extension of joint stock company organization in India.

Criticisms of the system became vocal towards the end of the nineteenth century, and have since increased in volume and bitterness. The rapid growth of diverse industries, under the ægis of protection, the greater supplies and availability of Indian capital for industrial purposes, and the ever-growing need for quick adaptation on account of changing technique and the pressure of competition, have rendered urgent a more elastic system, giving more scope for indigenous enterprise and leadership, and which shall restore to shareholders their rightful place in control of those to whom they have entrusted their capital.

DEFECTS OF THE SYSTEM

The chief defects of the system in the past may be summarized as follows. Firstly it has led to undue concentration of control. Not only have the managing agents owned a substantial proportion of the shares, but in practice they have controlled the nomination of directors, and have chosen their nominees from a very small circle. Hence the same individuals serve on many boards of directors. Individual shareholders are unorganized and apathetic, and hence have failed to exercise even such powers as they possessed. Directors have been chosen on account of their connection with managing agents and financial status rather than for

specialized knowledge, and few possess technical qualifications. No time limit has been set to the appointment of managing agents, who have not been removable by shareholders. The office, notably in the cotton mill industry, has tended to become hereditary, whilst in certain cases it has been assigned to the managing agents' nominee without reference to the shareholders.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW

The status and power of managing agents were particularly anomalous because, until the Act of 1936, they were not even mentioned by Indian Company Law. Legislation was contained in the Act of 1913 (modified in 1914), which amended the Act of 1882 and was based on English Company Law. This Act aimed at safeguarding shareholders by enforcing publicity as regards contracts and the interests of directors. It was argued that it was unnecessary to mention managing agents because when they were directors they were dealt with by the law in that capacity, and when they were not directors their relations with the company were necessarily governed by contract, and the Act provided that every material contract must be disclosed in the prospectus.* A proposal for the appointment by shareholders of a majority of independent directors was negatived on the ground that in fact this would disfranchise the majority of shareholders, in favour of a minority, because in practice the majority of the shares in many concerns were held by the managing agents themselves, together with their friends and relatives.

Under these conditions the managing agents and their associates have formed a closed circle, in control of the principal large-scale industries. Young men without influence have been unable to enter the circle, all the more because of the lack of provision for training or for gaining industrial experience.

Secondly, the system has tended to hinder the development of a sound relationship between industry (especially small-scale enterprises) and banking, as joint stock banks have hesitated to assist enterprises unless the latter were backed by managing agents,† whilst indigenous banks charge heavy interest rates and entail other disadvantages.

Thirdly, the system has discouraged initiative and enterprise, as managing agents have preferred to concentrate upon the promotion of types of enterprise already tested by experience.

Fourthly, the system has offered many opportunities for exploitation arising out of dealings between managing agents and

* V. Anstey, *Economic Development of India*, Appendix E.

† The Banks have been severely criticized for their policy, but have not been entirely to blame, because of the tendency of Indian firms to under-capitalize, the original capital frequently being insufficient to cover even block capital.

the companies they manage, and between the various companies managed by one agent. Moreover, although the Act provided for full disclosure of interests, in practice these clauses have not been fully enforced.* There is also a possibility of a clash between the interests of the various firms managed by one agency.

Finally, the payment of commission upon output or sales, instead of upon profits, tended (where adopted) to divorce the interests of the managing agent from those of the company managed.

THE INDIAN COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1936

The Act of 1936 attempts to remedy some of these evils by regulating the status and activities of managing agents, directors and shareholders. It also regulates the winding up and liquidation of companies. In addition, it provides special regulations for banking companies. Here it is proposed to concentrate mainly upon the clauses referring to directors, managing agents and shareholders.

(1) AMENDMENTS AFFECTING THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF DIRECTORS

According to the Act of 1913 it was necessary to vest the powers of management in a board of directors, but nothing was said about the size of the board. The new Act provides that there shall be at least three directors, two-thirds of whom shall be elected by the share- and debenture-holders, and not more than one-third of whom shall be nominated by the managing agent. Not less than two-thirds of the directors of companies incorporated after the commencement of the Act are to have their period of office determined by rotation. A director appointed after the commencement of the Act can be removed from his position before the time of retirement by rotation by an extraordinary resolution of a general meeting. A directorship is not to be assigned, unless with the approval of the company by special resolution. Undischarged bankrupts are ineligible as directors, and no servant of the company, not excluding a director, the managing agent or manager, is to be exempted from any penalty or liability by means of any articles of agreement. Loans or guarantees of loans by a company to a director, or to a firm of which such director is a partner, are prohibited, and directors cannot hold any office of profit under the company, except that of a managing director, managing agent, or manager, as a legal or technical adviser, or a banker, except with the consent of the company.† No director

* Report of the Statutory Enquiry into the Cotton Industry, 1926, p. 86.

† This does not apply to offices held by directors before the commencement of the Act.

or managing agent can enter into contracts with the company for the sale, purchase or supply of goods except with the consent of the board. The profit and loss account must show particulars of payments to directors and managing agents, whether as fees or commissions, etc., and it is compulsory to publish the directors' annual report.

(2) AMENDMENTS REFERRING TO MANAGING AGENTS

The new law defines a managing agent as "a person, firm or company entitled to the management of the whole affairs of a company by virtue of an agreement with the company, and under the control and direction of the directors, except to the extent, if any, otherwise provided for in the agreement,* and includes any person, firm or company occupying such position by whatever name called."

Certain limitations on the powers of managing agents have already been mentioned under heading (1) above. In addition, it is provided that existing managing agencies shall end after twenty years, unless renewed by vote of the shareholders, and that new managing agencies shall not be granted for a period of more than twenty years. The transfer of the office of managing agent by sale of rights is prohibited unless with the consent of the company. Managing agents are to vacate office if they become insolvent or are convicted of a non-bailable offence, and if the company is wound up on account of the negligence or default of the managing agent, no compensation is to be paid to him. The mortgaging of the commissions and remuneration of managing agents is to be illegal. Loans by the company to the managing agent are prohibited, and managing agents are also prohibited from borrowing from one company under their management for another company under their management, except in the case of subsidiary companies. A managing agent must not engage on his own account in business competing with that of the company managed. The payment of commissions to managing agents is to be based on a fixed percentage of net valuation of profits, the method of calculating profits being determined in great detail. This will bring to an end the payment of commission on output or sales, as also the prevalent system of calculating commission before deduction of depreciation. Provision is made for a minimum payment to the managing agent, if profits are absent or inadequate. Finally, the appointment, removal or variation in the terms of appointment of the managing agents must be approved by shareholders at a general meeting.

* The agreement is the contract whereby a managing agent is appointed.

(3) AMENDMENTS RELATING TO SHAREHOLDERS

In addition to the various provisions already mentioned affecting the rights of shareholders to appoint directors, remove a director before retirement by rotation, control the acceptance of office under the company, control a transfer of the office of managing agent, and to control the appointment, removal or variations in the terms of appointment of a managing agent, it is laid down that shareholders whose rights are altered by a majority vote can appeal to the Court, which can disallow the alteration if it is satisfied that the latter would unfairly prejudice shareholders of the class who have applied to the Court, that the minute book of general meetings is to be open to inspection by the shareholders, and that shares cannot be allotted by the directors unless a minimum subscription necessary for certain fixed items of expenditure has been received. This latter provision should go far to prevent the undercapitalization which has been referred to above as a prevalent defect.

The chief provisions affecting banking companies prohibit the formation of such a company after the Act comes into force unless shares sufficient to yield Rs. 50,000 for working capital have been allotted; compel the transference of at least 20 per cent. of the profits to a reserve fund until the latter is equivalent in amount to the paid-up capital; provide for a cash reserve amounting to 1½ per cent. of the time and 5 per cent. of the demand liabilities, and prohibit such a company from forming or holding shares in any subsidiary company, except a subsidiary company of its own formed to undertake business incidental to banking, as defined by the Act.

The new legislation may be expected to prevent the worst of the actual abuses previously prevalent, to improve substantially the position of shareholders—if the latter take advantage of their legal powers—and to widen the choice of directors. On the other hand, little or nothing has been done to prevent the reappointment of managing agents, or to lessen the concentration of industrial management in their hands, except in so far as their management has been conspicuously inefficient or fraudulent. It has been suggested* that the law may give them a new lease of life. At any rate it is clear that reforms in other spheres, especially in the spheres of banking and of training for industrial management and leadership, are also necessary, if Indian industrial enterprise is to be freed from the stranglehold of custom and the shackles of a system for the promotion and organization of industrial enterprises which originated to meet problems and a situation which have now become things of the past.

* *Insurance and Financial Review*, December, 1936, "Reforms of Indian Company Law," by T. Banerjee.

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN INDIA*

BY NABAGOPAL DAS, PH.D.(ECON.), I.C.S.

INTRODUCTORY: MANAGING AGENTS

IF one takes a cross-section of industrial enterprise in India today one is surprised to find the existence, nay, predominance, of a peculiar institution in almost every branch of industry. This is the so-called Managing Agency system—an institution that has come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years. Historically, the rise of managing agents was due to the fact that they fulfilled the rôle of promoters and pioneers in the various industries of India; they came into prominence because it was they and they alone who could supply a regular stream of trained and efficient managers; and they gathered power as they found that the capital market was notoriously shy and that industry looked to them for financial aid, both direct and indirect.

The dominance of managing agents in the sphere of industrial activity in India has been achieved by certain special circumstances. Firstly, in many industries the managing agents themselves or their friends have holdings of substantial blocks of shares. In 1927, in the cotton textile industry of Bombay the percentage of shares held by managing agents was, on the average, 40 to 60 per cent., and in exceptional cases it was as high as 90 per cent. In the jute and coal industries also, managing agents or their friends hold an important percentage of shares in the concerns they manage. Secondly, control is secured by managing agents as the principal creditors (or guarantors of credit) of the companies managed. Sometimes managing agents are the largest debenture-holders having charges on the assets and undertakings of the companies. Thirdly, even when managing agents do not hold any substantial percentage of shares in their concerns, they are assured of their control because the majority of shareholders, being distributed over long distances, are unable to unite effectively against their dictatorial management. Fourthly, although the Managing Agency system has been in existence in India for well over seventy or eighty years, the Indian law relating to companies

* For a more detailed study a reference may be made to the writer's *Banking and Industrial Finance in India* (Calcutta, 1936), and also to his forthcoming work, *Industrial Enterprise in India* (Oxford University Press, London).

never statutorily recognized them or curtailed their activities until the other day (1936) and consequently unscrupulous managing agents could easily do a lot of things without actually transgressing the law. Finally, and this is most important, managing agents have secured enormous control by means of their written agreements.

MANAGING AGENCY AGREEMENTS

These managing agency agreements have come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years, and hence it is important to analyse what they imply. A managing agency agreement is, strictly speaking, a written agreement between a firm of managing agents on the one hand and an industrial concern on the other, by which the former undertakes to "manage" the concern in return for a certain office allowance and/or some commission on sale output or profits. The agreements are generally of two kinds—terminable and non-terminable. In Bombay and Calcutta a managing agency agreement is usually fixed for a specified initial period, at the end of which the discontinuance of the agreement is dependent on an extraordinary resolution of the company to that effect. The usual period in Bombay has been from 30 to 40 years, while in Calcutta it has been from 10 to 20 years. In Ahmedabad, on the other hand, with hardly any exception, the agreements are subject to no time-limit and are more or less permanent and non-terminable. As these agreements were outside the purview of law until the passing of the Indian Companies Amendment Act, 1936, they tended to be very arbitrary and autocratic, particularly in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Instances are known of agreements providing that the appointment of the agents was not liable to be revoked or cancelled on any other ground except their voluntary resignation in writing.

The most important item in a managing agency agreement (or "articles of association," as it is sometimes called) is the stipulation regarding payment of a certain office allowance and/or some commission by the company to the agents. A good deal of criticism has, in recent years, been levelled at these stipulations on the ground that they are arbitrary, excessive and unfair. Now, both the rate and the amount of these allowances and commissions vary from industry to industry and it is difficult to say that they are either excessive or unfair. Managing agents manage as well as finance, whereas managing directors would manage but not finance, and hence industry should be prepared to pay slightly more to the former. On the other hand, it is a fact that the agreements have given opportunities to unscrupulous managing agents to find devices for additional and/or secret profits. The managing agent's remuneration has generally been calculated on

gross profits in the sense of profits before depreciation is set aside; an additional remuneration has often been obtained by way of a special compensation; and, finally, in some agreements clauses have been inserted for supplementary or secret profits.

Other abuses also crept in. In Bombay and Ahmedabad, for instance, the agreements often provided that the managing agent might assign to a third party his interests or his duties under the agreement and for this assignment no specific sanction by the directors or shareholders was needed. Managing agency firms have also been inclined to "manage" far too many companies at the same time and to inter-invest funds amongst these companies. This latter practice has not infrequently led to the perpetuation of thoroughly insolvent concerns which it would have been to the interest of an industry as a whole to have closed down. Finally, managing agents have been known to have engaged in purchase, sale or other subsidiary services on behalf of their managed companies even when the shareholders of those companies were reluctant to entrust them with the performance of those services.

The net position has been this: managing agents have, in recent years, been inclined to usurp for themselves more and more power through the instrument of their agreements. Even a company having a joint stock organization and a majority of independent shareholders was completely under the domination of the agent by virtue of the agreement, which was practically beyond the reach of legal control. In Bengal the European managing agency firms were largely free from these abuses, but in Bombay and Ahmedabad, barring a few exceptions, managing agency firms (mostly Indian) tended to be autocratic, inefficient and unimaginative.

THE NEW ACT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It was primarily to regulate the managing agency agreements and to stop some of the abuses of management noted above that the Indian legislatures passed a comprehensive Indian Companies (Amendment) Act last year.* The Act is based on two principal considerations: firstly, that every attempt should be made to make extremely difficult the malpractices which have come to light as a result of the working of the old Act of 1913; secondly, that the provisions for stopping these apprehended malpractices must not be so unreasonable and onerous as to keep away honest men from having to do anything with joint stock companies. The new Act does *not* abolish the managing agency system: it only prescribes certain standards of management and to some extent circum-

* The writer does not make a detailed analysis of the provisions of the new Act in this article, as a detailed study appears elsewhere in this issue.

scribes the extravagant privileges of the managing agent *vis-à-vis* his company.

It would be interesting to note in this connection the fact that managing agency firms no longer monopolize all enterprise and managerial ability in India. Concerns managed by managing directors responsible to boards of directors are steadily on the increase, and even where managing agents manage a company on behalf of the board of directors, the latter are no longer just sleeping partners. A new class of entrepreneurs unconnected with established firms of managing agents is definitely emerging; and this is particularly noticeable in the new industries—e.g., in the sugar, cement, paper, and match concerns.

THE FUTURE: SOME SUGGESTIONS

What, then, is the outlook for the future? The future of industrial management in India resolves itself ultimately into a two-fold problem. Firstly, it is necessary that those who manage a company—whether they are managing agents, managing directors or a board of directors—must try to be more efficient and energetic than they have hitherto been. Secondly, the ever increasing body of shareholders and investors must begin to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the concerns into which they have put their money, so that it may become increasingly difficult for the management to remain inefficient or unenterprising. Legislation by itself cannot make management more efficient or honest, nor can it make shareholders more active or intelligent.

Regarding the first problem, the very large number of company failures during the last ten or fifteen years points to the fact that business efficiency as well as business morality have not reached a satisfactory level. The tendency of some business men in India to take advantage of any loopholes and to make money in all sorts of questionable ways should be a matter of deep concern to everyone interested in the industrial progress of the country. A very recent and typical illustration may be quoted from a report of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, Bengal: "A type of malpractice very much in evidence during the last few years is the practice of receiving security deposits by offering employments. The security is received by the company and is said to be spent in its business, although it means nothing but paying the remuneration and travelling and other allowances of the directors and the managing agents of the company. The services of the persons engaged are very frequently dispensed with on the slightest pretext without returning the security deposits." It is, therefore, pre-eminently necessary that the various chambers of commerce and such organizations as millowners' associations should lay down

strict rules of conduct for managers, directors and managing agents and should severely punish any breaches therefrom—without scruple or hesitation.

As regards shareholders, it is an encouraging sign that in the two most important industrial centres—viz., at Calcutta and Bombay—shareholders have banded themselves into shareholders' associations for the protection of their own interests. Nevertheless, the general apathy of the shareholder in India is a by-word and it has been noted in successive reports on the administration of joint stock companies in India. This apathy must go. Following the practice of Holland, in India also the shareholders of each company should appoint a small "Shareholders' Committee," consisting of representatives of both the big shareholders and the smaller ones, and this body may be entrusted with the work of supervising and reporting upon the activities of the management—whether managing agents or boards of directors, or both—to the general body of shareholders. This committee need not have the power to veto the acts of the management, but it should certainly have the power to call for details or explanations of their more important acts; and then it shall be left to the general body of shareholders to decide whether the discharge of duties by the management is satisfactory or not. This procedure will enable the average shareholder to keep himself in continuous touch with the affairs of a company, and, with goodwill on both sides, this will certainly not hamper the smooth administration of a company. On the other hand, it will make the habitually shy potential investor of India less nervous about sinking his money in an industrial enterprise, as he will have the assurance that he will be kept regularly informed of all the major developments inside his company.

CEYLON'S PRESENT

BY G. C. S. COREA

IN this article I propose to set forth as fully as the limited space allotted to me permits the more important features of Ceylon's present Constitution, and in my next article I shall examine the difficulties that have been disclosed as inherent in such a scheme. It might perhaps be useful to begin by a rapid survey of the form of government that prevailed in Ceylon before 1931 when the new Constitution came into force. From 1815, when the British occupation of Ceylon began, up to 1931 the Governor carried on the Government with the advice of the Executive and Legislative Councils. The Executive Council was originally composed of officials, but later also of unofficials who were all nominated by the Governor. The Legislative Council up to 1911 consisted of officials and a few unofficials who were all nominated. The Elective principle was first conceded in 1911 when one member to represent the educated Ceylonese was elected. Further reforms in 1921 enlarged the number of elected members. These numbers were again increased in 1924 and resulted in an unofficial majority. The Council, however, still continued to function only as a means of ventilating grievances and criticizing the actions of the Government, which still was the Governor. By the new Constitution of 1931 the whole position was altered and the government of the country to a large extent was vested in a State Council consisting of fifty members elected on a universal franchise to represent the fifty territorial divisions into which the country was divided on a population basis, and eight members, of whom four were to be Europeans, nominated by the Governor. There were also three *ex-officio* members—i.e., the Chief Secretary, the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary—who were to be called the Officers of State; but these three had no vote, although they could take part in the proceedings of the Council. The State Council was to sit in Executive as well as Legislative sessions. When the Council, completed in the aforesaid manner, assembled it proceeded to elect its Speaker by ballot and then divided itself also by ballot into seven Executive Committees. Each Executive Committee then elected one of its members as its Chairman. The Council thereafter proceeded to elect a Deputy-Speaker and a Deputy-Chairman of Committees. The Council was now ready to enter upon its task of government. Each Executive Committee above referred to was allocated definite functions, and the Departments

of Government administering these functions were placed under the Executive Committee. The several Executive Committees into which the Government is thus divided are the Executive Committees of Home Affairs, Health, Education, Local Administration, Agriculture and Lands, Labour, Industry and Commerce, and Communications and Works, and the functions of each Committee are specifically dealt with in a schedule to the Order in Council of 1931. The Chairman of each Executive Committee is appointed by the Governor as the Minister of those subjects allocated to the Committee. These seven Ministers form the Board of Ministers. Here you have the whole scheme of government, and it now remains to see how this delicate task is carried out by this somewhat cumbersome and certainly novel scheme.

Each Executive Committee decides the policy that should be adopted in respect to the subjects under its control, and the task of carrying out that policy is undertaken by the departments in charge of those subjects. The departments are under the general control of the Executive Committees. These Executive Committees also have to deal with many questions of administrative details that come up from time to time for settlement. These Committees prepare the Annual Estimates for money necessary to maintain their departments and carry out the policy laid down. They also from time to time prepare special estimates for work of an unforeseen and urgent nature or for some new policy, the adoption of which has become necessary. In connection with policy the Executive Committee has to report to the State Council on any new policy it proposes to adopt in respect of the subjects under its control. These reports are debated in the Council and voted upon and if carried have to be ratified by the Governor, who has the power of refusing to ratify or of returning for further consideration. Once the report is adopted in Council and ratified by the Governor it becomes the policy of the Government. The Executive Committees may also submit motions in Council to obtain the opinion of the State Council. The Annual Financial Estimates and Supplementary Estimates are submitted by the Executive Committees through the Treasury to the Board of Ministers. It should also be noted that in respect of all subjects allocated to any Executive Committee that Committee is the only authority competent to deal with any question affecting those subjects. The Executive Committees are thus important because they take the initiative in shaping policy and in hammering out all the mass of details that is so necessary before a good case can be made out in the State Council.

The Board of Ministers consists of the seven Ministers and the three Officers of State. The Chief Secretary is the Chairman, but neither he nor the other two Officers of State have the right to

vote. One of the Ministers is elected as the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Ministers and he becomes the Leader of the State Council. The most important function of the Board of Ministers is to submit the annual budget to the Council. The Board of Ministers cannot be considered as a distinct entity entitled to prepare the budget upon a definite policy which it has the desire to adopt. All that it can do is to reduce the expenditure proposed by the different Committees and then find out ways and means of finding money to meet the expenditure. This expenditure will be met by normal revenue or by new taxation if the normal revenue is insufficient. The Board of Ministers is collectively held responsible for the budget, and if it is thrown out the Council will be dissolved. The Board has also to consider and approve the supplementary estimates that Executive Committees propose to submit to the State Council. The Board is then able to exercise a check on the expenditure or even on the policy of Executive Committees, but has no power of initiation in regard to policy. It is, however, wholly responsible for finding money, and the burden and odium of new taxation proposals have to be borne by the Board of Ministers. No expenditure voted by the Council can be incurred without the prior sanction of the Board of Ministers, which it gives by the issue of a general or special warrant. The Board of Ministers also prepares the agenda for each meeting of the State Council.

The State Council itself meets on appointed dates to consider the agenda thus prepared. No oral questions can be asked except by way of supplementary questions arising from answers oral or written given to questions which have been sent in in writing to the Clerk of the Council. Notice of motions can be given in open Council by members. Government business has priority except during the time specially set apart for private members' motions or except when any matter of urgent public importance is taken up or when standing orders are suspended. The whole Council goes into Committee in its Executive Sessions, and all matters discussed in Committee are put to the vote when Council resumes. The State Council has two Standing Committees to which all legislative measures are referred after the second reading. These Committees after consideration of these bills report to the State Council, which has the power of dealing only with alterations actually made in Committee. Some bills and particularly the Annual Appropriation Bill are not referred to a Standing Committee, but are dealt with by the whole Council in Committee after its second reading in Council.

The three Officers of State form a Public Services Commission, which makes recommendations to the Governor in regard to all appointments above a fixed salary scale, while Heads of Depart-

ments make appointments in their own discretion to posts carrying salaries below that scale. In the former class the Executive Committee concerned in the Departments to which the appointment is made are consulted and their recommendation along with that of the Public Services Commission goes to the Governor, with whom rests the actual appointment. All transfers are made and all disciplinary action is taken by the Public Services Commission. The State Council has no voice in any matter affecting the public service, and no motion or resolution affecting the pay, prospects or conditions of service of any public servant can be moved by a member of the Council without the prior sanction of the Governor. The three Officers of State are also like Ministers in charge of special subjects such as the Public Services, Finance, and the Administration of Justice. They are, however, not responsible to the Council but only to the Governor.

The Governor has only reserve powers vested in him. He must ratify reports adopted in Council in regard to new policy. He can give his assent to bills, or reserve them for the consideration of His Majesty's pleasure, or he can refuse to give his assent or return them for further consideration. In all matters which in his opinion are of "paramount importance or are essential to give effect to the Constitution" he has the right of certification and when the Governor so certifies the action acquires legal force. The Governor has the right in certain circumstances to dissolve the Council before its period is completed.

These are the main features of this novel Constitution. It will be obvious that it can be satisfactorily worked only by the exercise of great goodwill and co-operation among those who have shouldered the burden and also between them and the Officers of State. The present Governor, Sir Edward Stubbs, has definitely stated that the Constitution has been successfully worked. The credit must rest with all those concerned in its working, but the success was achieved by a special determination to avoid the many difficulties that often would have wrecked the scheme by the exercise of great caution and restraint. It will not always be possible to achieve this, and in my next article I shall analyze the difficulties and suggest remedies.

A FILM OF MYSORE

ELEPHANT BOY

(Reviewed by Basabandranath Tagore.)

AFTER seeing *Elephant Boy* at the Leicester Square Theatre, one can sigh with relief that this picture, which is based on Kipling's *Toomai of the Elephants*, lacks all the cinematograph "gags" that are generally used in ordinary American motion pictures. The most noticeable thing in it is that its cast does not include the name of a single woman and consequently we are spared the usual love scenes. It is devoid of all American slang, and for once we are honoured by the absence of the company of the G-Men. Though the film is so simple in its theme, it has a peculiar charm which enthralls both young and old alike.

Though the ivory trade is one of the most profitable businesses in the world, and in India we find elephants in large numbers, yet the killing of them is prohibited by custom and by game preservation laws. I remember on one occasion travelling with a friend from Calcutta to Ranchi by car, and it so happened that while passing through a wild mountainous gorge we were almost overwhelmed by a small herd of jungle elephants. My companion was on the point of opening fire when the local guide warned us that the killing of an elephant was prohibited by law. In any case it would have been foolish to fire on the herd, one of which was powerful enough to blow up the car and us with it at one kick. We stopped the motor for fear of creating noise and being noticed. I am glad to add, however, that though the elephants came very near to us, yet they passed by without causing any damage.

It is notorious that elephants can be very ferocious if they wish: but they are generally sympathetic towards living beings. It is, therefore, quite justified that in the story of the film *Kalanag*, when provoked by the cruel behaviour of Ram Lal, should turn out to be so ferocious. Moreover, *Kalanag* was calmed not only because little *Toomai* was his rightful master, but also because of his love for the elephant.

Another prominent feature is the acting of Sabu. It is indeed an amazing thing to see a boy of his age who had had no previous screen experience making such an outstanding success in his first picture. I remember seeing him in London at an Indian restaurant, and I was struck by his intelligent appearance.

Big game hunting is a popular sport in India, but capturing elephants is more thrilling and interesting, though it is within the means of Maharajas only, who own large forest reserves.

Elephants are captured not only for their tusks, but also because they are much in demand by the Maharajas for maintaining their pomp and pageantry. In this picture we obtain a good idea of the way elephants are captured.

There is much to be said in praise of the scenery. The temple views, the partial glimpse of the Indian village life and the panoramic sights of the forest—particularly one where we see Toomai and Kalanag resting in the moonlight with wild deer in the jungle—are typical of the beautiful State of Mysore. Mysore, besides being rich in natural beauty, can well boast that under the wise rule of the present Maharaja it has garden cities famous for their green parks and fountains.

The film industry in India is making steady progress, but I am sorry to see that we seldom see good pictures like the *Elephant Boy*. I agree with those who maintain that the orientation of human themes to a planned theory of social evolution with a view to social reform fails in its purpose with an audience expecting little but entertainment in the worst sense of the word from the cinema. The cinema strictly remains an entertainment. Sex-interest has displaced all other interests and values and hindered us from an appreciation or understanding of the four functions of the cinema. But *Elephant Boy* offers us quite a simple and yet an intellectual entertainment.

EDUCATION IN MUSIC*

BY H.H. THE MAHARANA OF DHARAMPUR

ONE can easily visualize the social importance of music when it is recalled that practically every Indian home began not so long ago, and in more senses than one, its day religiously with music. I assume that, like Gujarat and Kathiawar, other provinces had their morning musically started with what in my part of the country we call *Prabhatias*. However that may be, the very fact that Indian melodies have been distinctly classified as those composed for the different periods of the day—morning, noon and night—indicates how much of the daily social life of the country was soothed and elevated by music.

Similarly, the comparative study of the musical heritage of the world which has fortunately recently started has revealed the vast cultural wealth of India which could offer melodies of character inconceivable by other nations, hitherto inaccessible to other nations, and enriching the cultural wealth of every nation of the world.

It is true that little has been achieved to meet the primary educational needs of music. We have, for example, to arrange for suitable and cheap textbooks; to evolve a system of notations that could be easily employed for daily practice by students; and, finally, to regulate both the instruction and supply of competent teachers. But while these elementary problems are gradually being undertaken for solution by a number of individuals, and institutions like the School of Indian Music, which, I am glad to note, has projected the publication of a series of suitably easy and cheap music textbooks, they will remain more or less ineffective for the nation-wide uplift of music we are contemplating without the evolution of a definite policy of instruction in the higher grades where one could prescribe approximately the standards of music and its national objectives. This could only be achieved by securing for Indian music its legitimate University status.

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS

But this recognition, which will come sooner or later—the sooner it will be the better—is only part of the vast amount of constructive work which remains to be done outside the Universities, the work which awaits the attention and energy of institutions like the School of Indian Music. I do not know whether there are many educational institutions of the character, scope, and modern complexion of the School of Indian Music outside this province. But I think that in the Bombay Presidency at least there are few, if any, music institutions that are sought to be conducted on the lines that Professor Deodhar is aspiring to lay down.

* Based on the author's presidential address at the annual gathering, School of Indian Music in Bombay, on March 20, 1937.

I am, however, making the request to emulate Professor Deodhar's example not without certain clear reservations.

These reservations are suggested by what should be recognized as the particular national task and the responsibility of the educated. It is time that instruction in music should be systematized and popularly organized. It is necessary, indispensable, to collect and to classify and publish every information that we possess from the past. But it is not enough to think of the past or of the present only in the terms and outlook of the past. We have to face the present and shape it for a safe future for the vital growth of Indian music.

May I, therefore, as a friend of the School of Indian Music and, above all, of the younger and coming generation of Indian musicians, suggest that educational institutions like the School of Indian Music and intellectuals like Professor Deodhar should take up in earnest the practical solution of the problems of music peculiar to our times?

May I suggest that it is not enough, important as that is in great measure, to arrange concerts, academic and discursive lectures or occasional comments. The work of educational institutions like the School of Indian Music is, in view of the conditions peculiar to our country, quite distinct in many ways from the work of, say, the musical circles and societies, radio clubs or gramophone companies.

It is the work of alert and advanced educational institutions of music to formulate and solve practically the problems of, say, choral singing. I wish the School of Indian Music would devote attention to popularize choral singing.

The questions associated with instrumental music—their varying volumes, tone, structure, orchestration—are questions that must now be taken up without delay by the educational institutions of music.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES

LORD CANNING in his despatch of 1860 observes :

"It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that if we made all India into Zillahs (British Districts) it was not in the nature of the things that our Empire should last fifty years, but that if we could keep up a number of Native States without practical power but as Royal instruments we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of this opinion I have no doubt; and recent events (of 1857) have made it more deserving of our attention than ever."

Now the Federation is the culminating point of this policy. The Princes have no control over their army. It is meant only for imperial purposes; and it is under the supervision of a Military Adviser in every State. Police generally, in every State, is under the control of a European Inspector-General. Revenue and Finance Departments are worked by outside agencies and lent officers of the Government. The Executive Council in States that are furnished with such councils have a majority of such outside lent officers and are generally headed by chief Ministers and Vice-Presidents deputed to the Indian States. Many of the Princes are now largely in a position in which they sign the Firmans of their outside advisers and councillors. After Federation they will be in receipt of not more than 10 per cent. of the total revenue of their States for their expenses and those of their household.

In these democratic days the authors of the Act should be alive to the issues. It is not too late. Let the Secretary of State for India or the Governor-General of India address the Princes by issuing open and forceful circulars to sign the instrument of accession after obtaining the approval and sanction of their people by first establishing representative form of Government and making themselves constitutional Rulers. This will not only extend the life of the Princes, but will consolidate the Federation.

G. N. SOMANI.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE LEGACY OF INDIA. (Oxford University Press.) 10s. net.

(Reviewed by K. M. PANIKKAR.)

The Oxford University Press has done a notable service to the popularization of Indian culture by including in its "Legacy Series" a book on India. As a general survey of Indian achievements in the realms of art, science and thought, *The Legacy of India* is a book of some value, but, as Lord Zetland in his introduction has suggested, the word "legacy" itself would seem to be inappropriate, as India and Indian civilization can in no sense be said to have ceased to exist and left a legacy for others to draw upon. What the Vedas taught and what the Upanishads expounded form still the living thought of India. Equally in the realm of art, music and literature, the continuity of Indian life and tradition has never been broken. Indian civilization as a legacy seems therefore to imply a judgment which is fundamentally wrong and unhistorical.

The contributors to the volume form an imposing list, and include Professor H. G. Rawlinson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. R. P. Masani, Professor de la Vallée Poussin, Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, and Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Naturally, in a collection of this nature, the quality of the articles contributed varies a great deal, and it could hardly be expected that the standard would be one of uniform excellence. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that the contributors have dealt with their subject competently and in a non-controversial manner. The tone and temper of the book are unexceptionable and all the subjects have been approached in a spirit of sympathy and understanding.

Especially interesting from the historical and general point of view is the chapter on "India in European Literature and Thought," by Professor Rawlinson. It is perhaps the first connected statement on a really important subject. Professor Rawlinson compresses within his limited space of thirty-seven pages an extraordinary wealth of detail and indicates lines of enquiry which should yield good results for scholars.

Dr. Thomas' chapter on "Language and Literature" could hardly be placed in the same class. It suffers from the prejudices of Western Orientalists. Vague generalizations based on a partial study of North Indian conditions can hardly do justice to such a wide subject. For example, it is stated that "under Mussulman rule the learning and literature of the Hindus became more and more reduced to scholasticism." While this may be true of Northern India, I do not think that even Dr. Thomas will bring within that sweeping criticism the extraordinary efflorescence of Sanskrit poetry in the court of the Vijayanagar emperors and generally in

the South of India during the period of Mussulman rule in Delhi. His further statement that Jagannatha Pandita, who lived in the time of the Mughal, Dara Shikoh, was the last of the original Sanskrit lyricists and rhetoricians would also require modification in the light of the great Sanskrit literature of the South.

The chapter on "Indian Art and Archaeology" could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Mr. Codrington. It is a masterly survey, and although authorities may quarrel with judgments, for the ordinary reader it constitutes an excellent summary of a vast and difficult subject.

Professor Das Gupta had undoubtedly a difficult task in having to summarize the philosophic thought of India in twenty-three pages, but he has done it with undoubted ability. Unfortunately, Professor Das Gupta's style of exposition cannot be said to be lucid, and in parts he becomes, at least from the point of view of the layman, difficult to understand. Statements like the following may make sense to a trained philosopher, but it is clearly above the understanding of the ordinary reader :

"A psychical structure is a relational complex. Like other relational complexes, physical or biological, it consists of parts which are mentally separable and which can be regrouped in various relations; but awareness is homogeneous and has no parts. It is absolutely structureless and therefore unlimited and non-relational."

"It is held by the Samkhya that psychical experience is possible only through a negative failure on the part of the psychic complexes to represent in the content the distinction that exists between the guna complexes and the non-relational *purusha*."

Perhaps philosophy cannot be made a popular subject and requires a special vocabulary to understand it, and in any case Professor Das Gupta does not seem to have made any special effort to make it easy for laymen.

Mr. R. P. Masani's essay on "Caste and the Structure of Society" is an original contribution which approaches this complex subject from a new point of view. In some ways it is the most valuable study included in the book and may be strongly recommended to anyone interested in the subject.

In his chapter on "Vernacular Literatures" Mr. J. C. Ghosh shows little knowledge of literature other than his own Bengali. There is hardly anything in his essay which shows an appreciation of the modern developments in Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, and Malayalam. The last, evidently through ignorance, he relegates to the position of an unimportant vernacular and pontifically announces that for it the modern period can hardly be said to have begun. Mr. Ghosh cannot be expected to know Malayalam or even Telugu, any more than the present writer can be expected to know Bengali, but ignorance cannot excuse a statement which could only be made as a result of knowledge. Statements like "Previous to the nineteenth century none of the vernaculars except Urdu had a secular literature" can only be the result of a very partial acquaintance with Indian languages, for certainly, at least in South Indian vernaculars, secular literature developed side by side with the religious and devotional poetry. In Malayalam, for instance, some

of the earliest-known classics, like *Unnini Sandesam*, are purely secular, and at no time was language dominated by religion.

The book as a whole suffers from a lack of understanding of South Indian history and literature. This is a serious handicap when it is remembered that to the "Legacy" of India, South India has had a great deal to contribute. Perhaps this book is not exceptional in that respect. For too long a time European scholars have been inclined to look upon India south of the Vindhyas as an unnecessary projection which interferes with their generalizations. How unhistorical and, from the point of view of cultural inheritance, how unjust this point of view is may be judged from the fact that the "Legacy" of India is conserved in better purity and greater vigour in the Peninsula than in the plains of Hindustan.

ELPHANT DANCE. By Frances Habbart Flaherty. (*Faber and Faber.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.)

In charming letters Mrs. Flaherty tells the story of the making of the film based on "Toomai of the Elephants." It is sometimes suggested that films are "faked," at Hollywood or Elstree, in safe and comfortable surroundings. This was far from being the case with this film. For some nine months Mr. Flaherty was engaged with a huge staff under the direction of Mr. Korda and with the active help of the Maharaja of Mysore and his officials in studying jungle life in all its aspects; through hot weather and rains, under conditions of unavoidable discomfort, often of danger, with accidents and failures, but in the end with complete success. The story is illustrated by a series of sixty-four striking photographs and bears on every page the impress of authenticity. Those who have been privileged to see a kheddah in Mysore will be deeply interested in the account of the elaborate and skilful preparations which lead to the thrilling rush across the river into the stockade—a sight never to be forgotten. Those who love elephants will rejoice that the captives were all freed and returned to the jungle, bulls and cows and the baby calves who get so much sympathy but who are rarely if ever injured by their elders even in panic-stricken rushes. The finding of Sabu, a boy in the Maharaja's elephant stables, to represent Toomai, and the selection of the huge elephant Irawatha to represent Kala Nag, the capture of a wild tusker, the ways of the wild elephant singly or in herds, the chaining of Irawatha (Kala Nag) when "must" or mad, the movements of the elephants to resemble a dance, are all portrayed in vivid but simple language. The elephant dance is one of the jungle fictions round which Kipling has woven his great story. But there is more than a picture of jungle life. The book presents scenes of rural life generally and has much to say of the beauties of Mysore, the lavish hospitality of its revered and loved Maharaja, and what goes to make Mysore a model Indian State. No one interested in India, in Indian life, in the jungle, and in elephant lore should fail to read this fascinating book.

THE INDIAN TARIFF PROBLEM IN RELATION TO INDUSTRY AND TAXATION. By Harendra Lal Dey, M.A., PH.D. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 16s. net.

(Reviewed by PADMANABHA PILLAI.)

It is now well over a decade since India adopted a policy of discriminating protection, and the time has therefore arrived for a scientific and impartial review of the net results of that policy. Dr. Dey analyzes ably and exhaustively the consequences that have ensued from India's economic protectionism, and as his judgment is that of the anxious seeker after truth rather than that of one with preconceived notions of his own, it is to be hoped that his volume will be carefully studied by all who stand for clarity in economic thinking. It is to Dr. Dey's credit that he has had the courage to go behind the popular catchwords of the hour and subject to a rigorous scientific scrutiny the claims that have been advanced by the advocates of protection.

It may at once be stated that, while Free Trade is the ideal policy to be pursued in all countries, there are occasions when it would be both justifiable and desirable for any particular country to adopt a different policy. A country possessing great natural advantages for a particular industry might find itself handicapped at the start from the competition of fully developed rivals, and a policy of protection would be a legitimate method to broaden the basis of its economic life if the price to be paid for it by the consumer is not too high. For, as even the most extreme protectionist will have to admit, if the result of the policy is only to strengthen the economic position of a few producers at the expense of the general population, it is obvious that the nation as a whole will not be benefited. There are, then, two sets of questions which have to be considered before protection can be granted to any industry. The first is as to whether the industry is such as would be able to flourish without protection within a reasonably short time; and the second, whether the social cost of protection will not create distributive injustices and inequalities which may counteract whatever benefit the country may derive by the creation of a new industry.

Dr. Dey's first chapter is devoted to an examination of the social costs incidental to every protectionist policy. He shows how protection, by adding to the burden of indirect taxation, upsets the fiscal balance and accentuates the principle of regression. The burden of this increasingly regressive taxation on the masses of India could easily be imagined when we remember that already they are living on the margin of subsistence and that indirect taxes tend more and more to fall on the shoulders of those least able to bear it. Dr. Dey has examined almost all the arguments brought forward in favour of discriminating protection by the Indian Fiscal Commission, and arrives at the conclusion that the hopes entertained in that report erred on the side of undue optimism.

It is, of course, difficult to pronounce on the merit of any scheme of protectionism by considering merely the economic principles involved. In dealing with any such scheme we have to go further and come to close grips with specific instances; to ask whether it is likely that immediate loss will be counterbalanced by eventual gain, and what exactly are the actual

conditions of the industry in question. These are not questions to be answered through deductive reasoning in terms of yes and no; they are to be answered, if at all, only through laborious research and by the examination of the protectionist experiment at work.

Dr. Dey has watched the Indian experiments as regards cotton, steel, and sugar, and is satisfied that the protectionist policy here adopted is unscientific and indefensible as regards both the principles of modern taxation and the requirements of the industry concerned; he takes the view that if these industries needed any help, that help could have been more usefully rendered by a bounty than by an enhanced tariff.

We hope that Dr. Dey's courageously thought-out book will be seriously studied by every publicist, industrialist, and administrator interested in India.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, FROM BABAR TO AURUNGZEB. By S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S.(London). With an Introduction by Sir Abdul Qadir. (Peshawar: Muhammed Sadiq Khan.) Rs. 5.

(Reviewed by JOHN KAVANAGH.)

A strange, *memento mori* atmosphere lies over this able and conscientious volume, wherein is gathered up perhaps all that history knows of the Mughal rule in India. The dust of ages rises underfoot, rises chokingly, as one treads interminably the halls and corridors of these royal palace-tombs. Once again one stands, as it were, within the fated Escorial, among the silent ruins of Zimbabwe, or, in Japan, amid the mighty Shogun-memorials of the vanished Tokugawa. And yet this half-ecerie impression is very far removed from Mr. Jaffar's purpose in preparing his volume—very far indeed!

As Sir Abdul Qadir in his well-written Introduction remarks:

"Students of Indian History owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. S. M. Jaffar for his book. Mr. Jaffar has taken pains to study the numerous books on the subject, in English, Persian and Urdu, and has very ably summarized the material. . . . While dealing with the Muslim point of view, and trying to explain actions of the Mughal Emperors which have been adversely criticized by some modern historians, Mr. Jaffar does not ignore the general Indian point of view. . . . For instance, the following remarks of his about the Emperor Jahangir are very interesting: 'Like his father, he loved to hear Hindi songs and took delight in patronizing Hindi poets. Born in India, and of Indian parents, Jahangir loved things Indian, and felt delighted in Indian environments.' . . . I think it can safely be said that the author has given to the students of Indian history an accurate as well as an instructive account of the Mughal rule in India."

All of this is as just as it is true. But the impression left by Mr. Jaffar's book is a sad impression, the sadness of a rain-wracked sunset after a stormy day. For, when all is said and done, the Mughals were, and to the end remained, strangers in a strange land, of whose mighty works, as compared with their intentions and brave efforts, so little, beyond traditions, remains. And yet, so much they gave!

"The Mughal Government undertook to guard the country against external invasion, to regulate foreign policy, to maintain law and order, to suppress crime, to provide for the protection of life and property, to disseminate justice, and to protect private contracts. Apart from these, the Mughal Government performed public duties such as the fixing of coinage, regulation of trade and industry, construction and maintenance of roads and highways, establishment of hospitals, rest-houses, and other works of public welfare, administration of famine relief, promotion of education, and encouragement of arts and literature."

Could not these very words have been written by Lord Macaulay, Lord Canning, and by other mighty administrators of our own race? And that, not of the Mughals, but of themselves; not in the past tense, but as a declaration of present and future policy? In India there are these fixed things, the mountains and the forests, the rivers and the plains. There is also a multitude of peoples, and many pantheons of gods. In the centuries to come, who knows whether of British rule, of British ideals, of British protection and justice, there may be spared but one tangible symbol—Jan Nikalsain on guard, still watchful, still deified and worshipped, on that blood-stained plot, outside the gate of Delhi?

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By Sir Edward Blunt. (Faber and Faber.) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DR. C. COLLIN DAVIES.)

Although the members of the Indian Civil Service have played a paramount part in the fashioning of British India, it was not until 1931, when Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley published his well-written account, that the first connected history of this service appeared. Now comes Sir Edward Blunt's volume on the same subject, and we can frankly state that there is room for both books. Sir Edward's object is to explain to the British reader who has no personal knowledge of India the nature of the task which the Civil Service in India is called upon to perform. Although he makes no claim that this work is the fruit of original research, the reader soon realizes that the author has had a vast and varied administrative experience, and that in chapters which could very well have been produced by the armchair historian passages occur which could only have been written by a man who had spent the best years of his life in close contact with the peoples and problems of India. It is therefore a book which should be studied by every young civilian before proceeding to take up his duties in the East. It is also the most lucid constitutional history of India that the reviewer has yet come across and can be safely recommended in preference to more pretentious works. Many retired civilians are prone to glorify the past, to regret the departure of the good old days, and to look askance at a younger generation of officials with whom because of their age they are somewhat out of touch. Many stress the fact that the Service under the new Constitution must lose its unique character of a small body of British officers entrusted with the administration of a great country, while some

go so far as to contend that nowadays India offers no prospects to ambitious and adventurous young men. If the prospective reader fears that he will find this kind of argument in the pages of Sir Edward's fascinating volume he will be sorely disappointed, for the author holds, and this is the main thesis of his work, that India still requires a British element in her administration. If it be true that in the past India called for the best type that could be found, it is even more true of the future, for we have not yet reached a stage where, if the new constitutional experiment is to succeed, quality must make up for quantity. The civilian of the future must possess "personality," adaptability, and the quality of mental alertness. Above all he must be free from all traces of racial prejudice. To justify its existence the I.C.S. must be more than ever before a *corps d'élite*. "We want," said Lord Willingdon in a recent speech, "young men with enterprise, imagination, a sense of responsibility and sympathy with the aspirations of the people of the country; men who are ready to take their part in what is still the finest and most interesting Service that there is in any part of the British Empire."

The most valuable part of the book is the detailed and attractively written description of the work and duties of a civil servant, for it is the never-ending variety of India with its different languages, races, and customs that fills his life with interest. Administrator, revenue expert, judge, secretary, diplomat—all these offices have been, and still are, filled by members of this Service, while rural development and broadcasting are likely to lead to the creation of new departments and duties. Under the pressure of modern conditions the district officer is confined for long periods to his office, but, if he is not to lose touch with the people entrusted to his care, arrangements will have to be made to reduce his desk-work. Lord Linlithgow has already promised to effect this necessary change, for upon the energy and personal character of this official depends the efficiency of Indian administration. The author sees a great future for the new recruit in the political department as a member of which he may find himself posted to Kabul or Katmandu, to Gyantse or Meshed, to Muscat or Kashgar. As a political officer he may be fortunate enough to take part in a frontier campaign or may be sent on a mission to Lhasa. What more can a young man hope for?

In the pages of this book the would-be civilian will find much useful information and advice. He will learn what to expect in India from his earliest duty of "chasing *patwaris*" to the days when he may sit in the seats of the mighty. He will be initiated into the mysteries of *peshi* and *sawalkhana*, and will discover that a few remarks about the peasant's crops are as safe a conversational gambit in India as the weather in this country. Of one thing he can be certain. Under the new Constitution he will not be called upon to act as an official legislator. And what of the future? All the old safeguards, and some new ones, are there—the stronger, perhaps, because they are definitely laid down in a statute which Parliament alone can alter.

A few minor slips will require correction in future editions. The account on p. 65, of the powers of the Supreme Council over the subordinate presi-

dencies is incorrect, because it fails to note the dangerous loophole provided by the ninth clause of the Regulating Act. The States included in the United Provinces are now in immediate political relations with the Government of India and not, as stated on p. 173, with the provincial government. The origin of the office of *kanungo* is uncertain, and it cannot be maintained (*vide* p. 100) that it owed its inception to Akbar. Neither is the statement, on p. 128, that Akbar's revenue system was continued without material change by his three successors correct. Akbar's immediate successors departed from the main principles of his rule, and we know for certain that by the reign of Aurangzeb the revenue demand had been raised from one-third to one-half of the gross produce. But these are minor points and in no way detract from the value of this up-to-date account of the Service of which the author was a distinguished member.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. By K. A. C. Creswell. (Clarendon Press.) Twelve guineas.

(Reviewed by ARTHUR UPHAM POPE.)

This sumptuous publication constitutes a landmark in the history of Near Eastern studies. Architecture was ever the mistress art. It provides the most revealing permanent reflection of the life of any people. It expresses deep and characteristic ideals. It is a dependable record of cultural development, of political vicissitudes; measures the contributions of the great personalities and mirrors the interchange of cultural influences. In it theology, religion and government find a home, other arts their opportunity.

The architecture of Islam is of peculiar importance. It is a witness to the diffusion and the potency of a faith that has been one of the outstanding factors in history. It produced a variety of masterpieces that are to be found scattered from Samarkand to Cordova and from Kiev to Zanzibar and Malaya. It played a vital rôle in the development of the architecture of many other regions with which it was affiliated, receiving some, giving more. Its relations to the architecture of Europe have yet to be determined with precision, but we know enough to realize that they were of primary importance and that neither Romanesque nor probably Gothic architecture can be fully understood without reference to Near Eastern contributions.

This architecture as a whole has yet to be adequately studied. It has been the subject of admirable monographs which are gratefully known to all scholars in the field, but of systematic, thoroughly grounded and comprehensive research and exposition we have had, until the present, none. Hence the work of Professor Creswell is an event of outstanding cultural importance, indispensable to the general student of Near Eastern culture as well as to the architect and art historian.

For it has been conceived with an amplitude and been carried through

with a resolution and self-sacrificing adherence to the severest standards are indeed rare in historical works in our time. Terms for the high rates of books have been used with such negligence and even irresponsibility, an imprudent excess of praise has so often been lavished on mediocre accomplishments, that when a really outstanding performance is achieved, there are available for its appraisal only words that have been weakened and compromised. This book represents a quality of workmanship that some had despaired of in our generation and is certain to have a tonic and inspiring influence on all relevant undertakings.

The boldness, almost exceeding prudence, with which it was envisaged, and the resolute, almost fanatical adherence to the standards set are a tribute to character and a proof of what can be accomplished, granted sufficient determination. Such works are usually undertaken on the commission of a government or a heavily endowed foundation. This work was Professor Creswell's own personal plan, and although he received acknowledgment and assistance for it from his late Majesty King Fuad and a few other patrons of scholarship, which he generously acknowledges, the achievement remains, as was the effort, very largely a personal one. Harassed at many turns by uncertainty, with all its beguiling temptation to compromise quality and to find escape in relaxed ideals, it has been a fifteen-year effort which only those who have had direct experience of similar enterprises can fully gauge.

The work is magnificently presented by the Oxford University Press. The type is dignified, handsome, readable, the paper of the finest, the text illuminated by large collotype plates of photographs for which the author has long been famous. If these are sometimes too dark, they are on the whole of superior quality. Additional half-tone plates scattered through the text are uniformly brilliant and many of the detail drawings are of the best. The plans are clear, impeccable, and, there is every reason to believe, wholly dependable. There is an ample and admirably arranged table of contents.

Every device that the author could contrive to add lucidity to the presentation and to make it available for use and study has been employed. The scale of the drawings is in a simple decimal multiple, permitting them to be taken off instantly with a centimetre measure, and even the photographs, when presenting a flat view, have been reproduced to a measured scale so that they can often be used almost as measured drawings, a precision for which students will be constantly grateful.

Professor Creswell has resolutely aimed at perfection and at no point voluntarily yielded. Where specialists have been needed to complete some recondite aspect of the work, he has called on them. Thus Miss Marguerite van Berchem has provided, in about a hundred pages, a detailed and authoritative description of the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque at Damascus, for which she deserves great credit. The zodiacal motifs in the decoration of Qasr Amr' have been dealt with by Professor F. Saxl and Dr. Beer.

Professor Creswell has himself laid under service all the relevant documents in a half dozen languages, with a thoroughness rarely achieved. He apparently knows well everything written that refers to any of his problems,

and he appends to each chapter a detailed bibliography of vast range, exhaustive, dependable, organized with judgment and good sense, which is in itself a notable accomplishment.

Few books have been so fortified by footnotes. Sometimes minor points have been pressed with a luxurious, not to say desperate, completeness. The history of lesser errors, that concerning the height of Mount Zion, for instance, has been followed through centuries and in all its divagations until the whole process of such myth-making is bleakly exposed, not a superfluous task because it furnishes a striking warning of the means by which mistakes are established and propagated. The erroneous belief that the Aqṣā Mosque was originally a church is similarly traced through some fifty-six publications, beginning at the end of the fifteenth century (p. 23, n. 2). At some points, however, the lavishness of detail may seem overdone. One reaches occasionally a point of diminishing returns, the time and effort involved for both author and reader being disproportionate to the results. Yet this very inclusiveness does give a feeling of confidence that nothing essential has been omitted and imparts to the work something of the character of an encyclopedia or dictionary.

All the important architectural forms, such as the pendentive, the pointed arch, various types of vaults, and the minaret, are discussed, with a lucid, compact and searching historical exposition, a blessing to the young student and grateful enough, because of new knowledge and ideas brought to bear, to the most hardened professional. Each problem of dating is considered with a fullness which would satisfy an exacting pedant. Every view is formulated, and although Professor Creswell frequently has occasion roundly to abuse some of his predecessors, sometimes immoderately, his presentations of their statements are always just.

His castigations are frequently, it must be said, well deserved, as when he makes plain Rivoira's heated partisanship which lead him to the frequent distortion of fact. But to say "Strzykowski in an article which I have already characterized as a tissue of absurdities" (p. 81) is a little too strong in speaking of a provocative mind which has vitalized research in the history of Near Eastern art so profoundly that no one can now write or even think in this field without acknowledging his presence; or to say of him: "Never was a theory constructed on such a flimsy basis" (p. 55), is unnecessary after Professor Creswell has already so carefully demonstrated the truth of his criticism. The task before historians of Near Eastern art is too complicated, and heat-generating animosities and jealousies too easily stirred, for any of the conventional courtesies that hold between scholars who honestly err not to be sustained. For insincerities or falsifications of fact there is no scourge too merciless.

The whole character of the architectural effort of Islam and its cultural origins are set forth in an incisive and economical manner, and to a great many readers this will be a revelation; for basing his case squarely on the soundest historical researches and making full use of the magnificent achievements of Caetani and other historians, the author expounds the beginnings of Islamic architecture in a way that destroys many old, familiar and comfortable fallacies. But in obliterating them for all time he makes it

possible to present a much more intelligible picture of its formation which could be constructed on the now discredited theory of a substantial Arabian contribution.

He depicts Muhammad's indifference to all architecture, the mosque character of the first mosques, which soon became the forum of Islam, but started as little more than general meeting places where a crowd could congregate, prisoners be bound, entertainments be given, as well as prayers said and sermons preached, and where, of course, all the administrative business of the primitive community could be controlled. The Arabia out of which Islam issued is so clearly shown to have been a complete architectural vacuum that further discussion is superfluous.

Nowhere can we find in so brief a form such an admirable statement of the influence of social factors on early Islamic architecture.

There is a brilliant and authoritative description of Muhammad's own house, which began as a private residence and only gradually assumed its public function. Many other critical factors are similarly set forth, not only with real historical insight, but in an admirable narrative style that makes exciting reading, a merit too infrequently associated with the more stately monuments of scholarship.

The Mosque of 'Amr in Cairo, sanctified by many guide-books as the oldest in Islam, now disappears into the limbo from which it ought never to have been summoned. This building, built, rebuilt, added to and rebuilt again, as Professor Creswell says, "should never be mentioned in any serious discussion of early Muslim architecture" (p. 81).

There are a number of controversial issues familiar to the professionals in the field which are finished off by the author with a decisive finality, burying them deep under economical verbal epitaphs well calculated to keep them permanently quiescent. In dealing with the Mosque of al-Walid in Damascus, Professor Creswell convincingly solves the complex problems concerning the original state of the building. The Persian contribution to the building is somewhat slighted, but by the author's own documents (p. 101) it must have been considerable, for Persian workmen were among those assembled for the work and one of the two architects was a Persian, 'Ubad ibn-Hurmus. Miss Berchem also slights various unmistakable Persian elements in the patterns of the mosaics. The Egyptian work which Alfradito ordered at the Damascus mosque in 709 was also executed under the direction of a Persian, Vazid ibn Tamim. Professor Creswell has not done full justice to the Eastern sources of some of the motifs, structural and ornamental, perhaps because so relatively little is still known of the character of Persian architecture and its decoration. When the full history of Sāsānian architecture and ornament are written there is reason to think that it may well prove to have had more effect even on Syria than Professor Creswell has indicated.

Professor Creswell's appreciation of the mosaics uncovered a few years ago in the court of this mosque is most enthusiastic and perhaps a little wanting in his usual critical detachment, a forgivable fault in the presence of these handsome panels. The details and colours in the small compositions are indeed superb, but the larger ones suffer from an incoherence, a

deficiency in rhythm and construction, and a lack of relation to the space ornamented which compromise their claim to the highest rank.

There has long been a question as to whether any structure was built on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem after it had been devastated by Titus in 70, or whether the Dome of the Rock was begun there quite *de novo*. Professor Creswell's decision, which has the air of finality, that there was no intervening structure, is a model of tight reasoning, effective use of documents and succinct expression. The Dome of the Rock is indisputably one of the world's great buildings, and Professor Creswell's treatment makes this evident. All the paraphernalia of his vast scholarship is brought to bear like a great arsenal on the problems of stylistic origin and its date. His conclusions that it is really an Islamic structure, Umayyad work of about 692, and neither a Byzantine original nor imitation, seem unchallengeable even if a little rigidly and mechanically expressed. Moreover, he has dealt with the complex and baffling plan in an illuminating way and shown how interference of the two concentric zones of columns, which would have robbed the view of richness and impressiveness, has been avoided by a slight torsion of the two component series in such a way as to bring the significant elements of each into view at the same time; and the puzzling problem of measuring a building with so many mutually interrupting elements has been solved with an ingenuity that every surveyor and draughtsman will admire.

Mshattā, that handsome but colossally difficult desert monument with its encyclopædic repertoire of animal and foliate ornament, which has been such a thorny thicket of controversy ever since it was discovered, is by Professor Creswell's patient accuracy and lucidity cleared of as many of its ambiguities as possible. He concludes, agreeing with Musil (and who will challenge?) that it was probably the building begun by Walid II. and interrupted by his death in 743/4 (p. 403). Some may think that Professor Creswell has recounted the controversies and opinions at too great length, but we must be grateful for thoroughness even when it becomes at points tedious.

Another charming little desert castle, Quṣayr 'Amra, built for one of the Arab rulers who were still at heart nomads and loved hunting in the open desert quite as much as the perfumed luxury of the court, was for a time one of the archæological mysteries. For this the author has provided a summary discussion that may well be regarded as definitive.

In his discussions of the Mosque of al-Walid, the ornament of the Dome of the Rock, Mshattā and Quṣayr 'Amra, a larger Iranian participation should, in the view of some scholars, have been recognized, and this applies likewise to a few of the specific problems. The author seems certain that the pointed arch, of which the earliest extant example is at Qaṣr Ibn Wardān, is a Syrian invention. It is true that this structure, which can be dated 561, does show a pointed arch, albeit the point is so slight that its very existence was denied until Professor Creswell himself by his own impeccable measurements took the question permanently out of dispute. But it is not safe to assume that the present lack of prior or contemporary monuments with pointed arches in Mesopotamia and Persia means that they never existed.

Not one in a hundred, perhaps not in a thousand, of the sixth-century monuments in this part of the world remains standing.

Moreover, the fact that round and elliptical arches have continued in use together in Persia down to the present day is proof that the two forms can go together, so that the existence of one does not exclude the possibility of the other, and, as Professor Schapiro has already pointed out, Qasr Ibn Wardān is a brick structure in a stone-building culture, obviously intrusive in Syria, but thoroughly at home in Mesopotamia and Persia. Is it not, he asks, significant that the first appearance of the pointed arch should be in this structure rather than one in the tradition indigenous to Western Asia?*

The discovery by Dr. Erich Schmidt of a still unpublished building in Luristan, while making an archaeological survey there for the Holmes Expedition of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, with an unmistakable pointed arch on the central axis, combined with distinct Sāsānian features in the general plan and in the building materials and methods, raises again the possibility that the pointed arch may have found a prior application in Iran. Nor can we disregard the hint on the Sāsānian bronze salver in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, with its precise representation of a building the portal of which is an arch with an elevated point, and a similar form on a Sāsānian silver plate in the Hermitage Museum showing the siege of a fortress. These, and the false pointed arches in the upper course of the back of the Taq-i-Kisra façade should not be overlooked, for they are an unmistakable proof that the form, at least as a visual image, was familiar to, and approved by, Persian builders well before the close of the Sāsānian epoch.

The most exacting taste might find even the occasional use of the word "I" a little inappropriate in a monumental work that has the qualities of universality and permanence and which in itself, since it is the creation of a single individual, is in every line an acknowledgment of the author's handiwork and personality. Professor Creswell a little too often intrudes the personal pronoun and tells us what he is about to do or has done, and even speaks of "a remarkable confirmation of my theory," a quite superfluous self-congratulation in his case. The author is not thinking of himself but of the idea, and would have said the same if the point confirmed had been urged by a colleague, but the form of the statement might be regretted by a purist.

It must not be inferred from the authoritative and in many respects definitive character of this work, which of necessity becomes the foundation of every subsequent effort in the field, that nothing is left to be done in the history of early Islamic architecture. There are a number of minor issues concerning which there are two opinions, and a few questions of fact on which the author might be challenged. But aside from such discrepancies there remains a grave problem of the ultimate aim of architectural history and of the method or methods by which this end is to be realized. Occasionally the arguments seem to imply too great confidence in the statistical and analytic approach to solve the problem of architectural character, and at

times Professor Creswell seems to be siding with the mechanists, for example, in seeking to express accurately the sources or cultural origins of some very complex and individual structures.

But the aim of the book was precisely defined and as definitely limited. He is primarily concerned with an exact description of each monument, including an analysis of structure, its complete history and the origins of the forms that it embodies. He has given more than he promised. Yet there are other and essential approaches to the problems of architectural history. These are not in the author's programme and he legitimately ignores them, but perhaps he does not adequately recognize their importance, an importance that needs to be constantly stressed, for it is in danger of being obscured by the pseudo-science of meagre and prosaic minds.

The attempt to identify the ingredients of a building and to express numerically the proportions of each is a legitimate historical exercise, but one very limited in use and application, and unless its limitations are acknowledged it may lead to deception. For a work of art is far more than the sum of its parts, and such a method involves an untenable theory of the nature of architecture as one of the fine arts. Organization is not an additive process, and a superb æsthetic unity like the Dome of the Rock is not like a poem pronounced in three languages, even though it does owe elements to several sources. No inventory of its structural factors reveals the source of its psychological power.

The error is a common one and favoured by pseudo-scientific tendencies in much of the *kunstforschung* of the day, with its naïve dependence upon the exploded fallacies of empiricism and materialism. This is, in effect, a kind of obscurantism, concealing the essential character of the work of art, frequently contenting itself with research that straggles out in the sandy deltas of non-essentials. The integrity of personality and singleness of will, of which the Dome of the Rock is such a moving expression, must of necessity forever elude the mechanistic approach.

Nor are such summary terms in any way extravagant or mystical. To each can be assigned a precise and controllable meaning. Interesting as is the identification of the elements and indispensable as such analyses must always be, it is their employment and transmutation by a system of inclusive relations which gives them their value and their reality as members of an æsthetic whole.

Professor Creswell is aware of the insufficiency of the statistical method, warns us against its crudity, and is himself intensely conscious of the profound beauty of the great buildings. But he offers us no technique for discovering or expressing it, and reduced by a curious vagary that so frequently victimizes the hard-headed and practical, frustrated by the incapacity of the analytical and mechanical approach to express the beauty of the whole, he at one place takes refuge in a romantic numerology that is bad mathematics and worse æsthetics, and as an explanation of the Dome of the Rock is hardly more than an incantation (p. 50). The actual passage is as follows:

"Some of the ratios involved, such as the square root of two (as in the Dome of the Rock), and especially that which the diameter of a circle

* Meyer Schapiro, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVII (1935), p. 112.

bears to its circumference, which enters into the equation of movement of everything in space, nay, further, into the equation of movement of the very electrons of the atom itself, are fundamentals in time and space they go right down to the very basis of our own nature and of the physical universe in which we live and move, and may very well appeal to us subconsciously."

That the entire book would be searched in vain for any comparable example of Homer nodding is proof of the merit of the work. It is significant as a witness of the necessity for dealing with the aesthetic significance of a monument and the difficulty of finding the appropriate method. It is certain that physics and mathematics have little to say.

Beyond the listing of the physical components and the identification of their cultural origins lies the question of what was the visual and emotional effect intended. By what organization of volumes, composition of forces and movements, both real and implied, in how far and by what means realized, by what manipulation of light, by what adroit rhythms, plain and hidden is sovereign harmony achieved?

Such questions are not Professor Creswell's primary concern, and he might with good reason affirm that, however central such tasks of synthesis and interpretation may be, they must await first the establishment of the physical facts and their history, as well as the foundation of an aesthetics of architecture which does not yet exist. But the history of architecture will not get beyond the history of engineering until architecture is also recognized as a fine art, and treated by methods which are alone competent to its essential character.

Yet it is hardly fair to ask that one author shall be a master of both these essential types of investigation—mutually, although irregularly, related as they seem to be. In all fairness it is enough to ask, and a just cause for gratitude and esteem that Professor Creswell should have accomplished the almost heroic task of laying a foundation of fact so broad and so secure that it will amply sustain whatever structure subsequent investigation and reflection need to build upon it. Volume I. of *Early Muslim Architecture* is a great achievement, and there is every reason to think that Volume II. will surpass it.

EDEN—"THE BIBLICAL PARADISE." By Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Lane. (Edinburgh: *The Riverside Press*.) 2s. 6d. net.

The author, who has taken the keenest interest in geology, and made a profound study of Biblical geology, here gives the results of his researches into the problem of the location of the Garden eastward in Eden.

In connection with the archaeological references to Sumerian data made in the book, Colonel Lane can speak with field experience at Kish. Moreover, he served for some years in Mesopotamia.

The author considers that the Sumerian and the Biblical Flood are identical, and in the same chapter makes interesting reference to recent floods such as that of the Indus in 1841 and the subsidence in 1819 of the western border of the Rann of Cutch.

"The actual situation of the Garden of Eden," he writes, "must have been absolutely unique in the history of the world. The more its location is examined the more does the nature of its most extraordinary geographical prominence become apparent."

In another place he asks: "Can we then visualize the abode of the human race in the Garden of Eden?" And he adds: "The picture we can draw is that of mankind firmly established in a paradise, situated at the very hub of the known universe, a paradise prolific in the fertility of its soil and in the abundance of its terrestrial fauna."

FAR EAST

THE BIRTH OF CHINA. By Hewlee Glessner Creel. (*Jonathan Cape*.) 15s. net.

In *The Birth of China* Hewlee Glessner Creel has set out to give us "a survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization." This is a modest understatement. The book gives a history of Chinese cultures from Neolithic times until the end of the Chou Dynasty in such a form as has never been attempted before. It deals in turn with the origins of the state, sculpture, bronze, literature; in fact, with all that is known firstly of the Shang and then of the Chou Dynasty as revealed by the light of modern research and excavation.

The book would be welcome and would cover new ground even if it did not contain information of the latest archaeological discoveries in North China. But these latter discoveries are not added to an otherwise complete book; they are interwoven in such a way as to bring past scholarship up to date. It replaces no other book because the information previously available could only be collected by referring to various separated papers and articles.

Resemblances between the decorative *motifs* of the Shangs and of the North American Indians, previously remarked upon elsewhere, are again discussed with more confidence but still with a great deal of caution. The human remains discovered at Auyang have put an end to the theory that the Shangs were an alien people to China; the skulls are of a Mongoloid race and resemble those of the North American Indians.

The search for a Pacific origin for these cultures seems to the present writer to be less hopeful. For although resemblances between the decorative *motifs* of China, North America, Mexico, and even of South America may be traced, Polynesia lacks evidence of ever having been a centre and origin of such cultures. The geometric centre of gravity may lie somewhere in the Pacific, but there is less evidence to show that the culture spread from the Pacific to China than that it was carried southwards in waves of migrations from Central Asia, and then by outrigger canoes across the Pacific.

The whole book is so well condensed and admirably written that it must surely be indispensable to all who are interested in China. It will keep as a book of reference that is a pleasure to read.

A. D. B.

FICTION

FIGHTING ANGEL. By Pearl Buck. (Methuen.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

Not a few fathers may be uneasily thankful that their daughters are so gifted with Mrs. Pearl Buck's ruthless insight and literary skill. *Fighting Angel* is a companion piece to that exquisite and tender picture of Mrs. Buck's mother, *The Exile*, helplessly dragged through the mire of China by her missionary husband. This husband, the "Fighting Angel," was an extraordinary combination of iron sternness and the most childlike simplicity. He was one of seven brothers, harsh, obstinate, quarrelsome men like their father—

"Auld, auld Elliotts,
Clay-cauld Elliotts,
Dour, bauld Elliotts of auld."

All became ministers, but Andrew (the angel) alone went as a missionary. Thenceforward he had but one thought—to save souls. He knew neither fear, fatigue nor discomfort for himself or for anyone about him. He went from his wife's deathbed instantly to resume his work of translating the New Testament into Chinese. Incidentally, Chinese souls were the only ones that interested him, he never inquired about his family's. He fought furiously with his brother missionaries, themselves ready enough for a fight, but invariably defeated by Andrew's going his own way, which to him was the only conceivable way. He was a perfect embodiment of the fanatic—"a person who does what he believes Providence would do if He knew all the circumstances of the case."

Mrs. Buck has given us an enthralling book, a perfect piece of character study, and incidentally of China viewed from a new angle. But again and again one revolts at a system which allows a man to drag wife and children into such a life as Andrew chose. The only time in the book when one feels like clapping one's hands is when Carrie revolts at living any longer in the foul inn that Andrew had chosen because no one would rent them a house (she had already buried three children and the life of another was trembling) and went off to healthier quarters on the Yangtze.

"You can preach from Peking to Canton, but I and these little children will never go with you any more," she said.

It was all that Andrew wanted to do.

THE BACHELOR OF ARTS. By R. K. Narayan. (Thomas Nelson and Sons.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

This is a story of a young Hindu at his University and afterwards till the eve of his marriage. It is told in a simple way that avoids the tendency of Indian writers to overload their work with detail and fall into the flowery trap of metaphor. His portraiture of an Indian family has the stark beauty of a landscape in winter. There is a bareness, yet sufficiency, of description

which involves melancholy, but no bitterness, and very little of the fatalism that so often underlies the Indian character. The whole is lightened by a pervading and unforced humour that is refreshing and the tale grips the interest of its reader.

Chandran, the student, is drawn with all the bewilderment and enthusiasm of youth, and his development is handled with sympathetic understanding. Personalities and episodes remain in the memory after the book is closed: Chandran's life at college; his austere yet kindly father; the idyll of the girl Malathi seen at evening by the river; his period of disillusionment as a *sanyasi*; and finally the return to normality and work. It is a book that deserves to be widely read, for it shows well and clearly one facet of a vast and many-sided country, that of a family steadfast to its centuries-old tradition, though faced with ever-encroaching modernity.

GENERAL

TWENTY-ONE WEEKS IN EUROPE (1930). By the Raja of Bhor. (Published at Bhor.)

This interesting account (of over five hundred pages) by an Indian Prince, who was fifty-two years of age at the time of his first visit, records the pleasant impressions of English life gathered during three months, a considerable portion of which was spent in the Metropolis. The author proved himself a tireless sightseer, dividing his time between the museums, public buildings, sports fixtures, and the inspection of educational establishments. Detailed reference is made to the afternoon reception held under the auspices of the East India Association in July, 1930, at which he addressed a large audience on the subject of the Indian Princes and the Indian Constitution, which was published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* (October, 1930).

There follows an account of his journey to the Continent, commencing with France in a chapter headed "The Land of Freedom," another being entitled "The International City and the League of Nations." Throughout the book reveals the judgment of an acute and mature mind.

PERIODICALS

BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR PERSIAN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

There has just been published a new number of the *Bulletin* of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology (vol. iv., No. 4) which, faithful to its now well established tradition of presenting new discoveries and vital analyses in the field of Persian art, provides us with a new series of brilliant articles.

Professor Monneret de Villard, in an impressive article of great importance for the history of Christian Church archæology, traces the evolution of the Sasanian fire temple from its origins in the fourth century B.C., in the Achæmenid building at Susa, and in the Nabatæan temple of the first

century. He skilfully employs some of the latest discoveries of Professor Herzfeld and presents for the first time all the known material on the subject in a clear, systematic, and penetrating analysis.

Dr. Phyllis Ackerman leads us through the complex of magic iconography into a new world of pre- and proto-historic culture, apparently antedating the classical Iranian sun worship: it is the moon culture with its central cow-moon Fertility Goddess Drvaspa. The seals of Elam and of Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley (third millennium B.C.) and the bronzes from Luristan (about 1000 B.C.) crystallize that iconographic complex, the roots of which stretch to the secret of a collective magic-sexual existence and to the drama of primitive economic struggles as related to that of the cosmos.

Pointing to the close relations between Iran and the Middle East, Dr. Alexander Strelkov discusses a square bronze tabouret with a procession of canine animals in the round, along the edge of the top, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, found in Semirechye (Russian Turkistan); aligning it with similar objects in Russian collections, Dr. Strelkov comes to the conclusion that it was a Zoroastrian fire altar, dated not later than the second or third century A.D. His thesis is amplified in a note by Dr. Ackerman, who provides us with further important evidence consisting of actual objects and literary references.

The Soviet architect L. Rempel gives a very detailed mass-spatial and ornamental analysis of the mausoleum of Isma'il, the Samanid, in Bukhara, one of the most remarkable buildings of Central Asia of the Early Islamic period (about 900 A.D.), a study which is accompanied by excellent photographs and careful plans. The main architectural features of the monument, such as the gallery and the pointed arch, are studied in the light of their occurrence in preceding and following buildings. Of special interest is the presence of some embryonic functional Gothic elements in that mausoleum.

The richly decorated inscription in the Masjid-i-Jami' in Qazvin, built in 1113 (or 1115), forms the subject of an article by Mr. Arthur Upham Pope which by its careful analysis actually represents a survey of Seljuq floral ornament. Tracing its beginning down to the Sasanian time and to the decoration in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, he shows its final and supreme achievement in the simple, yet complex Seljuq pattern proclaiming an important new message: the tri-dimensionality of the spatial treatment of the Iranian ornament.

M. André Godard, the Director of Antiquities of the Government of Iran, solves an age-old riddle. Following literary information, he was able to find the tomb of the great Safavid, Shah 'Abbas I. (1589-1628) in a mausoleum in Kashan. The part of the inscription on the tomb slab bearing his name was deliberately effaced during the Afghan invasion to protect the monument from destruction, but the tradition of its history was still kept alive among the guardians of the shrine.

A recently found Persian manual on the manufacture of pottery in Kashan, from the year 1300, is used by Dr. Kurt Erdmann, Berlin, for the identification of an overglaze painted, double-fired Persian pottery type. The last article concludes a discussion by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, started in an earlier *Bulletin*, of some newly discovered ceramics with lustre paint-

ing, signed or bearing dates of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

An exhaustive review of the first fascicule of *Athar-e Iran*, the new publication of the Archaeological Service of Iran, full of critical contributions, both in the field of methodology and architectural data, concludes the *Bulletin*.

LA QUINZAINE COLONIALE. (Paris: Union Coloniale Française.) No. 736. 3.50 francs.

The present issue contains an interesting suggestion made by M. Georges Hersent on the occasion of the reading of a paper by Colonel Amery at the Academy of Colonial Sciences of the University of Paris. His proposal was that every year between a thousand and two thousand professors and teachers should visit some of the near-lying colonies and would thus provide very quickly on their return the means for the spread of the colonial idea. The author foresaw in this connection the happiest results for the more rapid development and greater prosperity of the French Colonial Empire. The speaker also stressed the importance of maintaining a colonial tradition which assured the steady flow to the overseas possessions of all that was best in the intellectual and professional talents of France.

The same issue contains an article on the coconut tree in Ceylon, and a comprehensive series of book reviews.

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the resolution, at any rate, in such a form as would be acceptable to the Congress ministries. Some of those who were opposed to the acceptance of office on any terms feared that the Congress resolution would be watered down, and that the Congress was in fact moving towards a policy of co-operation with the British Government. On the other hand, there were some left-wing men who welcomed the decision, as they felt sure that the assurance would never be forthcoming, and that the resolution would, in its actual results, lead to non-acceptance of office. On the whole, however, the resolution produced a new atmosphere in the country, and most people thought and were glad that Congress ministries would be formed in the provinces where the party had a majority.

THE REFUSAL OF OFFICE

Soon the situation took a different and unexpected turn. In each of the six provinces in which the Congress party commanded a majority the Governor invited the leader of the party in the local Legislature to form a ministry. In the course of the negotiations each Governor made it clear that any ministry which took office under the Government of India Act, 1935, could rely on his full support and sympathy consistent with his statutory obligations. In each province, however, the Congress leader insisted on the assurance being given in the terms of the Congress resolution. The negotiations ended without any agreement being reached. With the refusal of the majority party to form a ministry, the Governor turned to other parties in the Legislature to fill the gap thus caused. In the Bombay Presidency the leader of the Muslim party also declined to form a ministry. In each of the six provinces a minority ministry was formed and was functioning at the end of June. In none of them had the Legislature then been summoned.

Let us consider the strength of the Congress party in each of these provinces. In Madras out of a total of 215 seats in the Legislative Assembly, the Congress captured 159. In Bihar the Congress won 98 seats out of 152. In the U.P. the Congress members number 134 out of 228. In the Central Provinces the seats won by the Congress number 73 out of 112. In Orissa the figures

are 36 and 60. In the Bombay Presidency out of 175 seats the Congress has won 86. In the remaining five provinces the Congress was in a minority, and consequently there was no question of inviting Congress leaders to form ministries. It will be seen that in Madras, Bihar, the U.P., the C.P., and Orissa, the Congress commands an absolute majority. There can be no doubt that in each province the Assembly when summoned would pass a vote of no confidence in the ministry. In the Bombay Presidency, without an absolute majority, the Congress forms the largest party in the Assembly. If all non-Congressmen could combine and be present at the session when the no-confidence motion was made, the ministry might be able to continue in office. But such a combination was impossible, and many non-Congress members would join the Congress party in supporting a no-confidence motion.

The Legislatures had to be convened within six months from April 1, 1937. Even assuming that they were convened only on the latest possible date, it followed that the minority ministries could not last longer than six months. If the Congress policy was persisted in the Congress party would not accept ministerial office and, at the same time, no minority ministry could survive a no-confidence motion. Such was the constitutional crisis that arose.

The breakdown of the negotiations between the Governors and the Congress leaders evoked criticisms and gave rise to developments which must be noted. On March 30, Mr. Gandhi issued a statement criticizing the action of the Governors. Having stated that he was the originator of the idea of attaching a condition to office acceptance and the sole author of the relevant clause of the Congress resolution, he said :

"My desire was not to lay down any impossible condition; on the contrary, I wanted to devise a condition that could be easily accepted by the Governors. There was no intention whatsoever to lay down a condition whose acceptance would mean any slightest abrogation of the Constitution. Congressmen were well aware that they could not and would not ask for any such amendment. . . .

"A self-respecting minister, conscious of the absolute majority at his back, could not but demand an assurance of non-interference. Have I not heard Sir Samuel Hoare and other ministers saying in so many words that

ordinarily the Governors would not use their admittedly large powers of interference? I claim that the Congress formula asked for nothing more."

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, commenting on the situation, declared that the Congress demand for an assurance was neither necessary nor prudent. He added:

"The demand, however, having been made by the Congress, was it not proper to allow each local Governor full liberty to negotiate with the leader with whom he had to deal? The Government of India or the Secretary of State seems to have taken up a *non possumus* attitude and directed each Governor as politely and smoothly as possible to refuse compliance. I cannot believe that the law, as it stands, prevents the adoption of a wide and liberal policy."

DIFFERING VIEWS

Congressmen defended the demand for the assurance and contended that it could have been granted without committing any violence to the Constitution. On the other hand, the Executive Committee of the Western India Liberal Federation, the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and some others opined that it was impossible for the Governors under the Act to give the assurance, though most of them expressed the desire that every effort should be made to end the deadlock. The Executive Committee of the Liberal Federation suggested that if the intention of the All-India Congress Committee was that the Governors should guarantee that they would not ordinarily exercise their powers of interference, the Congress resolution was badly worded, inasmuch as it did not convey that intention. Mr. Gandhi in a subsequent statement defended the Congress position, and urged that the question whether such an assurance could be granted or not under the provisions of the Act should be decided by an independent tribunal. In the course of these criticisms, Congress leaders have raised a further issue—namely, that the minority ministries are illegal and unconstitutional under the Act.

The situation was dealt with in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons the Under Secretary for India said that if the Congress position was such as had been stated by Mr. Gandhi, and if he or anyone else representing the Congress were to express a desire to see the Viceroy, His Excellency would be

most willing to approach any such request with every desire to reach an understanding—as to what the position of the provincial representatives of the Congress really was. In the House of Lords the Marquis of Zetland made a similar statement.

No request had been made by Mr. Gandhi or any other Congress leader to the Viceroy for an interview. Mr. Gandhi himself did not reaffirm the interpretation he put on the Congress resolution in his first statement. Both the parties, to all outward appearance, maintained a stiff and uncompromising attitude. Some sections of Indian opinion definitely held the view that strictly speaking the position of the Government was correct and that of the Congress incorrect. There was, however, a general consensus of opinion that an understanding should soon be reached between the Congress and the Government.

The position of the Government was much clarified by Lord Zetland in his statement in the House of Lords on May 8. It was a very satisfactory statement calculated to set at rest every doubt and misgiving on the part of Congress leaders. He virtually conceded what they had asked for. He said:

"The essence of the new Constitution is that the initiative and responsibility for the whole government of the province, though in a form vesting in the Governor, passes to the ministry as soon as it takes office. It will be the Governor's duty to help the ministers in their task in every way, particularly by his political experience or administrative knowledge.

"The reserved powers of which so much has been made by the Congress will not normally be in operation. Indeed, they only come into the picture if he considers that the carefully limited special responsibilities laid upon him by the Act and impressed upon him by the Instrument of Instructions are involved. But even if the question of their use does arise—here is emphasized the spirit in which it was intended and that Constitution should be worked—it would be altogether wrong to assume that a Governor would immediately set himself in open opposition to his ministry. That is the last thing in the world that I should either expect or desire."

Mr. Gandhi, however, still remained intransigent. He had shifted his first position and demands that, whenever a situation was created which appeared intolerable to Governors, they should take upon themselves the responsibility of dismissing ministers, instead of expecting them to resign or submit to the Governor's wishes. And he observed that the Congress wanted to make a

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1937

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY: THE FIRST THREE MONTHS

By SIR PHIROZE SETHNA, O.B.E.

THE constitutional crisis that arose in India as a result of the refusal of the Indian National Congress to accept ministerships in the provinces in which it commanded legislative majorities evoked serious reflections in thinking minds. At a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi on March 17 and 18 a resolution was passed authorizing office acceptance provided the leader of the Congress party in the Legislature concerned "is satisfied, and is able to state publicly, that the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the ministers in regard to their constitutional activities." This resolution was generally welcomed as an indication of a change in the attitude of the Congress towards the new Constitution, as evidencing a desire on its part to suspend, if not to abandon altogether, its declared policy of wrecking the Constitution, and to work it to the best advantage possible. The political correspondent of the *Times of India* wrote that it was a case of both Mr. Gandhi and the Congress passing through a realist phase, and not a tactical move on the part of the Congress high command. The then Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Butler) remarked at a meeting of the Parliamentary Conservative Committee for India that the Congress decision was a healthy sign of realism, and would result in the possibilities of the new Constitution being tried out.

Among the rank and file of the Congress the belief was general that the assurance would be given, if not exactly in the terms of

serious effort, if it took office, to make a substantial advance towards its unequivocal goal of complete independence in so far as it was constitutionally possible to make that advance. It would seem that he was trying to utilize the constitutional deadlock for obtaining for the Congress as much advantage as possible. This might be good strategy from his point of view. But he was evidently taking a great risk, and it was not impossible that his strategic move might lead to results which Congressmen themselves would regret.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his Socialist followers were not satisfied. They were strongly against acceptance of office in any circumstances and might not budge an inch from their position. It would seem that Mr. Gandhi was torn between two conflicting pressures—that of the President of the Congress with his uncompromising opposition to acceptance of office, and that of the section of Congressmen who would accept office, even without any condition, and might therefore be regarded as being satisfied with Lord Zetland's statement. Be that as it may, there could be no doubt that a considerable section of Congressmen were sincerely anxious to accept office, and if left to themselves and allowed to speak out their minds freely, would not hesitate to declare that in view of Lord Zetland's statement, there was no objection to Congress leaders agreeing to form ministries. But it was known that everything would depend upon the attitude of Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and other prominent members of the Congress high command.

THE QUESTION OF GUARANTEES

The main question at first was whether the assurance demanded by the Congress could be granted. In the opinion of some Indian constitutional lawyers, the Government of India Act, 1935, does not militate against the grant of such an assurance. This view has been taken by Professor Berriedale Keith, who has defended the Congress position. On the other hand, there are eminent constitutional lawyers like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who hold that the Governor will be acting in contravention of the provisions of the Act if he gives an assurance in the precise terms in which it

was demanded by the Congress party. I am not a lawyer, and when a layman like myself finds that experts (as is often the case with them) do not agree, I naturally feel some hesitation in speaking on the subject. Nevertheless, I feel bound to express an opinion that the assurance asked for by the Congress party could not be given without violating the provisions of the Act. If we analyze the Act with special reference to the functions of the Governor of a province, we shall find that they fall within two categories.

There are, first, the functions which the Governor is bound to exercise in his discretion; and, second, the functions which he is bound to exercise in his individual judgment—*i.e.*, with respect to the choosing, summoning, and dismissal of ministers; the determination of their salaries, until such salaries are determined by the Legislature by Act; and the making of rules for securing that no information is given relating to the sources from which information has been obtained with respect to the operations of persons engaged in violent activities. The special responsibilities imposed upon the Governor under Section 52 are well known and need not be recited here. In respect to each of the six matters set out, he is to exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken. He has the same power as to the appointment of an Advocate-General, his dismissal, and the determination of his remuneration.

With reference to functions to be exercised by the Governor in his discretion he is not required to consult his Council of Ministers at all, but with reference to functions in which he exercises his individual judgment he is required to consult the Council and to take such action as he may consider proper after such consultation. In other words, the functions of the first kind are really excluded from the ambit of the functions to be discharged by the Council of Ministers. In those of the second class the Council of Ministers has a right to be consulted, but the advice of the Council is not binding on the Governor, and he is bound to act in his individual judgment. It may be that the Governor may agree with, and therefore accept, the advice of the Council of Ministers, but even then it will be action, not of the Council, but of the Governor in the exercise of his individual judgment.

The provisions of the Act with respect to the functions to be exercised by the Governor in his discretion and in his individual judgment are, for the most part, mandatory. There are some discretionary functions of the Governor which he may or may not exercise. In these cases the Act gives him liberty of choice. For example, he may decide whether to preside or not at any particular meeting or meetings of the Council of Ministers. The Governor can build up, in some cases of this nature, a convention that he will not exercise his discretion at all. Taking the particular case of his presiding at meetings of the Council of Ministers, there is nothing to prevent him from building up the convention that he will not preside at any meeting of the Council.

The statutory and mandatory character of the functions to be exercised by the Governor in his discretion or in his individual judgment necessarily leads to the inference that with reference to such functions he cannot give an assurance that he will never exercise his discretion or his individual judgment. If he promises that he will never exercise his discretionary functions, then the question arises, Who is to exercise those functions? Under the Act they cannot be exercised by the Council of Ministers. If the Council is allowed to exercise them it will be in spite of the Act: it will amount to contravention of the provisions of the Act.

But perhaps the Congress resolution does not mean or imply that the Governor should abdicate his discretionary functions and hand them over to the Council of Ministers. Possibly the resolution only means that the Governor should not exercise his individual judgment but should always and invariably accept the advice of the Council of Ministers in every case in which the Act requires the Governor to consult the Council. If the resolution of the Congress meant no more than this, it must be said that its language was not as clear as it should be. But even assuming that the resolution related only to such functions of the Governor as he has to discharge in his individual judgment, even with respect to them, owing to the mandatory nature of the provision relating thereto, the Governor is precluded from giving the assurance that he will never exercise his individual judgment but will always accept the advice of the Council of Ministers.

THE MINORITY MINISTERS

It has been alleged that the minority ministries formed in the six provinces are illegal and unconstitutional. It is quite true that the Instrument of Instructions does not specifically mention what should be done in case the leader of the majority party does not agree to help the Governor in selecting his ministers. I shall quote the pertinent Instruction. It says:

"In making appointments to his Council of Ministers, Our Governor shall use his best endeavours to select his ministers in the following manner—that is to say, in consultation with the person who, in his judgment, is likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature to appoint those persons (including so far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his ministers."

The Act, on the other hand, provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion. The Act obviously cannot mean that if the leader of a majority party refuses to suggest to the Governor the names of persons who should be appointed as ministers, the Governor should have no Council of Ministers at all. Speaking strictly with reference to the provisions of the Act, the conclusion cannot be avoided that the assurance asked for by the Congress cannot be granted.

It has been argued in this connection that the King of Great Britain has extensive powers under the British Constitution, but that he does not and cannot exercise those powers because a convention has grown up that he should not exercise them. Why should not the Governor act in the same way as the King does, and refrain from exercising his individual judgment? The answer is that this analogy is not to the point; it is really misleading. The British Constitution does not enjoin that the King shall exercise the powers which by convention he does not exercise. If a Constitution vests a power but does not enjoin that that power

must be exercised, it may or may not be exercised. But when a power is required by Act to be exercised, it has to be exercised. This is exactly the position in which the Governor is placed by the Act of 1935.

PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS

What may be the probable developments of the present* deadlock? It depends mainly upon the decisions that may be taken in view of the clarification of the constitutional position. It would seem as if the Congress is not clear in its mind as to whether ministerships should be accepted or not. Probably this lack of clear and definite thinking is responsible for the crisis that arose so suddenly and unexpectedly. If the Congress sincerely and really wants to accept ministerial office, it is futile to lay down conditions which are impossible and, moreover, unnecessary. An agreement can be reached if the Congress resolution means, as Mr. Gandhi says that it does, that the Governor should not ordinarily set aside the advice of his Council of Ministers and exercise his individual judgment. There is no legal or constitutional bar to such an assurance being given, though it may not be strictly necessary, and an agreement on these lines will at once end the present situation. But if, on the other hand, the Congress is not sincere in its decision to accept office, if its real intention is to make such acceptance impossible, and at the same time to throw the responsibility for it on the British Government, the perpetuation of the present impasse cannot be avoided. In the long run this may lead to fresh elections, and, if they have a like result, to the bringing into operation of the provisions of the Constitution relating to breakdown. It is also not improbable that the Congress may stiffen its attitude and lead the country once more to direct action.

THE LIBERAL PARTY VIEW

It will be a grave misfortune if such a result is brought about. A heavy responsibility rests on the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. On the other hand, it is the clear duty of Government to do all that

they can to meet the present situation in such a way as to prevent such a development. After all, the root cause of the existing crisis is that the new Constitution is not acceptable to the Indian people. I have seen much criticism levelled in this connection against the Liberal pact. Last March, in a discussion on a paper read to this Association by Professor Coatman on "India on the Eve of Autonomy," it was stated that the Liberal party has no coherent programme and that it has contented itself with "grumbling and objecting." It was also said that the party has not put forward any constructive proposals and that its roots are in too shallow soil. This is an unfair criticism, and those who make it would do well to remember that if the Liberal party had not been ignominiously let down by the British Government, and if the constructive proposals which the party made from time to time, and in particular regarding the new Constitution, had been accepted, the political situation in India today would have been much better than it is. The Liberals feel that the Government have by their policy and methods played into the hands of the Congress. The Government policy and methods have been virtually dominated either by the actions and methods of the Congress or by the actions and methods of the communal parties in India.

It is easy to belittle the Liberal party by saying that it is only a party of the intelligentsia with the roots in too shallow soil. But, after all, in the final analysis social and political policies must be guided by the intelligentsia of the country, and the Congress itself contains a fair proportion of such intelligentsia. Those who think that politics can be divorced from intelligent and rational thinking are committing a grave mistake. The trouble arises from lack of sufficient response on the part of Government to such rational and intelligent thinking. This is, however, only an aside. I am afraid that unless the British Government realize the root cause of the constant troubles that have arisen and arise in India, there is no hope of happy relations being maintained between England and India. From the British point of view the new Constitution may be the best that can be devised in the present circumstances. But the British is not the only point of

* June, 1937.

view from which the Constitution must be seen. The new Constitution is too full of safeguards, and those safeguards are responsible for the attitude of dissatisfaction which the Indian people have maintained towards it. The character of the Federation as actually devised is also such as to make the Constitution unacceptable. Let it be noted in this connection that the Federation in the form in which it has been embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is opposed even by that great minority community, the Muslims. It is impossible to impose a Constitution upon a people which does not want it. The British Government are no doubt strong enough to deal with any revival of direct action on the part of the Congress. But what the Moderates feel is, is it not possible to prevent or avert such a development? In dealing with the existing crisis the British Government would do well to consider the present deadlock from this point of view and to show that they are prepared to do all that they can to prevent and avoid it. Some people may hope that the present methods of the Congress may so weaken its hold on the provincial electorates that they will not again return the Congress in a majority. This hope is not likely to be fulfilled. For, after all, that hold has its roots in the strength of the sentiment that the Congress is the one organization in the country which has put up, and is putting up, a brave and continuous fight for its freedom. The particular policies and attitudes of the Congress with regard to specific issues may or may not appeal to the electorate. But the objective for which it is working and struggling will continue to appeal to the people as a whole.

A VIA MEDIA

In these circumstances, should not British statesmanship apply itself to the consideration of some *via media*? Is it not possible for the British Government to make a definite declaration that ordinarily the Governor will not exercise his individual judgment and set aside the advice of his ministry, that in substance and in essence provincial autonomy will be run on the principle of full responsible government provided that the Congress is willing to modify its general attitude towards the Constitution? Is it not

possible for the Governor to give an assurance that he will use his best endeavours to so exercise his discretionary functions and his individual judgment that, on the whole, he will refrain from opposing the clearly expressed will of the electorate?

After all, the British Government are anxious that a genuine partnership should be framed between the British and the Indian people, and that the British connection should rest on the consent of the latter. The British Government have repeatedly pledged themselves to raise India to Dominion status, and I feel confident that if the achievement of such a status is not unduly delayed the urge and the motive for wishing to sever the British connection will disappear. Speaking as a Liberal—and I am proud of being a Liberal—while I disapprove of the action of the Congress in creating the impasse, I am anxious that the Constitution should be so worked by every Governor that his special responsibilities and his discretionary powers will, in fact, fall into desuetude.

The Legislatures should be summoned forthwith. I do not know whether the Government and the people here fully realize that the delay in summoning the Legislatures has caused considerable bitterness of feeling among the Indian people. The spirit of the Act undoubtedly demands that the Legislatures should be summoned soon after their constitution, and it will be a violation of that spirit if a strictly legalistic interpretation is put upon that provision in the Act which permits a period of six months for summoning them. If the Congress leaders express their willingness to form ministries, the *ad interim* ministers should be asked to tender their resignations. I only hope that the intoxication of victory in the last elections may not pervert the judgment of the Congress leaders and lead them to adopt lines of action which may ultimately prove harmful to the interests of the country.

A golden opportunity has now offered itself to Congress of doing solid constructive work in the interests of the masses, and it is to be hoped that that opportunity will not be thrown away. Even from its own point of view, the Congress can do a good deal by accepting office to strengthen its position and show that Congress leaders can be not only political agitators but also efficient

administrators and sound statesmen. Mr. Gandhi has recently declared that he will be content with Dominion status. I feel certain that the achievement of Dominion status will be accelerated by the Congress accepting ministerships and seeking to carry out a sound constructive programme. Unless the Congress ministries adopt an unpracticable, fantastic, or revolutionary programme there will be, I feel convinced, little occasion for the exercise of the Governor's special responsibilities.

[The anticipation of Sir Phiroze Sethna that the impasse would be overcome was fulfilled. The Congress Working Committee, meeting at Wardha on July 7, authorized unconditional acceptance of office. Accordingly Congress Ministries were formed in all the six Provinces, and the Legislatures were convened.—Ed.]

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 28, 1937, when a Paper by Sir Phiroze Sethna, O.B.E., entitled "*Provincial Autonomy: The First Three Months*," was read by Mr. A. D. Shroff. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava was in the chair, and there was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN said: It gives me great pleasure to take the Chair once again at a meeting of this Association, but I do very much regret that I am not going to be privileged to introduce to you the actual author of the paper that you are going to hear read, Sir Phiroze Sethna. Unfortunately, owing to the severe illness of the Managing Director of the Central Bank of India, Sir Phiroze has had to leave our shores as quickly as may be to return to India, and he has sent a letter to the Hon. Secretary expressing his very great regret that in consequence he is neither able to come here to read his paper, nor has he had the opportunity perhaps of bringing it fully up to date with the very latest developments in the Indian situation.

Nevertheless I know that we shall listen to it with the very greatest interest. It is going to be read to us by Mr. Shroff, whom I have the honour of introducing to you this afternoon. He is a kinsman of Sir Phiroze, and is taking some part in Indian politics. I know I am expressing your sentiments when I wish him every success in that field. I would only warn you that despite his kinsmanship with the author of the paper, I understand that it is possible that Mr. Shroff may not find himself wholly in agreement with the excellent sentiments and phrases which you will hear him read out, and he may find it necessary to intervene later in your discussion in order to point out where the arguments that he is going to read to you have gone too far.

I would therefore ask you to give Mr. Shroff a very hearty welcome on behalf of Sir Phiroze Sethna.

(The paper was then read by Mr. Shroff.)

Mr. YUSUF ALI: Like all of us I regret very much that Sir Phiroze is not personally present to answer any questions or criticisms that may arise in the discussion. I had a talk with him when we travelled together in the same steamer, and I understand that he has slightly modified his position. On the whole he takes the view that it is possible for certain courses to be adopted which would make the Congress come into the Constitution and accept Ministries and work out some programme according to their ideas of what is good for the country.

In order to understand the real basis of the controversy we might turn our attention a little to the past. The past, especially the immediate past, always throws light on the present.

Everyone who followed the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee will remember that two of the main difficulties in arriving at a simple constitution were, firstly, the minority question, and, secondly, this question of the psychological demand for independence. After endless debates it was decided that the only course possible, if a new Constitution was to be granted to India, was one which safeguarded the position of the minorities and also the position of the British Government, and out of that arises that very complicated machinery which everyone admits is difficult to work, but which we shall have to work if we work the Constitution at all. Safeguards may be necessary, but they have the effect of frightening people—both those who want to work the Constitution and those who want to condemn it out of hand.

What is the attitude of the Congress at the present day? I do not think there is anyone in this meeting, or in England, or even in India, who can answer that question satisfactorily and completely. Mr. Gandhi has stated his views at different times, and at each stage he seems to take a slightly different standpoint. Even if we could digest and reconcile Mr. Gandhi's views into a consistent whole, we find that a number of Congress speakers diverge into quite different lines on very fundamental questions. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is frankly a very advanced Socialist, and he has always been opposed to any participation by the Congress in the working of the Constitution. Between these there are various shades of opinion. Certain trends are discernible, but we cannot expect crystallized opinions except through the crucible of responsible office.

It is common knowledge in India that if the Congress local committees had been allowed free scope, there would have been a decision to accept office and to work the Constitution "for what it was worth" according to the formula used. But the pressure exercised by what is called the high command resulted in the evolution of a curious formula, which I for one have never completely understood.

Sir Phiroze Sethna suggests two practical courses, as he considers them. First, he wishes that the Governor might give an assurance "that he will use his best endeavours so to exercise his discretionary functions and his individual judgment that on the whole he will refrain from opposing the clearly expressed will of the electorate." On that I should like to make a few remarks.

What is the clearly expressed will of the electorate? You can have it on some definite issue that has been placed before the electorate. As far as I have understood the proceedings in India during election time, the Congress party did not definitely put any issue before the electorate except what they called complete independence and freedom—or, looked at from another angle, the destruction of the present Constitution.

I do not suppose for a moment that one-tenth or one-fifth of the electorate who exercised their votes for the Congress understood what it meant to have the British connection ended, or to have Dominion status, or to have independence of any particular kind. On the most favourable view the Congress electors said, let us give the chance to our own organization to come and work for the good of the people.

Now let us suppose that a Congress Ministry comes in with this kind of assurance given by the Governor, and it proposes, let us say, to abolish the teaching of the Urdu language in Muslim schools, or to substitute Hindi for Urdu as the language of the courts in Northern India. Obviously the Muslims would object, but it can be claimed in some places to be the will of the majority. There is nothing that sounds revolutionary about it, but in Indian conditions it is most revolutionary. It would create a tremendous agitation and be against the pledges given to the Muslim minority. You can never be sure that it would be accepted by the electorate as a whole, even if the majority of the representatives or of the wire-pullers put it forward as the "will of the people." For the protection of the minorities it is important to bear in mind social cleavages in India. If the minorities are to be protected at all, it is essential that some powers should rest in the hands of a neutral or super-political authority, such as the Governor will be under the Constitution. It seems to me, therefore, with all respect to Sir Phiroze, that such an assurance is impossible to be given, and if it were given it would make the Indian situation intolerable from the point of view of the minorities, whose views were sifted and examined for more than three years by all the authorities in India and in England.

The second suggestion Sir Phiroze has made is that the legislatures should be summoned as soon as possible. Three months have passed since the new minority Governments were constituted, and there only remain at most three months within which the Legislatures must be called. But it seems to me, speaking as an outsider, that the Governors must have considered that on the whole it was wise to give the minority Governments a little chance to prepare their programmes and policies and also the Congress a little chance to envisage the situation as it arose after their refusal to accept office.

The Legislatures must be called. I do not know what the results will be. I think it is an exaggeration to say that the Congress have got an overwhelming vote. They have only a sort of a majority in six of the Provinces. In three of them, Madras, Bihar, and the United Provinces, they have got definite working majorities; perhaps, in addition, the Central Province majority of 14 may pass for a working majority. But can a majority of 6 in Orissa be called a stable majority? In Bombay they are the largest political party in the Legislature, but it is not at all certain that they would be able to work in a minority of two indefinitely. Therefore the future seems to me to be extremely uncertain. Whatever happens in any one given Province, there is sure to be reflex action in other Provinces.

We all wish that some solution could be found, but I think it will all depend upon the good sense of the Congress leaders to accept the latest exposition which has been given by the Viceroy. Reading it, one feels that he and his Governors are most anxious to do all they can to assist any Ministry, of whatever complexion, that gets the suffrages of the people, and in those circumstances I do not see anything derogatory for the Congress to accept office and to work within the constitutional lines that have been marked out in the Act with a view to those objectives of social reform and Indian progress which Mr. Gandhi rightly professes to be the aim of any

party that wants to take office. And why should the Congress rule out any question of coalition with other parties? The Unionist Party in the Punjab have set them a good example by having a non-communal coalition, even though the Party had an absolute majority in their Legislature.

For this reason I think it is most important that any speakers in India or England, who claim to speak with authority, should exercise the greatest restraint in explaining the position, as has been done hitherto. And I am sure that in some way or other ultimately we might find a solution that is acceptable as a working proposition to all classes both in India and in England.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK: I think that Mr. Yusuf Ali has rendered a very useful service in endeavouring to point out that this problem is much more a psychological one than otherwise. It is psychological as regards the internal conditions of Congress. It is also psychological as regards the relations of Congress to the outside world, particularly in India. Even in our own country we know that there is no great party that is not in its nature a coalition of sorts, and that in order to reach a decision upon any single important matter you have to take within that party either the highest common factor or the lowest common denominator. This very Constitution, against which so many protests have been raised in India, is in the nature of a compromise, not only within the Conservative Party here, but as between that Party and other Parties in the British Parliament.

Very much in the same way you have within Congress all kinds of divergent elements. One can quite understand that the object of Congress leaders of various points of view will be to come to some general agreement in the nature of a compromise to keep Congress together as a unity. I personally think that that is really what has happened in putting out that resolution, which Mr. Gandhi fathered rather in his own language than in the language of Constitutional experts. That, I think, deals perhaps to some slight extent with the internal psychology of the Congress Party.

But as regards its relations with the Government and other elements in India, and with the Government of this country, it feels that it is on the defensive; it feels that it has been regarded as the enemy. I am not saying that there have not been some reasons more or less good that have brought about that attitude towards or against it; but the fact remains that Congress has been feeling for a long time that it has been treated as the naughty boy of the family.

Sir Frederick Sykes, in his remarks this afternoon at the annual meeting, referred to a phenomenon that I do not think we take often sufficiently into account—namely, the fact that the world is shrinking by reason of the increase in speed and of the multiplicity of methods of communication. This "shrinking feeling" is the sort of thing that we have also to bring into our human relationships, and I can quite conceive that Congress is feeling that that position has not yet been brought about in India. It is still regarded as a very dangerous body.

I returned not very long ago from India. I left in the middle of the

election campaign, and I was very thankful that I was not there to see India at her worst, as I have seen my own country here in the middle of an election campaign. But I saw enough, and it was certainly common belief that in at least two of the Provinces the officials were taking a very strong anti-Congress line, and that they were actually behind the scenes participating in the elections. I cannot say of my own knowledge that this was a fact, but it was very widely believed in those two Provinces, and in other parts of India regarding those two Provinces. Certainly that was a feeling that Congress members had, and if that is so it is not altogether strange to find them fearing that as a result of the coming into operation of this new Constitution they may in fact find themselves up against the activities of the members of the services who are running the various departments over which Congress Ministers will preside in those six Provinces. I am just mentioning these things as fears. I am not saying that I believe those fears will be realized, or that they are justified.

But if the people have been, either of their own volition or at the instance of others, kept for many years at arm's length, and when those same people have been engaged in a campaign of opposition for a long period of years, it is quite natural that they would find themselves in difficulties when they come face to face with the reality of having to make a choice of whether they should take office in circumstances of which they have no experience, but the operation of which they fear, rightly or wrongly, or whether they should refrain from taking office. Therefore, when we are considering the situation, I think that it would be wise if, instead of saying to ourselves, as we are very often inclined to do, "What wretched, impossible fellows these Congressmen are!" we were to exercise a little more understanding and sympathy, and try to persuade, as the Viceroy has undoubtedly tried to persuade, and I hope successfully, Congress to believe that most of the fears that it anticipates are empty fears and that they will in practice not be realized.

Those seem to me to be some of the principal features of the situation.

Like Mr. Yusuf Ali, I have found it extremely difficult to understand those various formulae that have been put forward by Mr. Gandhi, but at the same time they have been put forward, I am convinced, genuinely and in the mistaken hope that they might bring about appeasement, and that they would provide the groundwork that would enable Congress to take office. One of the things I find it difficult to understand is why he should pin himself and want to pin Congress and the Governors to a position whereby, in case of difference between Governors and Ministries, the Ministries should not resign, but that they could be dismissed or for practical purposes compelled to resign or else submit to the Governor's point of view. I think he has entirely misconceived the situation, when, in effect, he would deprive Ministers of their initiative.

These suggestions seem to me to show the weaknesses of inexperience. I do not suppose that among all those who have been fighting all these years there have been very many who have had time to study these problems of constitutional practice from the point of view of actually having to work them. For these, and other reasons, I would urge that, in

trying to appreciate the present situation, we use patience, sympathy, and human understanding.

Mr. LALKAKA: Nobody who is here today could miss Sir Phiroze so much as I do, because he alone could have best answered the questions arising out of the few remarks I am about to make. But I find some comfort in the fact that Mr. Shroff, an old personal friend of mine, has stepped into the breach. Mr. Shroff and I have been the best of friends in spite of the fact that we have seldom seen eye to eye in political matters. Nevertheless, with his perspicacity I am sure he will be able to clarify such doubts as my remarks may give rise to.

As regards this paper, I take it that most of us will be in agreement until we reach the latter part, but towards the end of the paper Sir Phiroze makes one point with which I again find myself in complete agreement. One of the previous speakers, Mr. Yusuf Ali, thinks otherwise. Sir Phiroze rightly deplores—to my way of thinking—that Government should not have yet summoned the Legislative Assemblies in those six Provinces where Congress has refused to take office after having won a majority at the polls. Even though it may not be their intention, it looks too much like Government trying to save face, and you may be sure that Congress will make the most of it when it gets the opportunity of so doing. There is no good reason why these Assemblies should not have been summoned, because that would have clearly and speedily solved the situation.

Sir Phiroze expresses a very true and valuable sentiment when he says, "Those who think that politics can be divorced from intelligent and rational thinking are committing a grave mistake." But unfortunately, throughout all the long and weary years of the Indian controversy, ever since the White Paper was first issued, there has been no rational or intelligent thinking about it on the part of Indian politicians and, lamentably more so, on the part of the British Government. (Applause.)

Each time facts were pointed out which showed that, with the best of intentions, this experiment would not work, there were always optimists found saying, "Wait and see." For instance, I remember my having pointed out at one of these meetings some two years ago that as soon as Congress got into power—as it was almost sure to—its one objective would be to smash this Constitution which had for its foundation nothing but pious hopes and pompous sentiments.

I for one have no doubt whatever as to the issue, and I really cannot see what good can come of saying, "Let us try to bring round the Congress to a more sensible way of thinking." However I may disagree with the Congress I must give it credit for being the one party to this whole sorry business which has all through been consistent and taken an attitude of inexorable logic. Mr. Gandhi may shift ground—he always does that. But the ones most guilty of constantly shifting ground are the Liberals and the Moderates in India. I am, however, glad—though by no means surprised—to see a change of language in Sir Phiroze Sethna's paper; even though in one place he loses grip by denouncing the British Government and accuses them of "ignominiously letting down" his party of stalwart

Liberals. What he exactly means by that I, of course, do not understand. Moreover, the language of today's paper is in strange contrast to that of a resolution passed in April, 1935, at their annual conference, in Allahabad, by the National Liberal Federation of India, whose President Sir Phiroze was, I think, at the time. May I invite you for a moment to look at its language? You can hardly distinguish it from any of the Congress resolutions, even though there is a perceptible but somewhat ineffective attempt, here and there, at soft-peddalling. I was so struck with this resolution at the time that I took notice of it in one of my letters to the *Morning Post*. It runs as follows:

"The Council are of the opinion that the Government of India Bill, which reproduces all the objectionable features which made the Joint Select Committee Report unacceptable to the country, has been made more reactionary by the amendments introduced by the House of Commons. While every effort has been made to conciliate the Princes and the British Diehards, the joint demands of all the progressive sections of public opinion in British India have been ignored, and every attempt has been made to place obstacles in the way of India's advance to Dominion status. The Council therefore strongly urges that the Bill should be dropped. If it is proceeded with in the teeth of British Indian opposition it will further embitter relations between India and England."

Oh, I wish the Bill had then been dropped!

What is then the use of saying, "Let us try to find a *via media*"? If there is to be good will, it must be mutual and not as our Liberal and Congress friends would wish it, that they should do all the taking and the easy-going, good-intentioned British people through their Government should be made to do all the giving. The "basic assumption of partners in a common undertaking"—if ever there was any justification for such an assumption—has vanished in thin air. And this policy of "peace at any price" which is being so desperately canvassed in certain quarters will only spell disaster. What is the use of turning to England every time with a frantic appeal for sympathy, patience, forbearance, and understanding? If such an appeal is to be made it must be addressed to all the intransigent and hard-to-satisfy elements in India. It is equally absurd to talk of the Right Wing and the Left Wing of the Congress. In reality there is no such thing. It is merely a difference without distinction. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Govind Balab Pant, all these gentlemen are supposed to be Right Wing Congressmen, and together with every Congressman who has been elected a member of any of the eleven Provincial Assemblies under the new Act are pledged by an oath to wreck the new Constitution. Every one of them loudly applauds when Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru tells them, in one of his well-deliberated addresses:

"Let no one forget that we have entered the Legislatures not to co-operate in any way with British Imperialism, but to fight and end

this Act which enslaves and binds us. Let no one forget that we fight for independence. Let us be clear about it. Independence means national freedom in the fullest sense of the word; it means, as our pledge has stated, a severance of the British connection."

Lord Zetland's most statesmanlike, sympathetic, and patient utterance at Oxford has been treated with derision by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He declares that the Secretary of State for India is out of touch with Indian realities. Once again the Congress high command express their gratification at such truculence and the Congress rank and file applaud.

In view of this, the question whether the Congress should be persuaded to take office or not is quite beside the point, since it is determined to wreck the Constitution under all circumstances.

The only practical solution is to summon the Legislatures without delay in those six Provinces where at present there is this deadlock. It is almost certain that the Congress majorities will pass a vote of non-confidence and unseat the stop-gap ministries. Then the Congress must again be asked to form ministries. And should they refuse, then Section 93 of the new Act must at once be applied. The Act has got to be worked or it must be dropped. It is unthinkable to do anything else. If you like you are welcome to call those of us who persist in taking a very realistic point of view "unimaginative dichards" or "unrepentant reactionaries." But that would not in the slightest alter the facts of the situation.

You may even say that such a course may goad the Congress into "direct action," and you may, with a look of concern, point your finger to what happened in those awful years of 1929 and 1930. But at that time somebody in his wisdom made the grave error of tackling the small fry but letting the tall poppies go scot-free. Do not make that mistake again. Tall poppies or no tall poppies, small fry or no small fry—treat them all alike and there will be little trouble. Believe me, if there is one country in the world where just but equally strong, firm rule is greatly appreciated, that country is India. (Applause.)

Mr. SHROFF: I should not have made any call upon your time but for the very provocative speech made by my friend Mr. Lalkaka. I must intervene in the absence of Sir Phiroze because I myself am the secretary of the Liberal Party in India, and I must say that the attack made on the Liberal Party was absolutely unjustified and unwarranted.

Mr. Lalkaka misunderstands the political situation in India entirely if he does not realize that there is not an intelligent thinking Indian who does not consider the Government of India Act, 1935, unacceptable and as completely falling short of the legitimate political ambitions of thinking and intelligent Indians. We Liberals, of course, disagree with the Congress as to the methods of political agitation. Sir Phiroze has rightly insisted that if the spirit of the Constitution is to be fulfilled, the legislators must be immediately summoned, and the elected representatives of the Legislatures must be given a chance to say where they stand. The Congress Party will have to take the consequences of their action when Section 93 of the Act is put into operation.

I am sorry that any Indian should advocate what Mr. Lalkaka has advocated two minutes ago, strong government in the sense in which I always understood Mr. Lalkaka to mean strong government. Strong government in India will precipitate a situation where you will assist the Congress in fulfilling their objective—viz., severance of British connections—which I am opposed to.

The best advice we can tender to our friends in this country is, if you want the friendly connection between India and this country to be perpetuated, as we Moderate Indians wish, the right path to pursue is to concede in time the legitimate demands of the Indian intelligentsia. The heavens are not going to fall if certain political concessions are made to India, but one thing will happen, and that will be complete severance if India is kept a foe by the sort of policy Mr. Lalkaka is advocating.

There is only one word I want to say about Mr. Yusuf Ali. I am afraid the illustration which he gave was a most unhappy one. The Congress may be accused of anything else but of endeavouring to suggest a thing like the abolition of teaching Urdu. If there is one thing more important than another on which the Congress leaders are insisting, it is the increasing adoption of our own languages as a medium of instruction, and Urdu is certainly not excepted.

Mr. YUSUF ALI: The Congress wants Hindi as opposed to Urdu.

Mr. SHROFF: Urdu is the one language which no one would dream of abolishing. It is unthinkable.

As regards the larger issue, that since Congress are committed to a policy of independence Governors cannot be called upon to give an assurance of the nature suggested by Sir Phiroze, I should like a concrete illustration to be given where the Congress Party in any Legislature could raise an issue leading to independence. It is entirely outside the functions of provincial Legislatures. I am afraid, therefore, in the absence of any practical, concrete illustrations, the suggestion made by Sir Phiroze appears to me to be a very practical suggestion, and if adopted might possibly lead towards the easing of the situation there.

Mr. Polak has really rendered a great service by giving us a very correct analysis of the situation there as to the origin of the demand made by Congress. I myself am a Liberal, but I am bound to say that the attitude of the Government in certain Provinces, when the elections were in actual process, was an attitude which could not do credit to any Government which calls itself Liberal. You have a very powerful Party like the Congress in opposition, but after all the Party in opposition has to be given as fair a chance as any other Party.

If Congress has fears which we may consider imaginary, there is certainly a background for them, and I am glad that Mr. Polak has placed it before the meeting.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I understand Mr. Shroff to say that the present Congress are particularly anxious to substitute their own language for all proceedings in India?

Mr. SHROFF: The Congress would ask for it.

Sir LOUIS DANE: Then apparently the question turns between the

Hindi and Urdu languages in use in Northern India mainly. There are some fifty-odd languages in India. Why should all the other languages be excluded? Urdu is a sort of *lingua franca* introduced by the Moghuls to enable the people to understand the language of their rulers. The construction is as in Hindi, but it is a composite language and readily absorbs words and phrases from other tongues, as English does. It is written in Arabic characters from right to left, while Hindi confines itself mainly to Hindi words and is written in the Sanskrit (Nagri) characters from left to right. Arabic is the Muslim sacred language, and Sanskrit is the holy language of Hindus, so, of course, the communal question arises at once.

Some years ago, when I was in India, the only language which really was understood when you collected a large body of the intelligentsia of India at any particular meeting was English. This must be even more the case after twenty-four years more of education and use. Why should you try and put the clock back and make people use a language which could not be said to be the language of the whole of India, whereas English certainly is becoming rapidly a *lingua franca* for them? Again, English is not a holy language and excites no religious animosities. It is written in the Roman character which is rapidly becoming that in use in the world, and English itself is now perhaps the most widely spread vehicle of communication between civilized nations. Surely it is better to stick to this as the *lingua franca* in India, rather than try and force all India to use an old-world character not suited for rapid writing and a tongue not known outside one part of India and open to objection on communal grounds. It is obviously desirable also to use the common vehicle of English if it is desired as alleged that India should work in harmony with the British Commonwealth of Nations. If this is not desired, then, of course, Hindi would be a strong impediment to free intercommunication.

Mr. SHROFF: I think it is only fair to the Congress Party to point out that, just as the English rulers of India have succeeded in getting English as a medium of expression, I think the Congress are quite fair if they have an ambition to train Indians to talk in a common Indian language.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we have had a very interesting discussion and might now bring it to a close. I myself have nothing, I am afraid, of value or novelty to add to what has already been said, and therefore I do not intend to be very long.

In passing, with regard to this last discussion, interesting as it was, I think Mr. Yusuf Ali really only used the question of Urdu as an example rather than making it the main point of his argument. He was mainly pointing out that our responsibilities to the minorities were such that we could not in honour give the assurance that Congress now demands from our Governors. That, I think, was the main argument, and the other was merely a subsidiary point.

I think everybody who has had any part, however small, in the framing of the India Act must be conscious of a deep sense of disappointment and mortification at the apparent frustration of our intentions during the last few months. I do not agree with Mr. Lalkaka, who said that the combined

intelligence that was directed to the framing of that Act for seven years both from India and from England was nil. On the contrary, I think any fair-minded man will admit that everybody did their best anyway to get a good Act.

It now looks as if for the moment those good intentions are to be frustrated, because, as I firmly believe, the Congress Party, or rather I should say the leaders of the Congress Party, have not had that experience of constitutional government which enables them to see through the form into the spirit. We in England, of course, have had a Constitution of the kind that we have given to India for so long that we are inclined perhaps to disregard the outward forms and ceremonies because we take their inward meaning so much for granted, and perhaps we are inclined to be a little impatient because Congress is picking at the visible words when we ourselves know the inward spirit of the Constitution, and the way in which the Constitution will be worked in the future has no relation to the fears which Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and their followers are now expressing.

We know perfectly well in our experience of British constitutional methods that in practice the Governor will not exercise his powers or his functions until he has exhausted every possible means of compromise, of argument, and of conciliation. But I do admit that we may, as I said, because of our experience in this country be a little over-impatient with Congress because it is not prepared to take that as much for granted as we do over here, and it is not prepared to take the spirit as much for granted as we do here.

I firmly believe that in practice there is nothing between us and Congress at the present moment; but I also feel very strongly—and I speak only, of course, for myself—that the present Act in its present form does give to India and to Congress everything that a reasonable party can desire for the full self-government of those six Provinces. I do not believe that any good could be done by our attempting to put a gloss on the words of the Act itself. I believe that it is far better that we should tell India that we have given this Constitution in the honest and firm belief that there is nothing in it to prevent her going as far along the road to self-government as she may legitimately desire, and that, having done that, we have gone as far as we can and we cannot give way on any single point of substance whatsoever.

We have our responsibilities to the minority and to our people at home. We have our responsibilities to India. We believe that we have fulfilled our responsibilities to India honestly by the Act as it at present stands. We believe that if we altered the Act or put a gloss upon it, we would be betraying the other responsibilities which I have mentioned, our responsibilities to our own people and to the minorities of India.

Therefore I do feel that while one must always be temperate in language and conciliatory in thought, I do earnestly hope that the Congress will come to a realization of the honest intentions that the India Act has had behind it in its framing, and that it will on further consideration realize that the hostility that it is now showing can bring no good to it, but on the contrary a very great deal of harm both to India and to England. (Applause.)

Sir JAMES MacKENNA: I have much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the deputy speaker of this afternoon.

As regards the Chairman, I am sure we are all glad that he maintains the traditions of his family in his interest in India. I can assure you that there is a name very well known and famous in India still, and that is the name of the Marquess of Dufferin.

We are all sorry Sir Phiroze Sethna was not here today. He is a personal friend of a large number of the audience. But he has done the next best thing in passing his paper over to Mr. Shroff, although apparently he disagrees with Sir Phiroze on a considerable number of points. However, be that as it may, the combined performance has been most acceptable. Will you tell him, Mr. Shroff, that it was a very hot day in London, and that his paper led, therefore, to a very warm discussion!

I beg to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the lecturer.

The motion was carried by acclamation, and the meeting ended.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

By PROFESSOR RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

(Lucknow University.)

POPULATION INCREASE AND AGRICULTURE

It was Malthus who first warned mankind of the danger of population outstripping the means of subsistence, and enunciated the law of diminishing returns so important for a country like India which depends mainly on agriculture. Over-population did not strike Malthus as a possibility because population would not, according to him, overstep its limits owing to poverty, war and pestilence. But even in Oriental countries the notion that population automatically regulates itself by external checks has become incompatible with modern social ideals. In fact, with the spread of democratic ideas and institutions in the East, the notions of optimum and over-population have become highly significant along with a desire to regulate population policy. The entire outlook in modern population study is thus changed, the emphasis being now shifted to the means of social control of numbers and the aims and objects of such regulation, due regard being paid to the qualitative and selective aspects of population changes.

The whole of India with an area half that of the United States has a population almost three times as large. In the sixteenth century the population of India stood roughly at 100 millions, and in the middle of the nineteenth century at 150 millions. In 1931 the population was 353 millions; now it is approximately 377 millions. Population has increased roughly from 20 to 50 millions in the United Provinces; from 5 to 25 millions in North and South Bihar; and from 10 to 51 millions in Bengal—a total extraordinary increase from 35 to 125 millions in four provinces of the Gangetic Valley, giving some of the world's highest records of rural aggregation.

With a rapid population increase, the total percentages of cultivated to cultivable area have now reached the phenomenal

figures of 75 to 95 per cent. in the Ganges Valley. Forests, meadows and marshes, all are now invaded by the plough as a result of population increase, which also leads to the scarcity of fodder and grazing grounds. For the same reason holdings have been fragmented to tiny bits. Continuous subdivision of holdings restrains the cultivator from adopting improved methods of cultivation, constructing wells and even intensive farming. In the United Provinces during 1928-33 the net area sown diminished by 100,000 acres and the double-cropped area by 400,000 acres as compared with the average for 1920-25. In Bihar also the net area diminished by 250,000 acres in the same period. "Nor can it be asserted," observes the Census Superintendent, "that the yield per acre of land has increased to any extent through new and improved methods of exploitation." Similarly, Bengal's net cultivated area has decreased during the last decade. It was 2.4 million acres on an average between 1915-20. Between 1920-25 and 1928-33 it stood at 2.3 millions. Except in Assam, Burma and Sind a high proportion of available cultivated area has been brought under the plough, ranging from 65 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa to 86 per cent. in Bombay.

Throughout Northern India there is now little room for expansion of cultivation. Settled conditions have long been established, permitting the extension of the frontiers of cultivation into the forest and marsh, ravine-stricken jungle and sand-dune. The possibilities of large canal irrigation schemes have been almost exhausted. Much new uncultivated land can no longer be brought under the plough as a result of the construction of new canal systems. The Malthusian law of diminishing returns is now operating in agricultural development, not only by soil exploitation, but also by water acting as a limiting agent.

INSUFFICIENCY OF FOOD PRODUCTION

In an appendix, I give the index numbers of variation of population and food supply in India during the last quarter of a century. It is true that on the whole the increase of total agricultural production has outstripped population growth between 1913-1935, but the margin is less in the case of food production,

per cent., which is further reduced to 2.5 when we compute the food supply actually available for consumption. The increase of food production has been chiefly due to the phenomenal expansion of cane, barley and jowar, which have almost doubled in output. During the period 1910-35, rice, the cereal of about two-thirds of the population, increased in aggregate output only by 6 per cent. Wheat has shown a steady decrease since 1925; while barley (103 per cent.), jowar (25 per cent.), maize (15 per cent.) and gram (16 per cent.) increased steadily. The difference between the indices for population and food production or available food supply is getting narrower and narrower.

In the same period India's increase of mineral and industrial production has no doubt gone much ahead of increase of numbers, the figures respectively being 17 and 57, but mineral and industrial production occupies a relatively small place in contrast with agricultural production in the economic life of India and in relation to India's population and standard of living. The relative percentages of contribution to total national income from agriculture, industrial and mineral production are 79.8, 18.1 and 1.3 respectively.*

By using Lusk's coefficient of comparison with those of an average man and woman we estimate "the average and total man value" of India's population of 1931 in the following table:

Ages.	Population in Millions (1931).	Man Value per Head.	Total Man Value in Millions.
0 to 15 (39.9 per cent.) ...	141.2	0.7	98.84
Males of 15 and upwards ...	109.2	1.0	109.20
Females ...	102.6	0.83	85.15
	353.0	0.835	293.19

Allowing 2,800 calories per man per day (calculating on the basis of 2,400 and 3,000 calories respectively for rice and wheat eaters and deducting 200 calories for wastage during distribution), the total requirement of the Indian population will amount approximately to 292 billion calories per annum. Estimating on the basis of 100 calories per oz. per average food grain, India's

* Mr. Findlay Shirras has worked out the total agricultural and industrial production and national income. See his *Science of Public Finance*, p. 248.

aggregate food supply available for consumption in 1931 (66 million tons) would yield 215.4 billion calories, to which should be added 34 billion calories from an approximate milk supply of 113,000 million lbs. and 0.7 billion calories from the total fish supply, roughly estimated at 700,000 tons. The amount of energy contributed to Indian food requirement from all sources is accordingly 250.1 billion calories as compared with her minimum need of 292 billion calories. Between 1931-35, India added 24 million mouths to feed and increased her food supply to 280.4 billion calories approximately (her sugar adding a quota of 26.1 billions). India thus has now fallen short of food for 48 millions of her average men—i.e., for 12 per cent. of her present population. The following important facts and conclusions emerge out of the study:

1. India's population in 1931	...	...	...	353	millions.
2. India's population capacity on the basis of her food supply in 1931	...	...	...	291	"
3. India's food shortage in 1931	...	...	...	42	billion calories.
4. India's present population	...	...	...	377	millions.
5. India's addition to food supply between 1931 and 1935	...	...	...	30.3	billion calories.
6. India's present food supply	...	...	...	280.4	" "
7. India's present food needs	...	...	...	321.5	" "
8. India's present population capacity	...	...	...	329	millions.
9. India's present food shortage	...	...	...	41.1	billion calories.
10. Present number of average men estimated without food, assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration	...	...	...	48	millions.

India's total waste lands, which are available for cultivation but either not taken up or abandoned, comprise 162 millions of acres which might provide about 29 million tons of food grains given unremitting pressure of population. Under the most complete expansion of cultivation, which will not be possible without the adoption of vast measures of land reclamation and irrigation and the strenuous efforts and practices characteristic of the Chinese peasantry, India's total population capacity cannot be above 447,000,000 persons. Immediately after 1921 India's present population capacity was overstepped and by the middle of the century, assuming that the present real increase continues, India will in all probability overstep 447,000,000, her ultimate population

capacity under the existing farming and living standards and industrial conditions of the people.

FAMINES AND EPIDEMICS

The biological effects of over-population in India have been a direct correspondence of birth rate and inverse correspondence of death rate with favourable harvests and a gradual adjustment of natality and mortality, so that an equilibrium density or an average abundance is reached. These were the unclassified Malthusian "positive" checks of population which are now operating in large areas in India in a somewhat modified manner. The mortality from famines has been estimated by William Digby as 4,485,000 between 1850-75 and 23,740,000 between 1875-1900. Thus during the latter half of the last century the total toll of life on this account was represented by the figure of 28.25 millions. In the famine of 1901, the worst of recent years, one million people perished. The incidence of mortality from famine or scarcity diseases has not yet been investigated. In areas which have just been under the grip of scarcity, the increase in mortality from diseases like dysentery, diarrhoea and fever as well as from wasting and deficiency diseases needs enquiry. The Report of the Famine Commission (1910) abundantly shows that mortality due to privation is followed by a further rise in mortality due to cholera, diarrhoea and fever owing to the reduced power of the people to resist infections.

Though famines have now lost their rigour, drought and agricultural scarcity are accompanied by a high death rate and low birth rate. Epidemics thus continue to play their important rôle in checking population growth; the mortality from the main epidemic diseases between 1901 and 1931 was about 67.25 millions. In some congested districts in the United Provinces the trend of vital statistics over a period of 60 years indicates that the damage done by epidemics to these populations is severer than elsewhere. A more significant phenomenon is a slackening of birth rate after a district's saturation density is overstepped. The absence of an agricultural surplus, and malnutrition, which affects especially women and children, lower the birth rate temporarily

and alter the age and sex distribution for a long period to the long-run detriment of the birth rate.

A state of chronic food shortage, punctuated by spells of unfavourable seasons, particularly affects the very young and old women, and notably those in the child-bearing age, when the ancient practices of infanticide, abortion and abstinence from intercourse have been largely discarded. The result of this is high infantile and maternal mortality. The reduction of the number of women at the reproductive period, worn out by a long struggle with food deficiency and by frequent child-bearing, is one of the demological causes of the slackening of the birth rate in the heavily congested plains of India.

SLACKENING BIRTH-RATE

The violent fluctuations in the birth and death rates in many parts of India, in close correspondence with harvest conditions, represent accordingly an unhealthy demological symptom indicating not only the absence of an agricultural surplus but also the vulnerability of population due to overstepping an equilibrium density. Reproductive powers may also be directly impaired in the case of the lower economic strata as a result of chronic malnutrition, or deprivation of certain vitamins in wheat (which is superseded by barley and millets), and of milk and vegetables discarded in unfavourable years. A variety of biological factors contributes directly and indirectly to lower fertility. These are not "immutable forces of Nature," as assumed in Pearl's somewhat mystical hypothesis.

That birth rate declines if the population continues for long above its average abundance and resistance to epidemics declines was not anticipated by Malthus, though this is the best evidence of the reality of the Malthusian positive checks in India, even though war, epidemic and famine no longer scourge population back to a suitable or equilibrium density as before. The average birth-rate declined from 35.5 to 27 per mille in Bengal from 41 to 34 in Bihar and from 41.4 to 36 in the United Provinces between the decade 1901-10 and 1929-33. The annual average death rate has also been amazingly reduced in the United

Provinces and Bihar from 40 and 37 to 26 per mille between 1921 and 1931, but such reduction is due to the absence of epidemics of diseases which will now, it is expected, take a heavier toll than before due to lower resistance of the population. In Bengal also the average death rate, 31.1 for 1911-20, was reduced to 15.3 for 1921-30. But this, again, is due to the absence of any serious epidemic, the population becoming accustomed to the scourge of malaria.

The expectation of life is now considered as a suitable criterion for optimum density. Actuarial examination indicates that on the whole during the last 50 years the expectation enjoyed by both males and females in India does not show an uninterrupted increase, as in most countries in the world. In Bengal and the Punjab the enjoyed expectation for females has actually declined. In Australia, in a period of 35½ years, the expectation of life for men increased 12 years, and that for women 12½ years. In Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Holland and Switzerland the expectation of life at birth per man is 55. In New Zealand the life-span has reached 62 years. "India with an expectation of life of 23 years" (now increased to 26½ years), observes Ross, "is a bench mark from which ascent can be measured."

EFFECTS OF AGRICULTURAL VARIATION

Recent movements of prices, especially of agricultural produce, have compelled, and will compel, an increasing number of even the well-to-do peasants to reduce their standard of living. There had been a marked rise of prices of all commodities in India from 1917, rice and wheat prices showing an increase of 58 and 39 per cent. respectively. But prices began to fall about the time when the last decade opened. The main characteristic of the Indian price index numbers during the whole of the last intercensal period was the larger fall in industrial prices as compared with agricultural prices. As a result the agriculturist was better off than the wage-earner the artisan or the employee, and, since he forms the most considerable majority in all provinces, a rapid increase of population was not accompanied by economic stress. But agricultural commodities did not continue indefinitely to

command prices relatively higher than manufactured goods. As a matter of fact, during the last few years quite the reverse tendency is shown by price indices, viz., the larger fall in agricultural prices as compared with industrial prices. Between 1928 and 1930 wheat declined by 24 per cent. and rice by 33 per cent. In 1930 the heaviest declines in prices were shown by wheat (47 per cent. on the basis of September, 1929) and oil seeds (43 per cent.), along with cotton and jute, and in the next three years, 1931-33, rice uniformly showed the heaviest falls, going down by 58 per cent. Such a fall in prices of the chief cereals has led to a shrinkage of agricultural income in India by nearly a half in 1931-32 as compared with 1928-29.

This must tell heavily on the provinces that have added greatly to their commitments in the shape of extra mouths to feed. Economic prophecies, especially of a dismal kind, are risky and thankless, but in this case it is not difficult to forecast that a definite decline in the standard of living is to be expected in the provinces which show the largest disparity between population increase and value of agricultural production. A decline in the present low standard of living in any province cannot be thought of without grave apprehensions as the population as it now stands appears to be exceptionally vulnerable, its natality and mortality showing a close correspondence with agricultural conditions. Now the latter have not been unfavourable in India as a whole during the past few years. When a famine comes or a virulent epidemic sweeps over the country, the Malthusian equilibrium will be re-established through Nature's cruel and haphazard methods.

	Mean Density per Square Mile.	Acreage under Food Grains per capita		Increase or Decrease Population 1921-31 (per cent.).
		1921.	1931.	
Punjab	208	1.2	1.03	- 14
United Provinces ...	442	1.3	1.3	Nil
Bihar and Orissa ...	379	1.3	1.5	+ 16.6
Bengal	616	2.8	2.1	- 58.3
Central Provinces and Berar	137	0.9	0.7	- 16.3
Bombay	174	0.9	0.9	Nil
Madras	329	1.4	1.6	+ 16.6
Burma	63	1.01	1.01	Nil
India	195	0.58	0.69	+ 9.2

	Order according to Popu- lation Increase.	Decrease of Value in 1932-33 of Total Production of the Principal Crops from 1928-29.	Order accord- ing to Decrease in Agri- cultural Income.
Punjab	I.	36.8	VI.
United Provinces ...	VII.	35.2	VII.
Bihar and Orissa ...	III.	58.2	II.
Bengal	VI.	61.1	I.
Central Provinces and Berar	II.	48.5	IV.
Bombay	VIII.	30.4	VIII.
Madras	V.	45.0	V.
Burma	IV.	35.5	III.
India	—	47.5	—

The phenomenal multiplication of population between 1930 and 1935 in the midst of the agricultural depression could be explained largely by the proportionate increase of births towards the end of the last census decade, and hence of persons now in the reproductive age. The number of married females increased by 2 to 4 per mille between 1921-31 in the principal provinces. This increase was due to the agricultural boom between 1917 and 1927 and the sudden and even astonishing recovery in the birth rate in some provinces after the influenza epidemic.

EMIGRATION

Even without any calamities like famine or a serious epidemic, population pressure normally leads to an outward flow of emigration, but industrial depression in the country and the slump in rubber, tea and mining production in Ceylon, Burma, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies has discouraged population movements both inter-provincial and overseas.

Migration in recent years has indeed been much reduced and overseas emigration is now negligible. The total number of emigrants from the United Provinces was reduced from 15 lakhs in the decade 1901-11 to 9.7 lakhs in the decade 1911-21 and 10 lakhs in the decade 1921-31. In Bihar and Orissa also the number of emigrants was reduced from 15 lakhs in 1901-11 to about 13 lakhs in 1921-31. It was only in Madras that the number increased from 6 lakhs in 1901-11 to 7 lakhs in 1911-21 and to about 9 lakhs in 1921-31. Recently, however, the decline in the planting industry has resulted in large numbers returning home. Bengal, in

spite of her high rural density, receives a considerable number of immigrants from the up-country and Madras, who flock especially to her mill towns and cities. The social circumstances which account for a considerable volume of immigration (that, however, shows progressive decrease during the last two decades) are peculiar.

We may conclude generally that the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Madras have all overstepped an equilibrium density, and it is the heavy and differential population pressure which explains emigration from these areas to the less thickly populated provinces. Amongst these Assam, Burma, the Central Provinces and the N.W.F. Province may be said to be under-populated although an optimum density may have been outstripped even in some under-populated provinces. Like Japan, India should adopt a scheme of assisted emigration overseas, defraying the cost of passage to emigrants to foreign countries which are under-developed or undeveloped and which may encourage agricultural colonization.

The British Empire, the population of which is 90 per cent. non-white and which now comprises the greater part of the undeveloped sections of the earth, should deal with Indian emigration, like tariff and industrial co-ordination, as essentially an Imperial problem. The solidarity of the British Empire demands Imperial economic planning, which cannot be successful without a modification of racial discrimination in the policy of Indian emigration in Australia, South and East Africa. For as long as the Indian masses are not freed from the cramping effects of economic pressure and soil exhaustion on their two-acre holdings, their low purchasing power will prevent any marked increase of shipments to India from Great Britain. The Imperial Conference has the appropriate machinery that could, boldly used, formulate reciprocal agreements between the different parts of the Empire which might, through a more liberal emigration policy, increase the Imperial food supply and trade, and level up the standards of living among different peoples within the Empire.

INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

Industrial development in India as a whole is still exceedingly tardy. Only 5,000,000 may be taken as the figure of organized labour out of about 154,000,000 workers in India. The daily average number of hands employed by establishments to which the Factories Act applies is only 1,500,000. In Madras the number of operatives in factories is only 101,655 out of a total of about 29,000,000 workers. Out of 23,500,000 workers only a lakh (*i.e.*, 0.5 per cent.) are employed in organized industries in the United Provinces. Even in Bombay, which is the most industrialized of the provinces, the present slump has in no small measure retarded industrial expansion. It has not merely resulted in a decline of the population of Bombay City (due to large numbers having been forced back on to the land), but has thrown upon agriculture a greater burden than ever. A grave economic situation, in the face of increasing population pressure, is indicated by the decline of the relative proportion of industrial employment during the last three decades.

	1911.	1921.	1931.	Percentage of Variation 1911-31.	1941 (estimated).
Population in (millions)	315	319	353	12.1	+ 400
Working population (in millions) ...	149	146	154	4.0	+ 170
Persons employed in industries (in millions) ...	17.5	15.7	15.3	12.6	- 16
Percentage of workers in industry to the working population	11.0	11.0	10.0	9.1	- 9.4
Percentage of industrial workers to the total population ...	5.5	4.9	4.3	21.8	- 4.0

The increasing population, indeed, is not being absorbed in industries at all. On the other hand, the dependence of the population on agriculture shows a steady increase, as shown below:

	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
Percentage population supported by agriculture ...	...	61	66	71	73

In Bengal the number of workers in industry more steadily and uniformly diminished—the percentage of industrial workers to

the total population diminishing from 3.9 in 1911 to 3.7 and 2.9 in 1921 and 1931.

Fruit growing and market gardening may solve the problem of uneconomic holdings, cultivated as these may be on gardening lines by the spade rather than the plough. But these are yet in the region of possibilities in India. Cattle breeding and dairying in association with small-scale farming have developed only in the canal colonies of the Punjab, the Ganges Doab and North Gujarat. Small-scale trade and rural industries are found as excellent substitutes to agriculture, or as supplementary to it, only in the hydro-electric zones in the Punjab, United Provinces, Madras and Bombay. Meanwhile the peasantry in the absence of epidemics multiply heedlessly. More mouths to feed also accompany more hands to work, but the hands are idle. The ancient traditions of forbearance and self-control, Malthus's moral restraints, are inoperative amongst the masses. Malthus emphasized the postponement of the age of marriage accompanied by strict continence. In India one of the significant factors in the population problem is the social sanction and encouragement of child marriage.

THE SMALL FAMILY HABIT

In the past, India developed the planned family system and the small family was the general rule. As in China or Japan in the past, the limited family habit depended upon innumerable social canons and regulations, which governed daily life and practice including conjugal relationship. Such customs included the postponement of marriage for large sections of the population and prolonged abstinence from intercourse for married persons, who were bound to conform to certain religious injunctions in this regard. Hypergamy, a heavy bride-price, and an expensive and elaborate marriage ceremony also contributed towards less frequent marriages. A large section of the population, again, lived a single life in *maths*, monasteries and convents. The greater the number of these in a period of religious revival in India the smaller was the number of births. Infanticide, especially the exposure of female babies, was also a common practice in India

among the castes who practised hypergamy. Prostitution, which Malthus also regards as a check on the growth of numbers, has been associated in South and Western India with temple girls forming an honoured priesthood, devoting itself to devotional song and dance. Early abortion was also not uncommon, and there is also evidence that in the villages some crude and casually found methods of birth control are in use among the women.

Birth control is now adopted in the higher social circles in Bombay, Bengal and Madras, and it is not unknown in some rural areas. Contraception of a crude kind has, for instance, been observed among the Goundans of Salem, apparently in order to prevent the undue growth of families and consequent fragmentation of holdings and weakening of the joint family system and influence.* The small family tradition, the postponement of marriage, and the social emphasis on celibacy checked unrestricted increase of numbers. The results of the Mohammadan conquest proved, however, disastrous for the small family system in India. Infant marriage, which was unknown in the epic and Buddhist literature and did not play any part until the Gupta period, began to prevail and to be widely adopted, especially in the central areas which were most powerfully affected by the Mohammadan influences, touching on one side or the other a line drawn from Sind to Rajmahal.

Infant marriage was promoted by the desire of the family to get its girls safely mated to suitable husbands in an age when there was danger of an improper alliance due to the Mohammadan contact. But since then child marriage has been practised mostly by the lower social strata. The Brahmins, Kayasthas and the intermediate castes are less addicted to this practice, except in the Central India Agency and Hyderabad. Since it is these lower castes who also allow their widows to marry again, the result has been an unrestricted multiplication in their case. As the industrial revolution promoted population increase in Europe in the 19th century and in Japan in the 20th, so the continued subdivision of holdings making agriculture less and less remunerative, and de-industrialization due to the decline of cottage indus-

* *Census Report of Madras*, 1931, p. 46.

tries and handicrafts, are to-day discouraging thrift or home-spun prudence and promoting multiplication in India.

Climate also is a factor in over-population by reducing the age of puberty. In India girls attain puberty between 12 and 15 years and reproduction has not been unusual at 13. Violations of the Law of Consent are not unusual. "Cases are not uncommon," says a witness before the Age of Consent Committee, "in which girls bring forth six or seven children before they attain their eighteenth year." The lactation also appears to be reduced and there are shorter intervals between childbirths among low castes than among high castes. Social customs and taboos do not adequately protect the Indian mother against the demands of the house, the field and the cattle-shed. Though child-bearing is frequent, the woman is not relieved from toil and drudgery. "Enquiries into a large number of cases," observes the Age of Consent Committee, "show that when the marriage of young people is consummated at an early age, say, when the boy is not more than 16 years or the girl is 12 or 13, a fairly large percentage of wives die of phthisis or some other disease of the respiratory organs or from some ovarian complication within ten years of the consummation of marriage."

NEED OF POPULATION RESTRICTION

Apart from the neglect of female children, too early and frequent maternity, ignorant midwifery, dangers of childbirth, and disorders and diseases continuing as a result of bearing too many and too frequent children have all contributed (in the absence of selective epidemic diseases) towards a higher death-rate amongst females than amongst males in India, especially in the reproductive ages. The risk which the Indian woman runs at her first child-bearing is aggravated later when her strength has been broken by her having borne too many children at too short intervals. The net result is a deficiency of females in India as a whole and in the higher castes in particular, which is on the increase. It is because early marriage and maternity are so widespread and their effects are so disastrous upon health, mortality and the biological condition of the popula-

tion that appropriate and cheap devices of birth control derived by the rural population from materials in its own domestic surroundings are necessary, so that contraception may be applied until the man has attained the age of, say, 21 or 23 and the woman the age of 20 or 22.

It is sometimes suggested, and that on the basis of historical experience, that there is only one way in which we can seriously reduce the Indian birth rate; that is, by raising the standard of living. If under the term "the standard of living" man's family and marriage habits and social tradition connected with the increase of his family are included, the suggestion is not wide of the mark. But, with a mere economic conception of the standard of living, to depend upon an uplift of the standard of living for an automatic decrease of the birth rate is putting the cart before the horse. The introduction of improved seeds, fertilizers and implements, change in marketing methods, or even a reform of land tenure—these are all thwarted in India by the fractionalization of holdings and cheap and inefficient labour in the countryside, which are the indirect results of population increase. The offensive against illiteracy is similarly baffled because population outruns the capacity of education. The dead weight of illiteracy among the backward castes and the Muslims of India makes the problem of its removal a formidable one, both from financial and administrative points of view. As population continues to outrun the educational facilities that are provided it is clear that the pressure of population cannot be viewed merely in relation to the food supply. As a matter of fact, in India the present attitude of most provincial governments in deferring schemes of village education and sanitation, amelioration, and uplift, and in lowering for the time being the accepted standard, is entirely due to an expanding population which makes readjustments more and more difficult.

A rational family planning and education of the masses in birth control must be accepted as one of the important means, though not the only means, of combating population increase. The small family system, deliberately planned and integrated with other habits and traditions which regulate different sides of domestic

life, must now be adopted in India as the social and ethical norm; and such a custom as polygamy, which by encouraging a large family has become an obvious economic misfit, must be declared illegal. At the same time, without better farming and increase of the agriculturist's income, industrialization, and absorption of farm hands and casual labourers in small industries and workshops, an improvement of the standard of living of the masses—which alone can create the mental attitude that is the sole bulwark of the small family habit—cannot be effected. Birth control is after all a special measure. It can effectively regulate population increase and help towards a solution of the population problem in India only when the customs and attitudes of the masses towards the family support it. Why should Indian peasant women, who will in the future obtain education, leisure and a few luxuries of life, and lose only, say, 5 or 10 per cent. of their infants in the first year, bear at the same rate as now when they lose 20 or 30? The present fertility has the accompaniment of mud hovels shared with cattle and goats, one-third of the babies dying in infancy, thin gruel and a loathsome cloth for the survivors, widespread abortion and appalling maternal mortality. As the desire grows for better food and higher standards of living, and for giving the children better opportunity for advancement; as women gain in enlightenment and self-consciousness, and as men rid themselves of the over-awing authority of religious injunctions of remote spacious times which have now become obvious misfits, the prejudice against "interference with nature" will yield to economic necessity.

Modern education, medicine, and public hygiene have reached the Indian village, and as these spread more, birth control will shock the people less, and what Ross calls "an adaptive fertility" will relieve the present heavy population pressure. Nothing is more important than this adaptive fertility for securing in India the economy of reproduction, the absence of which has made it more and more difficult to raise the standards of farming and living, led to chronic unemployment in the fields and in the cities, and brought about an appalling waste of life spilling on all sides. On the other hand, it is only when the fertility of India's work-

a-day millions becomes somehow adapted to the present situation of definite and increasing food shortage through their forethought and a new attitude in the matter of the family, that India can look for a fresh advance in improved agriculture, education and mass sanitation in her villages. These will be followed up as in the West by a reduction of mortality and increase of average longevity and thus as more and more of human fertility is left to lie fallow, there will be an enrichment of the equipment and experience of life.

APPENDIX I

INDEX NUMBERS OF VARIATION OF POPULATION, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
<i>Average of 5 Years 1910-11 to 1914-15 (base).</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Total Agricultural Production.</i>	<i>Food Production (weighted).</i>	<i>Food Supply available for Consumption (un-weighted).</i>	<i>Excess or Deficit of Food Supply Index over Population.</i>
1915-16	100	100	100	100	—
1916-17	103	123	129	125	22
1917-18	104	122	135	126	22
1917-18	104	125	130	122	18
1918-19	105	104	91	87	18
1919-20	100	107	130	113	13
1920-21	99	105	99	99	0
1921-22	100	109	127	120	20
1922-23	101	119	144	125	24
1923-24	101	120	127	109	8
1924-25	101	117	121	103	2
1925-26	101	127	121	113	12
1926-27	102	118	126	117	15
1927-28	102	132	117	111	9
1928-29	103	138	118	120	17
1929-30	104	146	123	122	18
1930-31	107	145	126	123	16
1931-32	114	149	126	122	8
1932-33	117	127	124	123	6
1933-34	118	Not available	123	122	4
1934-35	120	„	125	123	3

Weights are assigned according to protein values. Food supply available for consumption is computed after deducting exports, seeds amounting roughly to 1 million tons per every 200 million acres of food grams and 10 per cent. wastage, and adding imports of sugar and cereals.

APPENDIX II

VARIATION OF POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY IN INDIA

<i>Average of 5 Years 1910-11 to 1914-15 (base).</i>	<i>Population (in millions).</i>	<i>Food Production (million tons).</i>	<i>Food Supply available for Consumption (million tons).</i>
...	315.4	69.0	49.0
1915-16	323.0	80.8	61.3
1916-17	325.9	83.1	61.8
1917-18	328.8	83.5	59.6
1918-19	331.4	59.8	42.5
1919-20	315.4	77.0	55.5
1920-21	313.6	65.9	48.4
1921-22	314.6	79.4	59.0
1922-23	318.9	82.9	61.1
1923-24	319.0	75.3	53.4
1924-25	319.0	75.8	50.6
1925-26	319.4	76.0	55.6
1926-27	319.7	77.4	57.4
1927-28	321.0	74.3	54.3
1928-29	323.0	78.1	58.6
1929-30	327.3	80.0	59.9
1930-31	335.8	81.1	60.4
1931-32	352.8	81.4	60.1
1932-33	367.0	81.3	60.3
1933-34	372.0	80.6	59.8
1934-35	377.0	81.1	60.5

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 13, 1937, when a Paper by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee was read by Mr. Alexander Farquharson. The Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., was in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: The paper which we are to hear read this afternoon is by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, who as you know is a Professor of Economics and Sociology in the University of Lucknow. He is widely known for his many contributions to the studies of Indian economics and sociology. I think perhaps I might say that he is one of the foremost, if not the foremost, of living Indian authorities on these questions.

He came to this country at the end of May and delivered lectures to the Institute of Sociology, to the Institute of Social Science at Liverpool, and elsewhere. He has recently been lecturing to the University of Cologne and at other learned centres on the Continent.

In response to pressing invitations he is leaving Hamburg on Thursday for the United States of America to deliver a series of addresses at American Universities. So he cannot be with us in person today. But we are very happy in having a deputy for him in an old friend of his, and one who has for many years entered into a scholarly correspondence with him. I refer to Mr. Alexander Farquharson, the General Secretary of the Institute of Sociology. He has most kindly consented to read the paper here this afternoon, and though perhaps he may not see eye to eye with Dr. Mukerjee in all the questions raised, I think it may be convenient if he will be kind enough to take part in the discussion towards its end, when he may be able to reply to some of the points which have been raised by the various speakers this afternoon.

MR. ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON then read the paper on "The Population Problem in India."

Major-General Sir JOHN MEGAW (President of the Medical Board, India Office): Let me begin by congratulating Professor Mukerjee on the very able and convincing paper which has just been read on his behalf. I am delighted that the economists are now taking up this problem, which I have personally described—and I think the description is true—as the real problem of India. It is quite impossible for me in the brief time which is available to criticize the points raised by Professor Mukerjee, and there is the less necessity for doing so because I am in substantial agreement with nearly everything that he has written.

Professor Mukerjee made several references to Malthus. Malthus has been described as the best abused man of his age. I might also add that

even up to the present time he is the best misrepresented man of his age. Some of you may be aware that Professor Malthus was for nearly thirty years Professor of History and Economics at the old Haileybury School, where the predecessors of our present I.C.S. people were trained, and I have frequently regretted that he has not a worthy successor to carry on the instruction which he must have given to the students in those days.

I must confess with sorrow that it was only within the last year or two that I became acquainted with any of Malthus' writings. Had I only read them I would have been saved a good deal of labour, because I found that some ideas which I had formulated with very great difficulty and travail had been very much better stated by Malthus more than a century ago, and I should think there must be many others who are in the same position as myself.

Malthus was grossly misrepresented in his lifetime, and even now, a century later, we find that his name has come to be associated with certain practices which I am quite sure from reading his works he would have regarded with disgust and horror.

Even Professor Mukerjee in one place, I think, has hardly done justice to Malthus. He says, "Over-population did not strike Malthus as a possibility because population would not, according to him, overstep its limits owing to poverty, war and pestilence." But surely Malthus would have regarded a country where the population was being kept in check by poverty and pestilence as being already an over-populated country.

There is another matter in regard to which Malthus is frequently misrepresented. People say that Malthus has been discredited because in this country his prediction of an overgrowth of population did not take place. But these people forget that Malthus made a perfectly definite proviso. He said, "Provided that certain checks were not imposed." These checks he described as being chiefly of a moral nature in the form of restraint in connection with reproduction. These checks have been imposed in this country, and not only these but others which I think Malthus would probably have described as immoral rather than moral.

If you take other countries, countries like India, China, Japan, the laws that Malthus proposed are seen now in operation exactly in the manner in which he predicted that they would operate. It is for that reason that I think that all people who are interested in the welfare of Eastern countries ought to become students of Malthus, read him for themselves instead of reading the misrepresentations which are constantly appearing with regard to him.

This problem of population is an economic problem, as Professor Mukerjee has very ably and clearly shown. It is a public health problem, as I have been trying to show for the last twenty years or so. I personally believe that it is the very foundation of public health in the sense that all our efforts at preventing epidemics, at improving the health of the community, must inevitably be frustrated if the population is excessive when compared with the production of food and other necessities of life.

It is an agricultural problem. It is quite obvious that increased agricultural production will help to relieve the problem of pressure of population.

It is also strictly a biological problem, although, unfortunately, very few biologists, with the exception perhaps of Professor MacBride, have really taken an interest in the subject.

It is a historical problem. We can learn very much from the lessons of history. When we talk about the rate at which population has been increasing during the last hundred years in India, if we look at the history of other countries we see that the rate of increase is small compared with theirs.

Take Ireland, for example. Between 1800 and 1840 the population doubled itself, rising from four to eight millions. There I think we have a very definite lesson of history. We have been taking pride in the increase of the population in India. People might just as well have said of Ireland, "Look what a wonderful country this is. The population has gone up from four millions to eight millions." But what happened? Everybody knows. There is a lesson, I think, that we ought to meditate on.

The problem is an educational problem. It is only by teaching the subject of life planning that a remedy can be found for it.

It is a political problem. I do not mean a problem of party politics; it should be raised above that. It is a problem of real politics, politics which deal with the welfare of the community.

It is a very many-sided problem. The subject, in fact, is almost everybody's child, and therefore it has been treated more or less as nobody's child.

What can be done about it? Professor Mukerjee has said very little about that. I feel that the problem must be tackled not by public health people, not merely by economists; it must be tackled simultaneously by all those who can contribute to its solution. They must put their heads together and attempt to find a solution, and that solution, of course, will be found in education—the education not only of children but of the grown-up population.

The only difficulty is, what ought to be taught to the people? and that is where a combination of the best brains of men who have been studying these various subjects would be invaluable. A combination of these brains is the only way of reaching a decision as to what is the proper instruction that ought to be given to the community.

Then there is the question of how to get the message across. Nowadays with the cinema, and especially with broadcasting and the diffusion of the Press, it has become much easier to get these messages across to the people, not merely to the men but through the walls of the zenana to the women. You can get the message across, and if the instruction is conveyed in the form of a sugar-coated pill—mostly sugar and very little pill—I think an enormous amount could be done with a view to teaching the community how to live satisfactory lives. That, after all, is the aim of true education, not merely to teach people how to read and write and so on, but to teach them how to plan their lives so as to lead a satisfactory existence.

I have for long been pressing the necessity for holding an enquiry. I used the word "Commission," but that created a considerable amount of prejudice. I do not know why it should do so. A properly regulated

commission would have a very great propaganda value apart from anything else. But now supposing nothing is done, what is going to happen in India? The population goes on increasing by five millions a year, and if, when it has reached the saturation point mentioned by Professor Mukerjee, you then have a period of one or more failures of the monsoon with corresponding failures of the harvest, what is really going to happen? That is a question that I think ought to be kept prominently before us and I hope that Professor Mukerjee's paper will help to arouse everybody who is interested in the subject or ought to be interested in the subject to the need for immediate and resolute action.

Mr. M. B. CAMERON (late Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University): My chief reason in coming here today was a personal one. I looked forward with the very greatest interest to meeting again my old friend Professor Mukerjee, especially when he was enjoying the honour of lecturing to a distinguished assembly like this, under the presidency of the right honourable and noble Chairman. As Principal of the Canning College I had some little to do with the foundation of the Lucknow University, the Canning College housing the faculties of art, science, commerce and law. Later on, for some six years as a Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and for over three years as Vice-Chancellor, I had the business of looking after its rapid growth.

Some six years ago old Father Time indicated to me that I had considerably overrun the normal duration of service and made it clear to me that it would not be advisable to accept the strong temptation held out to me to take another term of office. But I have kept the liveliest interest in the University since then. I get my daily *Pioneer*, and every year I have had the privilege of meeting one or more members of the staff home here on leave, and so keeping myself in touch with all the internal politics of the University. I am very disappointed that I am not going to meet my old friend Dr. Mukerjee today.

However, the record of the University, I am glad to say, is one of steady progress. Only a short time ago our Professor of Botany became a Fellow of the Royal Society. I know good work is being done in the Department of Zoology, and one of its Readers has been entrusted by the Imperial Agricultural Council to undertake a scheme of research in the direction of animal husbandry which he had submitted to it. In Dr. Mukerjee's department he has effected a revolution in the study of economics. My recollection of economics in the old days was of the dismal science that dealt with hypothetical cases and shadowy abstractions, but when Dr. Mukerjee came to take charge of the department in Lucknow University he introduced a realistic element and showed his students that their business was dealing with the actual facts of the life around them and especially those matters that were most important for the social and economic welfare of the country. His staff and a succession of post-graduate students have accomplished quite a lot in the way of the collection and collation of important economic facts. One of his lecturers a few years ago got the Doctorate of Science at the London University for a work on the financial side

of economics. He is now a professor of economics at Dacca University and doing very valuable work on Government Commissions in Bengal.

With regard to the subject of the paper I have practically nothing to say. It only strikes me that if a lecture like this had taken place, say, a hundred and fifty years ago in this country, and the lecturer had been told to work on the hypothesis that the population would be three times what it was then, I should imagine that his conclusions would have been rather pessimistic. He would have looked forward to civilization and culture being pretty well forgotten in the desperate scramble for the means of subsistence on an overcrowded island. He could not have foreseen how the mind of man was capable of coping with the problems of economic and social life as and when they arose. I do not think that we need now despair or think that the mind of man is not still capable of handling such grave practical problems as arise in connection with the portentous increase of population in India. The merit of the paper today is to show us in a most realistic way what the actual situation is and how it is to be met.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: I should like to join Sir John Megaw in expressing my appreciation of the paper which Professor Mukerjee has presented to us this afternoon. It deals with a matter of the utmost importance and brings before us in broad outline one of the great problems which the administrators of the country will certainly have to face at no very distant date.

The idea of dealing with the problem of estimating the necessary food supply of the population on a basis of the heat units or calories required per man is ingenious, but before we can accept the validity of such a method there must be some certainty that the data upon which it is based are correct. As one who for medical reasons has had to study this matter somewhat closely I am not at all sure that the assumptions made by Professor Mukerjee can be accepted. The amount of food required to keep a man in a healthy state certainly varies with the temperature in which he lives and is less in a hot country than in the temperate regions. Again, it is roughly proportional to the body weight, and it is hardly likely to be disputed that the average weight of the rural population of India is considerably less than that of corresponding classes in Europe. I do not know that on this point exact figures are available, but from measurements which I have made in the South of India I think that the average weight does not exceed 120 lbs. and is probably less. It is generally accepted by medical authorities that 15 calories per lb. of body weight are required to keep an average working man in normal health. Multiplying these two figures together we arrive at the result that 1,800 calories per day are required as compared with the 2,600 assumed to be necessary by Professor Mukerjee. The statistics regarding the total food supply of India are not very reliable and any conclusions based upon them must be received with considerable reserve. Further, the estimate of the available heat units in the various items which go to make up that food supply is at best a very rough one and open to criticism on the ground that it is probably excessive. It would therefore be extremely unwise to accept the final conclusion that the present

number of average men estimated without food, assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration, is 48 millions or 12 per cent. of the present population.

The students of economics in India are now gathering valuable data by making local enquiries in villages, and it is possible that by collecting information regarding the dietary of small poverty-stricken villages and applying this method of dealing with the results some greater degree of exactness as to the extent to which under-nourishment occurs might be obtained. It seems essential that attention should be drawn to the importance of ascertaining fairly accurately the extent to which the people of India are suffering in health from want of sufficient food at the present time, and though we may not be able to agree with Professor Mukerjee as to the value of his calculations, he is to be congratulated on attempting to tackle the problem on new lines which if pursued with more care and in much greater detail may yield what is required.

Professor Mukerjee discusses the various suggestions which have been put forward for alleviating the situation, and his final conclusion seems to be stated in the following words: "As there is the desire for better food and higher standards of living, and for giving children better opportunity for advancement, as women gain in enlightenment and self-consciousness and as men rid themselves from the over-awing authority of religious injunctions of remote spacious times and which have now become obvious misfits, the prejudice against 'interference with nature' will yield to economic necessity." This is taking a very long view, as such changes in the mental outlook of the masses of India will only take place very slowly, if at all. In the meantime the numbers will increase till plagues or famines get the upper hand and ruthlessly reduce them. The only hope is that it may be possible to increase the production of foodstuffs to such an extent as to give time for the education of the people. It is certain that in this direction much can be done. There is considerable hope for the extension of irrigation, chiefly perhaps by the construction of large reservoirs and by the sinking of many additional wells. The waste of water on existing irrigated areas is very great and much can be done to diminish it.

The best prospect, however, lies in adequate measures to increase the fertility of the soil and steps should be taken to stop the loss of valuable fertilizing agents, some of which are exported and others used as fuel or neglected because of prejudices which grew up when the pressure of the population was scarcely felt. China and Japan can teach India many lessons in the conservation of soil fertility. Sir Albert Howard has done much, through his "Indore process" for making humus, to show what can be done to utilize material that is now wasted. The scale on which it should be worked is beyond the capacity of the average ryot, but there would appear to be a vast field for its application by village co-operation. As compared with India, Japan cultivates one-third as much land per head of the population and employs probably ten times as much manure. The Agricultural Departments in the last thirty years have studied the merits and defects of agricultural practice in India. It is obviously now time that means were provided to effect such changes as are practical and

possible. Special legislation may be required, and under the new régime it may encounter much less opposition than would certainly have been evinced under direct British rule. The time has come for demonstration work on a vast scale and on different lines to those which have hitherto been pursued. The village should be treated as the unit and co-operative working be encouraged.

I am not at all inclined to underestimate the difficulties which will be encountered. Much in this way was done in the past and it is necessary to revive for novel purposes the ancient custom of joint working. There is a popular cry for a large expenditure on sanitation and health, but what is the use of this if the people have not enough food? The cities and towns will make their voices heard and the rural areas will some day be faced with starvation after long years of scarcity. It will require statesmanship of the highest order to steer India safely through the next period of unfavourable seasons, and a very large annual expenditure seems justified to reduce the severity of the testing time. In each Province it would be well if local committees were appointed to study the problem, ascertain the facts and suggest definite lines of action. It is quite time that public interest was aroused. The East India Association is, I think, to be congratulated in taking the first step in this direction.

Mr. P. M. LAD (Indian Civil Service): Although I belong to the Service which once had the benefit of instruction from Malthus himself, I myself have not had that benefit. At the same time I have had some instruction in economics and I have always felt a certain amount of scepticism with regard to the cry of "over-population" in India. It is not for me to say that what Dr. Mukerjee has written is not substantially true. But I propose with your leave to place before you the other half of this truth. As Mill said, "The besetting danger is not so much of embracing falsehood for truth, as of mistaking part of the truth for the whole." I wish to lay before you one aspect of the problem which, if rightly appreciated, would lead a long way towards the proper understanding of this question.

In this country it is well known that Professor Carr-Saunders and Dr. Kuczynski are investigating the question of population, and since the day of Malthus great strides have been made in expert study of population, on the economic as well as on the demographic side. This paper deals solely with the relation of numbers to food, or numbers to means of subsistence. But what is more important is to understand the phenomenon of the numbers themselves in India, and by putting a few statistics which are taken entirely from official sources, the 1931 Census Report, I hope to make it apparent to you that the tendency of numbers in India is not such as to warrant a definite conclusion that numbers are rapidly increasing. For this purpose I propose to lay before you a few simple facts. The vital statistics in India today are not quite complete nor very reliable. As an official collector of figures in the 1931 Census I have some experience of the matter.

Recently for the first time an attempt was made to take a fertility census, and it was found that the average number of children born alive per

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married woman was four, of which 2.9 survived. We thus found that every married woman contributed to the population 2.9 children.

Whatever may be the maladjustment between numbers and means of subsistence in India, it is not suggested that numbers should be cut down in such a way as ultimately to lead to a declining and vanishing population. So I take it for granted that we should at least have the ideal of stable numbers. For stable numbers it is absolutely necessary that one mother must replace herself—i.e., if we have a thousand mothers today there must be a thousand women to carry on the work of reproduction. In India what is happening today is that undue attention is being paid to absolute numbers. We are concentrating entirely on the absolute numbers and crude figures of increase. Even here it is interesting to recall that during the last fifty years India's population increased only 39 per cent., whereas that of England and Wales increased 53.8 per cent. Although, therefore, the torrent of babies at first sight may appear terrific, if numbers are studied in their proper perspective I venture to say that they would not be so staggering. What I wish to point out is that the first thing is to ascertain whether the net reproduction rate is less than unity; if it is the population is bound to dwindle.

Taking the proportion of male to female births in India—viz., 108 to 100—every such marriage would contribute about 1.9 girls, out of whom 1.37 would be found surviving. Can it be said that all these girls go through the whole of the reproductive period? Consider the high maternal mortality particularly in the early reproductive age-groups; in India maternal mortality is six times what it is in this country. Consider the number of women who are withdrawn from the process of reproduction by widowhood. I do not think that it is possible to assert that one female is contributing more than one female to the population.

The same conclusion is indicated by a common-sense study of the available figures. It is well known that in India there is a great disparity between males and females. There are only 940 females to 1,000 males, which is one of the lowest figures in the world. During the census periods India has shown a progressive shortage of women. Similarly, we know that the average expectation of life of women in India has been steadily falling.

Professor Gini and Dr. Charles Enid are also of the opinion that the net reproduction rate in India is not more than unity. Therefore, before talking about the alarming increase of numbers, we must put the available statistics to stricter proof, and must also try to get more helpful and adequate figures.

MR. ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON: I should like to begin by excusing myself; as I am no expert on population questions I cannot profess to reply as an expert should to the specific points that have been put forward.

It has been pleasant to know that every one of the speakers has been in agreement that Dr. Mukerjee has put forward in this paper a set of facts and a point of view which deserve serious consideration by all those interested in Indian, Imperial and world problems.

After studying the paper and after discussing similar questions with Dr. Mukerjee I am quite convinced that, in presenting this paper, Dr. Mukerjee has done us a remarkable service. I hope the paper will be widely read in India and in this country.

There is one minor point—a question of terminology—on which I am a little doubtful. I like to be careful and like other people to be careful in the use of such concepts as “optimum population” and “equilibrium population.” These concepts are useful in thinking about population statistics and population questions, but it is quite obvious that none of us is able to say accurately what is or would be in future an optimum population for India, or for that matter what would be an optimum population in this country.

“Optimum populations” and “equilibrium populations” are always relative. Any meanings we can attach to these terms depend on the large number of factors which affect the maintenance of a population at a certain standard of living. In using these terms Dr. Mukerjee, I am sure, does not intend to suggest numbers now definitely known, nor would any instructed student think that they could be so used.

In such a paper it is inevitable that the author should deal with some matters about which there is not yet sufficient assured knowledge. Dr. Mukerjee makes the point that a serious fall has taken place in the price of agricultural produce. He suggests that this may have very serious repercussions upon great numbers of agricultural workers and peasants in India.

The validity of that statement depends on how far the agriculturist uses his crops for his own subsistence, and how far he has to sell his crops in order to meet cash demands of some kind. I mention the point, not in criticism of Dr. Mukerjee, but to confirm what the last speaker and others have said, that on many of these questions our first requisite is further information. Even in this country, where we are apt to think that our statistical apparatus is a little further advanced than in India, there are big gaps still to be filled before we can deal suitably with similar questions.

On one matter I find myself in very earnest agreement with Dr. Mukerjee—namely, in his view of the relation between the population problem and the general problem of the condition or state in which a society finds itself. Dr. Mukerjee and I, as sociologists, are obliged to attribute the rise and growth of many of our modern problems to the great changes that have occurred, not only in European but also in Far Eastern society, owing to the commercial, industrial and other developments brought in by the Renaissance and becoming dominant in this country and elsewhere in the latter part of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century. One main result of those changes has been an increasing break-up or disintegration of older, well-knit forms of society—forms that had the power of holding their members closely together and maintaining certain forms of family and social structure which tended on the whole to give them a stable and fixed character.

Further, I agree with Dr. Mukerjee that if we are looking at this problem from the point of view, not only of the students but also of the reformer, we have to face the question, How far can we assist the reintegration of

society into some new form which will be adequate for modern purposes, and yet have the stable qualities of these older forms?

I should like to close on that note, because I think that Dr. Mukerjee is doing immense service to India by calling attention to the integral forms of Indian society in the past and to the need for a close consideration by all students and reformers of the problems of future reintegration.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure you will agree with me that we have had not only an interesting paper but a most interesting discussion. I neither have the time nor the technical knowledge to discuss the paper, but if you will spare me one minute there are one or two words which I would like to say.

Perhaps I might point out, following upon what Sir Alfred Chatterton said in regard to the figures, that in the figures given in this paper no account has been taken of the separation of India from Burma.

As one who has taken some part in the administration of Madras I was naturally perhaps most interested in that part of the paper which dealt with agriculture, Madras being chiefly an agricultural Province. I am sure we all hope that everything will be done, especially under the present Viceroy who is so interested in the villages, to encourage modern systems of agriculture.

I think it was Sir Alfred Chatterton who suggested that village by village should be taken for this purpose. In Madras we had an experiment which, I think, was interesting and which had some fruitful results. We sent round to the villages, on the days on which the markets were held, two motor-cars with a lecturer. In one car were carried the modern agricultural implements, and the ryot was shown these, the rice, and other crops which were grown from the best seed. The seed was shown, and the implement which had prepared the ground, and the manure which had been put on the ground to produce that seed. So he was able to see by an ocular demonstration all the processes and the implements. The lecturer in the evening lectured to the men of the villages on reforms and modern methods of agriculture, and magic lantern slides were shown from off the car, giving a demonstration of crops and so on.

We did find that the villagers became very interested in the matter. As the paper points out, there is a desire for better food and higher standards of living, and I think when the ryot saw that by using a better seed with the same amount of labour he got twice as good a crop, he began to think it might be advisable to employ that seed.

Time is getting on and I do not wish to keep you any longer, but perhaps as we are all friends of India here in this room I might be allowed one sentence outside the discussion which has taken place this afternoon.

I would like to say to you all that I am sure we have all seen with relief and with pleasure the decision which the Congress Party has come to to take office in those Provinces in which the Party is in the majority. (Applause.) We shall watch their future, I am certain, with interest in the hope that in the fulfilment of their new responsibilities they will bring, bear both a wide and broad statesmanship.

Sir MALCOLM SETON : I have very much pleasure in asking you for a vote of thanks to Professor Mukerjee for the interesting paper he has prepared, and to Mr. Farquharson for so kindly coming and reading it and offering the observations he has, and also to Lord Goschen for taking the chair. Lord Goschen has been a very good friend to the Association, and we appreciate his presence very highly, as well as the remarks he has made. This is hardly the hour to make many comments on the paper, but there are perhaps two remarks you will allow me to make.

One is, I was rather interested at the matter-of-fact way in which Professor Mukerjee states "famines have now lost their rigour." If anyone thinks what a failure of the monsoon meant forty years ago, and how very much less it means today, I think one reflects that that is not a phenomenon of nature; it is a result of concentrated effort, of the quiet, self-sacrificing work of generations of officials, British and Indian, and the applied energies of Government, and it is a very remarkable achievement. How far it is an earnest of the possible success of dealing with such dangers as Professor Mukerjee adumbrates it is not for me to say.

As for one possible alleviation of the population problem, he sees more possibilities in emigration than I imagine exist at present. Apart from the political difficulties, the world is getting very much filled up, and it seems to me very unlikely that emigration can afford much relief to India.

I was rather pleased to hear Sir John Megaw speaking so warmly of the name of Malthus, because sometimes I suspect that men of science hardly do full justice to Churchmen! It seems undoubted that the amazing neglect for years by biologists of the discoveries of Mendel was due to the fact that he was a monk, and monks could not be expected to know about these things. The fact that Malthus was a Church of England clergyman even if he was also a history professor to some extent helped to put him on the shelf.

It gives me very much pleasure to ask you to give this triple vote of thanks. (Cheers.)

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY: FAREWELL LUNCHEON

A LUNCHEON, arranged by the East India Association, the Royal Empire Society, and the Society of Yorkshiremen in London, in honour of Mr. (now Sir) Roger Lumley, Governor-Designate of Bombay, was given at the Rooms of the Royal Empire Society on Wednesday, July 21, 1937, when 250 members and guests attended.

LORD HALIFAX presided, and on proposing the toast of Mr. and Mrs. Lumley conveyed the regrets of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Eden), with whom Mr. Lumley had worked in close partnership for many years, at his inability to be present owing to his being detained on urgent matters connected with his Department. In the course of further observations he said:

If I may for a moment remember that I am a Yorkshireman, speaking to Yorkshiremen, I might say that we Yorkshiremen the world over are famed among many things for one quality—our modesty. Therefore, it would be quite unbecoming and quite foreign to our Yorkshire temperament if I were to attempt, in what I hope others here present will forgive me for terming a “mixed company,” to define to them what for Yorkshiremen are the qualities by which they hold themselves to be distinguished. (Laughter and cheers.) We, of course, know them very well, and the others who are here present will no doubt forgive me if I content myself with saying that whatever those qualities are Mr. Lumley possesses them in superlative degree.

I have had the honour of knowing Mr. Lumley in peace and war—because we served together during the War—for something like twenty-five years, and I might therefore be tempted to say that what I do not know about Mr. Lumley was hardly worth knowing. I like to think that still, although predominantly a man of peace, he does for one fortnight in each year turn the pen into the sword and resume his military career with my old, and his present, regiment. He beats his ploughshare into a sword for that brief interval, and then returns to the activities by which he is principally to be known. For many years he has achieved with distinction the great honour of representing the capital seat of York, and I do not think that any Yorkshireman can possibly demand a higher honour than being allowed to represent the capital seat of his county: that Mr. Lumley has done with such consummate success that when he abandoned his seat of York he was able by the power and influence of his appeal to enable that honour to pass to one quite untried—viz., my son.

For the rest, he has, as you know, served many years in the House of Commons, and has in that capacity been closely associated with our present Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, who has no doubt used him as all men, I

suppose, use their secretaries—viz., as the wise guide, philosopher and friend behind the scenes on whom they try out the material that is ultimately going to be inflicted upon the nation and the world! In all these capacities, to his constituents, to the House of Commons, to Geneva, at the international stage, Mr. Lumley has brought the rare human qualities that have given him a place so entirely his own in the esteem and the hearts of his friends.

I do not know whether I might be flippant enough to quote to you four lines that you may have seen published the other day in *The Times*:

I eat my peas with honey,
I have done so all my life.
It makes the peas taste funny,
But keeps them on the knife. (Laughter.)

As I have looked upon Mr. Lumley in the light of that poem, I have constantly been saying to myself that it is indeed true that he does bring to all his affairs the honey of very sage judgment and very sympathetic understanding. Now he is going to India, to an India very different from that India over which in Bombay Lord Lamington ruled many years ago, and I have no doubt that he will find ample scope for all his good qualities in the new responsibility that he so shortly is to assume.

It is customary to say that the last great Act of Parliament dealing with India has made great changes. I would think it truer to say that that Act of Parliament registered great changes that had been in progress for many years before its passage, and I do not think that on such an occasion as this, where we do not tread upon ground that is political, it would be other than right to congratulate, if one respectfully may, all those whose sincerity of judgment and whose broad vision have contributed to the happier turn of events that the affairs of India have taken during the last six or ten days. The Secretary of State, who is here with us today, the Viceroy, the Governors and the leaders of Congress in India, seem to me from many different angles and perhaps from many necessarily different approaches to the problem, to have co-operated in producing a result that is full of hope and that gives cause for great satisfaction to all who wish India well.

India is clearly in a state of transition, and the principal quality of that transition as I see it from the point of view of those of the British race whose good-fortune it is to be connected with her, is the change that is being made from power to influence. I do not think that any more significant transition is possible to conceive. It is a transition that as every wise parent knows well is always taking place within the family circle as sons and daughters reach maturity, and the wise parent is he who recognizes that the time for transition has come, and who does his or her best to make the transition smooth and successful. I dare to assert, without any fear of contradiction, that the success of whatever is done in India in bringing this new partnership into existence, will depend upon the confidence that men of our race who go to occupy positions such as Mr. Lumley is

soon to fill can inspire in their intentions and purpose to assist India along the full road to her self-development.

He will have in all his work the support and the guidance and assistance of Mrs. Lumley, of whom I can say nothing better than that she has, throughout all his married life so far as I know, been glad, able and anxious to give him every possible help in her power, and I have no doubt has protected him on times innumerable from making unwise and perhaps disastrous mistakes!

I would ask Mr. and Mrs. Lumley to believe that we feel that in trying to pay this tribute of honour to them, we are indeed honouring ourselves and Bombay, to which they will so shortly be going.

LORD LAMINGTON said: I am honoured in this distinguished company to be allowed to associate myself with this toast. I am allowed to do so as President of the East India Association and also because some thirty-five years or more ago I myself went to Bombay. As Lord Halifax has said, many changes have taken place between the days when I went out and the present day, but I hope there has been no change in the wonderful entrancing scene on arriving at Bombay. The beauty of the harbour, the palm trees and the gorgeous setting of Malabar Point are existing still, but there have been great changes otherwise. When I took up the Governorship the Governor in Council had full responsibility. Today there are Indian Ministers and the Governors have to accept their verdict on matters that have been transferred to them while relying solely on their own judgment as to those other matters on which they have full responsibility. In short, from the Viceroy's recent pronouncement, it is evident that Provincial autonomy is a reality. But I do not think the position of the Governor is lightened. He may have less routine, but he will be called to the constant exercise of tact, discretion and judgment.

Lord Halifax said he had known Mr. Lumley for twenty-five years. I can outdo Lord Halifax in this respect. I have known him almost from the time of his birth, and I can speak of his many qualifications for undertaking the very difficult and large responsibilities that lie before him. He has had great experience, served in the War, written a book on his regiment, served in Parliament, been private secretary to many Ministers. He has been a traveller, he knows the Empire thoroughly. Above all he is an honest worker. This quality and steadfastness of character will stand him in full stead in any time of difficulty.

What about the lady who accompanies him? I do not wish to describe her many attributes. I will state what I realized years ago, and what I have always said privately, that I consider her a woman in a thousand, and I believe that estimate is far too modest. I am quite confident that when they land at Bombay the people will with their intuitive insight realize their excellent qualities and become attached to them. I hope their tenure of office may bring to them good health and happiness, and prosperity to the Presidency entrusted to their care.

MR. ROGER LUMLEY, replying to the toast, said: Lord Halifax, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: I must thank you for the very kind welcome

which you have given to my wife and myself this afternoon, and for the good wishes which Lord Halifax and Lord Lamington have expressed to us on your behalf. I feel very grateful to Lord Halifax for making out such a good case about me. I hardly recognized what he said, but am none the less very grateful to him. Then I would like to say to you that I appreciate very much the honour which your three Societies have done me by inviting me to be your guest before I leave for Bombay. I value, in particular, the goodwill which lies behind your action, and it is the knowledge that the goodwill of so many of you is behind me that makes the task which lies ahead of me assume an inviting aspect, and I feel that I should be lacking in imagination if I could not confess to regard it with much anticipation.

In the first place I have already begun to feel that I am particularly fortunate in going to Bombay. Lord Lamington was almost the first person to tell me about Bombay: he told me that he envied me and that he wished he could start his time there all over again, and those who have been Governors of Bombay since his day, and whom I have had the privilege of meeting—particularly the present Governor and Lady Brabourne, whose assistance to my wife and myself in these last few months we have valued greatly—have all endorsed what Lord Lamington said: they have all made it clear to me that I shall be certain to find in Bombay a community whose friendliness is outstanding, amongst whom it will be a pleasure to live and with whom and for whom it will be a privilege to work. I have already begun to make the acquaintance of that friendly disposition at the hands of those from Bombay who have been over in this country in the last few months, and so I have begun to prove for myself the accuracy of the information which has been passed on to me from so many who have experienced it before me.

It is not therefore surprising that my wife and I—to say nothing of our not inconsiderable family which before very long will also be embarking in full complement for Bombay—should be looking forward to the experience which lies ahead of us with great interest.

I have had one brief experience of India and I am glad that I have had it, for it gives me this knowledge—that I am going now to a country which in some respects must surely be the most fascinating in the world. We here are proud of our own history: we have our own names, places and events which figure in its pages, and which we hold in veneration; but what can compare with the long impressive pageant of Indian history? We value our own literature and our own culture, but in India one learns that those things are entangled with the earliest beginnings of history, and our own seem curiously modern in comparison. It seems to me, too, that with its vastness and variety India has an unending series of scenes to unfold and subjects to awaken the interest. There will be many of you here who know far more about these matters than I do at present, but my first experience of India told me that it was a land in which one's interest could never wane.

But I must not beguile myself with the idea that I shall have the same leisure to wander and the same liberty to enquire as I had as a traveller

without responsibility. I embark upon what I expect may be an exacting task, but it is one which, even in a land with such a multitude of interests, is bound to absorb almost the whole of one's attention, seeing that at this time there is on the stage of Indian history a political situation of more than ordinary significance and opportunity.

Will you bear with me if I endeavour to put before you the perspective in which I see the present opportunity? One cannot make oneself acquainted with the history of India without feeling that it is only comparatively rarely that one can discern something of enduring benefit that has remained with the land or the peoples of India. No doubt the same comment could justly be made about the history of most other countries, and perhaps it is the length of Indian history and the magnificence of its pageantry that seems to bring out the contrast specially clearly in her case. But that is a consideration with which we in this country cannot remain unconcerned. It is now some 180 years since British influence first became the paramount influence in India. A short span that may be in an age-long history, but we of British race would be disappointed if what the British connection has done for India in the past or what it is trying to do for her now should prove not to be of enduring benefit. We may be too close and interested to give a balanced judgment about that now, though I feel confident that the work of those British men and women who have served India in the past will, when justly appraised, be ranked high among the services which one people has rendered to another. They have established the tradition that those who go out to India from this country make service to India their aim, and though the forms and methods may change that tradition remains.

It is, however, one of the characteristics of British rule, which makes it distinctive, that its form does not remain fixed and unalterable, awaiting a day when having served its turn, it is overthrown, perhaps violently, by some more vigorous system, but it contains within itself the muscles for growth and development. The experience of that has been ours in this country for many centuries: it is the experience of the Dominions: it is being shared with India. There has now come a stage in the development of British rule in India when, over a wide field, the responsibility for the good government of the peoples of British India has been transferred to Indian Ministers. It is a big step which has been made. If we in this country have attained some degree of skill in the working of a system of responsible government, it has taken us a long time, and in the course of it we have had to surmount many difficulties. I do not imagine, therefore, that this is an easy time for those who are, or will be, engaged in the working of the new system of government in India, whether Governors or Indian Ministers and legislators.

I cannot help hoping that with our own experience behind us, those here at home will be tolerant with those of us of both races who will be trying that system in a new field. It is democracy which the British Parliament has bequeathed to India, and yet the history of Europe in the last decade should warn us that that is a gift which is not bound for a certainty to be a blessing. It is by no means easy to work: it needs, if it is to

work, the genius of co-operation. Nations of the West have not all been able to find that way to make it succeed. Can India and Great Britain, in partnership, supply the ingredients for success? The answer to that question at present can only be this: that on all those concerned with the new Constitution lies the responsibility and the opportunity to make it a success. I can speak only for myself, but I can say that I enter upon the task that has been entrusted to me with the knowledge that the new system means a big change in the method of government, and with the clear intention of contributing all that will lie in my power to make that change a success.

It is surely not a time in which inspiration to great efforts can be lacking. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that India stands on the threshold of an opportunity that has not before been hers. To Indian statesmen belongs the task of ensuring that out of that opportunity will come enduring benefit to the peoples of India. To the other partner in the enterprise, Great Britain, the incentive is no less. On Great Britain lies the responsibility for having created this opportunity for India and so to her and her servants comes the incentive to do all that can be done to make it a success. The reputation of both races before the world is thus engaged: the goal for each is the same, to make a success of this new opportunity. An honourable partnership I believe that could be, and if there are those who would rather be alone than have a partner, I would make this observation to them (and it is one which perhaps the Foreign Secretary would be prepared to endorse): If one stands, say, in Bombay, whether one looks to the East or to the West or even North, the world does not appear so brimful of co-operation and goodwill that it is so safe in these days to stand alone. An honourable partnership may be both the safest and speediest way to make success out of this opportunity.

For my part I am glad that all parties in India are now prepared to make trial of this opportunity. I shall be happy if in my sphere I am able to help to prove that the intention of an honourable partnership can be made a reality. The opening of a new reign coincides with the beginning of a new opportunity in India. That both may prosper must be the heartfelt wish of all of us here.

Before I sit down I would like once again to thank the three Societies which have honoured me in this fashion. The East India Association, the Royal Empire Society: those titles are solemn reminders to me of the gravity and dignity of my task, but you have, perhaps for my special comfort, co-opted a more homely thought: you have taken unto yourselves for this occasion the Society of Yorkshiremen in London. I am grateful for that. I have had the honour to represent in Parliament two Yorkshire boroughs, and to both of them, particularly to the capital of our county, I owe a great deal, and I feel I am bound to miss that steady support in the field, that accurate bowling and occasional hard-hitting with which Yorkshiremen are wont to conduct their political operations. But I am glad to know that there is in Bombay a strong branch of the Society of Yorkshiremen, and I shall hope to enjoy with them that mutual encouragement which I have valued so much in the past. To all three Societies, therefore, I would like to express my grateful thanks. I can assure you that I shall

carry away with me a memory of your kindness and the encouragement of your good wishes, and both will stand me in good stead.

Sir ARCHIBALD WEIGALL in proposing the toast of the Chairman said: It is peculiarly appropriate that any outgoing Governor should be entertained within the walls of this Imperial Home where every Dominion and every Colonial Government overseas is represented, and we can never forget India in this building by virtue of the fact that we have two beautiful rooms given to us by the Government of India. All I would say from the Royal Empire Society to Mr. and Mrs. Lumley is this: that they must have difficult times, when they are depressed, but I want them to believe that they will always have the sympathetic interest of twenty thousand Fellows of the Royal Empire Society during the whole of their reign in Bombay.

Now for the Chairman. I like to think of the Edward Wood of thirty years ago who sat with me on the back benches of the House of Commons, and even in those days was able to project his great personality upon his young fellow-Members. He and the present Speaker of the House of Commons were really responsible for the establishment of the present Agricultural Committee in the House, which through all these years has played such an important part in Parliamentary and national life. Since then he has filled various high Offices of State with great dignity and great discretion and, above all, with great moral courage. I always think the most remarkable thing about Lord Halifax is the variety of angles from which he has attacked life, and he has adorned them all. He is the Admirable Crichton of our public life today, because it does not matter whether he is in the company of distinguished diplomats or divines, bibulous bucolics, flippant fox-hunters or serious soldiers, he is at home with all of them, and today in a great company of intelligent Imperialists, who is better qualified to preside than Lord Halifax? For all this we envy, we admire and we thank him, and we show it by drinking his health.

Lord HALIFAX: I thank Sir Archibald most warmly for his kindliness. Like Mr. Lumley, I hardly recognized the portrait, and I became slightly anxious when Sir Archibald began "thirty years ago," but at least he had the grace to stop before going into too many details. I can quite honestly say that I have required no thanks for being in the Chair today, and that I, and I think all of us, will take away something we could have bought in no other way—the memory of the speech to which we have listened from Mr. Lumley, which amply justified the confidence with which we drank his health.

THE SEVENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1937

THE year almost coincided with the first twelve months of the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow, and until the closing weeks was marked by a political repose such as the country had not known since the Great War. The introduction on April 1 of the first great advances in the Indian Constitution under the Act of 1935 was preceded by a general election in the Provinces under a franchise so vastly extended that the number of voters was estimated at about thirty-six million. The contests were peacefully conducted, and in six of the eleven Provinces of British India—Burma now being separated—the Congress Party gained majorities. The refusal of the All-India Congress Committee to permit the acceptance of Cabinet office without the obtainment of certain pledges from the Governors led to an impasse, since H.M. Government held that such pledges could not be given consistently with the provisions of the Act. At the same time a situation developed in Waziristan which demanded a larger concentration of troops on the Frontier than for some years past.

These events were followed with the closest interest by the Association. Before the year under report began there had been farewells to Lord and Lady Linlithgow. Similarly the Association took early occasion on the return of the late Viceroy, now raised to a marquissate, to welcome Lord and Lady Willingdon. The conversazione given at Grosvenor House on May 22 for this purpose was the largest and most representative reception in our annals. More than 450 guests were received by the President and Lady Lamington, and most of them were also greeted by Lord and Lady Willingdon, who thus renewed a contact with many old friends. Lord Zetland voiced in eloquent words the welcome of the Association, and Lord Willingdon, in reply, made a brief survey of some of the main problems of his administration, this being his first public pronouncement on Indian affairs since his

return home. The great esteem and popularity enjoyed by the ex-Viceroy and his wife were reflected in the insistent demands for a few words from Lady Willingdon, with which she gracefully complied.

DEFENCE PROBLEMS

The Secretary of State took the occasion to speak of the value of the work of the Association in providing a non-party platform for the views of all interested in Indian problems. He expressed the opinion that without the educational work the Association did in this connection it would hardly have been possible to have secured with that measure of assent which it ultimately received the passage of the great Act of 1935. While the placing of the measure on the Statute Book may be said to have ended the long period of political controversy on Indian policy in this country, there remained much further work to be done in political education by means of our open platform for discussion. It was now possible to examine these questions with greater detachment, and your Council continued to provide opportunities for the purpose.

The lecture programme for the year was begun by a most valuable survey of "The Defence Problems of India, now and when the Reforms Materialize," by Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, who had retired a few months before from the post of Commander-in-Chief in India. While careful to explain that he had a very strong faith in the great experiment of self-government about to be undertaken, he surveyed the difficulties in the way of the vital process of Indianization of the defence forces, and urged the need to apply the test of efficiency. Lord Winterton, M.P., well known to have closely studied this problem, was in the Chair, and valuable contributions were made to the discussion by General Sir George Barrow, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P. (the Under-Secretary of State for India), and Sir Abdul Qadir.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The approach of the appointed day (April 1) for the greater part of the India Act to come into force led the Council to arrange for a series of discussions on the immediate problems thereby presented. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who had recently joined the

India Council, read a thoughtful paper on January 19, surveying the position in South India on the eve of autonomy. The meeting had the advantage of hearing the opinions of two ex-Governors of Madras, Lord Goschen, speaking from the Chair, and the Hon. Sir George Stanley, while Sir Hopetoun Stokes outlined the financial measures which had been taken by the Madras Government to conserve resources for the new administration. In the following month the observations of a widely travelled and experienced author were presented in a paper by Mr. Basil Mathews, who had been touring in India in connection with a World Conference of Y.M.C.A.'s held in the State of Mysore by invitation of H.H. the Maharaja. As his return from India was unavoidably delayed, the paper was read on his behalf by the Rev. W. Paton. In the words of the Chairman, Sir Frederick Whyte, we were presented with a rapid cinematograph picture, touching many subjects, and describing many personalities. The lecture constituted the essence of a book by Mr. Mathews which the Oxford University Press has published under the title of *India Reveals Herself*.

The outstanding event in connection with the constitutional changes was the meeting on March 9, when Mr. John Coatman read a well-informed and candid paper on "India on the Eve of Autonomy." Lord Halifax presided, and his notable speech on the application of the democratic principle to India in a time of anti-democratic dictatorships was broadcast in the Empire and United States programmes, and partly reproduced in the Home news bulletin at night. The occasion was also marked by a breezy and realistic speech from the High Commissioner for India, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who has shown a keen interest in our activities. The Under-Secretary of State for India, Mr. Butler, in closing the meeting, congratulated the Association, "which, through a very difficult period of controversy, has managed to present both sides of the case through a number of years."

Some important general considerations in relation to the Reforms were brought under consideration. Sir James Crerar examined the prospects for the future of the Indian Civil Service in a paper read on December 8, and dwelt on the valuable part the British members of the Service may be expected to play under the

changed conditions. Lord Willingdon was in the Chair, and his speech stressing the importance of maintaining an efficient and impartial Civil Service as essential, if the experiment now embarked upon is to succeed, was widely reported in the Press and made the subject of much editorial comment. It may be remarked in this connection that not the least valuable part of the educational work of the Association is the attention which its lectures and discussions receive from the Press, both at home and in India.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

In May, with Sir Francis Younghusband in the Chair, Mr. K. M. Panikkar addressed a social meeting at the Rubens Hotel on the subject of social reform as affected by the new constitutional order. He made a strong plea for Hindu society to utilize the opportunity now provided to reorganize its social life on a purposeful and rational basis, to make it react to the ethical sense and social vision of the thinking sections of the community.

The part which Indian women are now taking in the developing life of their country is of great significance. In June the Association was addressed thereon by Dr. Ruth Young, Principal of the Lady Hardinge Women's Medical College, Delhi. She described from personal observation the progress made in the past quarter of a century, but showed that much remains to be done, and urged that English women in the future should be content to be friends and supporters rather than leaders and organizers in tackling and solving the problems before the educated women of India. Lady Halifax was in the Chair, and the discussion was conducted almost entirely by ladies, including the veteran Dr. Margaret Balfour, Mrs. Rama Rau (just back from a visit to India), and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.

It was at the instance of Miss Rathbone that a meeting was held in October in the appropriate setting of Bedford College to consider the question of women's education with more particular reference to the needs of the Central College for Women at Nagpur, which is under the principalship of Miss Ranga Rau, an old Bedfordian. Tea was kindly provided by Miss Jebb, the Principal of Bedford College. Lady Gowan, wife of the Governor of

the Central Provinces, told the story of how the Nagpur College had grown from small beginnings, and several other ladies expressed their sympathy with this important enterprise. Mr. Butler, whose hereditary connection with the Central Provinces is well known, was in the Chair, and a weighty speech was made by Sir George Anderson, late Commissioner for Education with the Government of India.

EDUCATION AND RURAL PROGRESS

In the following month (November 10) Sir George expounded to the Association the adverse effects of the existing secondary system of education in India on rural development and in increasing unemployment among the middle classes. Lord Hailey's arrival from Geneva, where he had been serving as Chairman of the Mandates Commission, was delayed, and the President took the Chair in his absence; but he came straight from Victoria Station before the end of the meeting and contributed to a discussion which was mainly conducted by educational experts.

The great place which rural reconstruction now has in the public mind was reflected in the meeting on May 13, when Sir Edward Blunt, late Finance Member of the United Provinces Government, gave an account of Government activity there in the matter of rural development. His old Service colleague, Sir Atul Chatterjee, was in the Chair, and light was thrown on the subject by Sir Selwyn Fremantle, Mr. C. F. Strickland, and others.

OTHER PAPERS

Of more general topics discussed that of most popular interest was the cinema in India. On April 13 Mr. Dewan Sharar gave a valuable exposition of the scope and possibilities of this instrument of amusement and education in India. His advocacy of British and Indian co-operation in the fuller development of the Indian film industry had the support of three outstanding leaders of the British industry, who expressed their opinions in writing, and of Mr. Butler, the Chairman, who also explained the constitutional position as between the Centre and the Provinces in respect to the subject.

Personal experiences and observations were set forth in Sir Henry Holland's breezy account, given on July 7, of his thirty-five years in Baluchistan as a medical agent of the C.M.S., and with the story of the Quetta earthquake and the medical relief afforded by the mission hospital as a background. Sir Norman Cater, late Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, was in the Chair, and expressed his gratification that a few weeks earlier Dr. Holland had been knighted, being the first British missionary in India to be thus honoured. Other old friends, such as Sir Frank Hudson and Sir Denys Bray, paid tribute to Sir Henry's personality and his amazing record of successful ophthalmic operations.

In accordance with a decision of the Council to hear the views from time to time of eminent foreign authorities, the autumn session opened on October 13 with a thoughtful paper on "Administration in Indo-China, with Indian Comparisons," by Monsieur C. A. Le Neveu, Director-General of the Union-Coloniale Française. In the absence through illness of the Countess of Bessborough, Dr. Drummond Shiels, formerly Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India and later for the Colonies, was in the Chair, and an interesting discussion on some of the suggestions made by the lecturer was contributed to by Lord Askwith and Sir Atul Chatterjee.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

In addition to the reception to Lord and Lady Willingdon already mentioned, the social occasions of the year included a delightful afternoon party given by the President and Lady Lamington on the Terrace of the House of Lords on July 17, when we were favoured with one of the few fine days of a showery London season. Many of the guests welcomed the opportunity of being taken over the House of Lords in small parties by the host and other Peers. On January 27 Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Trade Commissioner for Mysore in London, was the host at a reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, under the chairmanship of Lord Goschen. Mr. H. D. Rice, the Deputy Trade Commissioner, presented and explained a film entitled "Mysore Today," which was the more appreciated from the fact that a number of the guests had had the opportunity of meeting the greatly esteemed Maha-

raja of Mysore in the previous summer on the occasion of his first visit to Europe.

The Mysore Government kindly contributed £50 to the cost of the function. The fifth annual grant of £50 by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for hospitality purposes was received. At the end of the year the Council was co-operating with other Empire societies in the arrangements for the Coronation and Empire Day Banquet at Grosvenor House.

MEMBERSHIP

The number of members elected, 107, was the largest for many years past. Losses by death, resignation, and revision of the roll leave the net gain 47, as compared with 35 in the previous year. The net increase in the past three years has been 120. The heavy obituary list of 26 members includes the names of H.H. the Nawab of Chitral; Sir Arthur Hirtzel, who had filled the Permanent Under-Secretaryship for India with so much distinction; Sir Reginald Craddock, M.P., who frequently took part in our discussions; Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, who had retired only a few months from the High Commissionership for India; Sir Charles McLeod and Sir A. Hamilton Grant, both of whom had presided at meetings of the Association in recent years; Sir Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, late member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and one of the most influential political figures of his day in India; Sir Frederick Nicholson, the venerable pioneer of co-operative rural credit in the land of his adoption; Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, the prince of Bengal industrialists; Sir Dhunji-bhoy Bomanji, the Parsee patriot and philanthropist; Lady Simeon and Lady Scott Moncrieff. Special mention should be made of Sir William Ovens Clark, formerly Chief Judge of what was then the Punjab Chief Court. He served on the Council after his retirement for more than a quarter of a century, and on the rare occasions of joining in discussions he did so with great effect.

The list of new elections affords striking testimony to the wide appeal which the Association makes to the friends of India of the most varied schools of thought. In particular the Council welcomes the membership of the young Maharaja of Gwalior,

who entered upon full ruling powers in the autumn, and whose illustrious father was a warm supporter of the Association over a long period of years; also those of their Highnesses the Maharaja of Dharampur and the Mir of Khairpur. Of other additions to the roll mention may be made of Sir Firozkhan Noon, the High Commissioner; the Dowager Marchioness of Reading; Sir Robert Reid, the new Governor of Assam; Mr. Roger Lumley, the Governor-designate of Bombay; the Lady Monk Bretton and Lady Hirtzel; Sir Archibald Carter (formerly of the India Office), the Permanent Secretary of the Admiralty; and, among many other distinguished public men, Sir Henry Sharp, Sir James Fitzpatrick, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Major-General E. D. Giles, Sir Alfred Parsons, and Sir Gilbert Jackson.

THE COUNCIL

The Marquis of Willingdon has followed the example of all ex-Viceroy in recent years in accepting the office of Vice-President. Sir Patrick Fagan, after some years of valued service, did not seek re-election to the Council at the annual meeting, owing to many other engagements. The Council has been strengthened by the co-option of the Dowager Lady Reading, Lord Hailey, and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. 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 Hon. Secretary. The following members of the Council retire by rotation and are eligible for re-election:

Sir Alfred Chatterton.
Sir Montagu Webb.
Sir Hubert Carr.
Sir Atul Chatterjee.
Sir Amberson Marten.
Mr. S. P. Rice.
Mr. Hugh Molson.

FINANCE

One life membership was taken up during the year, and in accordance with the decision of the Council a few years ago the subscription was placed to the reserve in the Post Office Savings

Bank. The great improvements made in the decorations, seating and general amenities of the Caxton Hall, where our public meetings are usually held, have been accompanied by a much increased scale of charges for the hire of rooms; and in this respect the cost of our meetings has been almost doubled. An active member, in forwarding his subscription, wrote that "No other Society gives so much for so small an annual subscription." But the resources of the Association have to be husbanded with care, and the co-operation of members in further increasing our numbers and thereby extending the usefulness of the Association will be most welcome to the Council.

The President and Council desire again to express their thanks to the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., for his unremitting activities in promoting the welfare and progress of the Association. His energy in attracting new members has met with gratifying results, and a special debt is owed to him alike for the part that he has taken in arranging co-operation with the other Empire Societies on the social side of our programme, and for his success in procuring distinguished and expert lecturers and speakers for our discussions.

JAMES MACKENNA,
Vice-Chairman of Council.
FRANK H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

SEVENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

THE Seventieth Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, June 28, 1937. The President, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the members present included:

The Hon. Sir Zafrullah Khan, K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., The Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Amberson Marten, 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., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Lady (Thomas) Bennett, Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Alexander M. MacDougall, Sir W. Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Albion Banerjee, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lady Keymer and Miss Keymer, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. Alfred Sabonadière, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Mr. Rajinder Berry, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Dewar, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss L. M. Gunter, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. R. Littlehailes, C.I.E., Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mrs. Clifton Allen, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, and Sir Frank Brown (hon. sec.).

The CHAIRMAN in opening the proceedings said: The Report of our activities last year has been circulated, and I hope has been read by Members, as it gives a very clear account of the proceedings of the twelve months.

Since the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, India has happily ceased to be a subject of political controversy at home, but it is none the less important on that account to maintain to the full the work we did during the period of controversy by providing a non-partisan platform for expounding and discussing the problems of India. In this connection I would like to refer to the pronouncement recently made by the Viceroy. We know that in certain quarters there was some impatience at his not making a statement on the question raised by the Congress Party as to the constitutional relations between Ministers and Governors under given circumstances. But I think all will agree that Lord Linlithgow has shown great insight and almost intuitive judgment at the present time. He selected the right moment at which to deliver his message to India, a message which seems to have satisfied those who genuinely wish to see the new Constitution work. It is a pronouncement well characterized by *The Times* as a final and authoritative interpretation of the intentions of the Government of India, and I think that is a very fair description of it.

Our topics of discussion during the twelve months covered by the Report were remarkably varied, and social and educational problems had as full

places in our proceedings as political and constitutional matters. We have also this summer had a full share in the special arrangements made in London for the Coronation period.

We have entered the eighth decade of our existence with at least undiminished activity, and enjoy a prosperity which is reflected in the continual growth of our membership. You will see from the Report that 107 members were recruited during the last twelve months. We take pride not only in the actual number of members, but also in the fact that those of position and good judgment come to be enrolled in our ranks. Members are ordinarily elected at meetings of the Council, but today you will be asked to elect a substantial number of members whose names have been received since the last meeting of the Council. I am happy to say that at the head of this list is the name of H.H. the Prince of Berar, whose visit to this country with Her Highness the Princess has been so welcome to us all, and who were the guests of honour at the Garden Party at Great Fosters, so kindly given to the Association by Mr. Hancock.

The report of our Auditors, Mr. John de La Valette and Mr. Way, shows a gratifying increase in the revenue from annual subscriptions. It states that the increase in membership has been effected at no additional outlay other than the natural increase in expenditure arising therefrom.

The remaining activities for the present season include our co-operation in a farewell luncheon to Mr. Roger Lumley, the Governor-designate of Bombay, and a lecture on the Indian Population Problem. Arrangements are in hand for the autumn season, and we shall do all that we can to maintain the standard of interesting subjects and quality of presentation of them at which we aimed in the past year.

I am happy to say that Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes has consented to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts, and I now call upon him to do so.

SIR FREDERICK SYKES: It is a great pleasure to me to have the honour and privilege of proposing the adoption of the Report for the year: a year of exceptional value and historic interest. It was only a few days before the Coronation actually took place that the year expired, and all the arrangements for the Coronation and the Imperial Conference had been put in train during the period under review. Both of these events have left such an indelible mark upon the history of the British Commonwealth that it is almost impossible for us as yet to assess what their value will be, but we can at least say that they have shown the immense strength of the foundations upon which the Empire rests.

The objects of this Association, as we know, are to help to promote the welfare of all classes in India, and to co-operate with every other society or body, official or unofficial, which has the same objects in view. All those who have read the Annual Report will join with me in congratulating the Council and all concerned upon the high merit of the year's work towards this end and also upon the spirit in which that work has been carried out.

The year has been notable both for the meetings and for the social gatherings which have brought together so many people with first-hand

knowledge of various Indian problems. The merits and value of this Association are twofold: (1) in getting together people to discuss the problems of the day directly concerning India and Great Britain, and in an impartial way to try and get at the real facts and truth; and (2) in our social gatherings to talk over all the intricacies of the subjects which meet us at every turn both in India and in this country in connection with India.

Very much has been done and is being done, but I should like to endorse the Council's Report in saying that there is an immense amount more still to do, and further to say that although our numbers have increased very valuably this year, yet it is important that we should all do what we can amongst our friends to increase that number as we go along. We can be assured that the Council and the Association as a whole will carry on as it has done in the past and be of great value in the sphere which it has marked out for itself. The world is shrinking owing to the increasing speed of communications; as it shrinks the necessity for the constant interchange of knowledge and facts is growing in importance rather than diminishing.

The year has also been a fortunate one in those who have joined the Association. Amongst them are the names of the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Dharampur and the Mir of Khaipur, and now the Chairman has told us that the Prince of Berar has also joined. I would only say how we as members of the Association, in addition to the Council, wish to welcome all those who join.

The fact also that our finances are in good order is a sign that there is an increasing knowledge of the importance of the work which the Association is carrying out. I think we must congratulate ourselves upon the work which the Honorary Secretary has done to bring all this about. (Applause.)

In conclusion I am sure you would not wish me to omit to mention how warmly we congratulate Sir Frank Brown upon the honour which His Majesty the King has conferred upon him in the Coronation List. (Applause.) I am sure that no honour has been more highly merited. We feel a special gratification and a little reflected glory in participating in the event. (Applause.)

I have now, ladies and gentlemen, the greatest pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Report and Accounts for the year 1936-7.

Sir ZAFRULLAH KHAN seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

The DOWAGER MARCHIONESS OF READING: To me has been allotted the most pleasant of this afternoon's duties. I have been asked to propose the re-election of the President, whom I know you will all agree with me is not only deeply respected and highly valued, but, if I may say so, dearly and affectionately believed in by everyone who has come into contact with him.

The services of Lord Lamington to the Association are too many for me to enumerate. They are very varied, and I am afraid very often they make too heavy a tax on him. But at the same time I know you are all fully

conscious of all that our President has done for us in the past, and of all that I think his wife is stopping him doing in the future.

I am not well read, but I do know that silence is an ornament and a great adornment to all women, and so although I realize I should not be here at all proposing this resolution, I hope you will allow me to put before you the re-election of a very dear President, who I hope is going to be stronger and better in view of his recent operation. (Applause.)

SIR HENRY SHARP: On me has been conferred the honour of seconding this resolution. I am sure that all of us here know and appreciate Lord Lamington's devotion to the cause of India and his great interest in the manifold problems connected therewith, so I need not take up your time by adding anything to what Lady Reading has so admirably expressed.

I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Carried unanimously.

LORD LAMINGTON: From year to year I have been accustomed to say that I think you must be weary of me as your President, and I am always prepared to retire when you indicate that wish on your part. I have had a distinct compliment today by the vote in my favour, proposed by Lady Reading in such very kindly terms, so that I do not feel at all inclined to resign. She has won for herself such distinction in India, and also for work which she has done in this country from time to time, that I think it is a great compliment to me to have my presidency proposed once again by Lady Reading.

I also thank Sir Henry Sharp for the kindly way in which he seconded that motion.

I do feel it is a distinct compliment and a privilege to preside over this very important Association, and therefore I should be very reluctant indeed to lay down my term of office, but that time will have to come soon, I presume. Meantime I am very grateful to you for the confidence you have shown in me and for your shortsightedness to my many shortcomings.

I thank all the Members of the Council for their constant interest and attendance at the meetings of the Council. They all attend regularly. And as for my friend, Sir Frank Brown, I have not words in which to eulogize him sufficiently. I should like to thank also my old friend, Mr. King, who does so much good work in the office. (Applause.) I do value very much indeed the fact that you have thought fit to ask me once again to be your President. I appreciate the compliment, and I assure you I will do my best as far as I can in the interests of the Association. (Applause.)

ELECTION AND RE-ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

SIR JAMES MACKENNA: I have very much pleasure in proposing for election as Members of the Council, after co-option:

Lord Hailey, The Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar.

No words of mine are necessary to commend these three names to the

Association. We all know the very deep interest which they one and all take in the affairs of India; and might I suggest from the foretaste we have had this afternoon of the eloquence of one of them, we hope that the Marchioness of Reading may take part in some of our future discussions.

For re-election I have to propose the names of seven good men and true, who have borne the heat of the day for many years, and I understand are quite willing to go on doing so. Their names are:

Sir Alfred Chatterton, Sir Montagu Webb, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Amberson Marten, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. Hugh Molson.

I propose the election and re-election of these ten names.

Mrs. A. M. T. JACKSON: I have much pleasure in seconding the election and re-election of these gentlemen and this lady. Sir James MacKenna has said all that is necessary, I think, so I need not take up more of your time.

Carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

Sir AMBERSON MARTEN: I have very great pleasure in proposing the names of the following thirteen candidates for election:

H.H. the Prince of Berar, Raja Balbhadra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Keonjhar, Rajkumar Laxmi Narayan Bhanja Deo of Keonjhar, Sir Maurice Gwyer, K.C.B., K.C.S.I. (Chief Justice designate of India), Sir Robert Douglas Bell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret'd.), Dame Katharine Furse, G.B.E., R.R.C., Major Everard Huddleston Gastrell, O.B.E. (Indian Political Service), Mr. Ardeshir Darabshaw Shroff (stock and finance broker), Mr. Mutazz Obaydor-Rehman (publisher and bookseller), Dewan Bahadur Nuggihalli Narasim Ayyangar (Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Mysore), Mr. George Franey, O.B.E. (journalist), Mr. B. N. Anantani (barrister-at-law), Mr. Bal Manand Piplani (research student).

I have no doubt it is owing to the energy of our Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, that we have such a good list of new members, and I have very great pleasure and confidence in recommending them to you.

Sir JOHN CUMMING: I have very much pleasure in seconding the motion proposed by Sir Amberson Marten. The names of this distinguished lady and these twelve gentlemen are all names of those who have the interest of the Association at heart, and I am sure on behalf of the Association we should all welcome their membership.

Carried unanimously.

MATERNAL WELFARE WORK IN BOMBAY*

By LADY COWASJI JEHANGIR

In order to trace the progress of social service in the Bombay Presidency, I will refer to a few organizations which have been brought into closer co-operation by the formation of a central council, composed of representatives of institutions whose activities relate, in some way or other, to maternal and infant welfare and public health.

They are:

(a) The Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society, established in 1921.

(b) The Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association, established in 1924.

(c) The Society for the Study and Promotion of Family Hygiene, established in 1931; and

(d) The Bombay Mofussil Maternity and Child Welfare and Health Council, established in January, 1936.

I will first briefly allude to infant welfare work in Bombay city, its establishment and progress during the last sixteen years.

In India the first beginnings of maternity and child welfare work were made as early as the '60's of the last century, though organized work was started only in 1921, when Lady Lloyd, soon after her arrival in Bombay, appointed a Ladies' Committee called the Infant Welfare Centres Committee, with the object of opening welfare centres in different parts of the city. The Committee thus formed opened two centres. It was, however, felt that if the good work was to be carried on on a permanent and extensive scale, large funds should be raised and a corporate body formed, with the aim and object of promoting infant welfare in the Presidency. A sum of Rs. 15 lacs, or a little more than £100,000, was collected by Lady Lloyd and her Committee and handed over to the new Society, incorporated on October 23, 1922.

The newly formed Society, known as the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society, took over the two existing centres and established seven new ones and one crèche in the first six years. A few figures will illustrate the rapid progress made.

The Infant Welfare Centres are run on more or less the same lines as similar institutions in this country or elsewhere—viz., that babies up to the age of five years are admitted to the centre, where

* Based on a lecture delivered on May 26 before the Birth Control International Information Centre and the Indian Village Welfare Association. Lady Hartog presided.

they are weighed, bathed, provided with milk, examined and treated for minor ailments by the lady doctor in charge.

In the year 1922, 1,798 new babies were admitted to the centres, of whom 182 died in the first year, while in 1935, 5,823 new babies were admitted, of whom only 81 died.

From the statistics of the Society it would appear that there is a progressive decline in the death rate among the babies attending the centres, and the value of the work becomes strikingly evident in the great reduction of infant mortality in the City of Bombay, which in 1922 was in the neighbourhood of 550 per 1,000 births, but today is almost 250 per 1,000 births. The work of the Society during the last fifteen years has contributed to a fair extent to this decline in the death rate amongst infants. The daily attendance for milk and baths at the various centres today is nearly 500.

The second stage of their work was the diversion of attention to maternal welfare in greater detail and the establishment in 1927 of separate ante-natal clinics.

In the first year 736 new expectant mothers attended these clinics, while in 1928 this number was doubled; in 1929 it was trebled, and the number continues to increase each year. Their report states that the total number of visits paid to these mothers in their homes by trained health visitors was 33,414 in 1936.

The third stage was the introduction of anti-venereal treatment as an extension of the ante-natal work. It was first included at one centre, and later extended to all the other centres. This work is in a large measure preventive and the diseases are amenable to treatment, resulting in saving children from congenital diseases, blindness, etc. The introduction of this treatment has saved the lives of many mothers not only in childbirth but from complications of pregnancy and its consequences.

The fourth stage was the opening of a Maternity Home in conjunction with the Bombay Port Trust, and by opening this home a complete unit of welfare work was set up, with baby clinics, ante-natal and post-natal clinics, anti-venereal clinics, and a maternity home, all housed in one building.

This home was opened with four beds, but to meet the increasing demand was extended to fifteen beds. The Society, emboldened by the success of their first complete unit, opened a second maternity home with nine beds, and a third one in 1932; both these homes, owing to their popularity and the demand for admission, had to be extended, and they now have a total accommodation of thirty-two beds each. Almost all the available beds have been occupied since they were opened. During the short period of their existence no less than 14,281 have been admitted to these homes.

The propaganda among mothers, encouraging them to take

advantage of hospital facilities, is gaining ground, and the report states that 6,166 mothers availed themselves of maternity institutions during 1936 as compared with 135 in 1922.

It will be seen that the Society has been successful in sending illiterate and ignorant women to hospitals, and the dais (untrained nurses) have consequently been losing ground, as about 70 per cent. of the births in Bombay City now take place in maternity institutions, and every year a larger number of women are trained for the Midwives Diploma.

The fifth stage was the establishment of a Public Health School, with a view to giving the midwife the further training of a health visitor's course in order to enable her to be in charge of a centre where medical facilities were not easily available.

What I have described is, of course, the efforts of a private Society, in addition to which the Government, the Municipality, and other public and private organizations have free hospitals and maternity homes which are equally popular.

Now with regard to the villages, comparing the help and facilities provided for those in the City of Bombay and other large towns, practically nothing is available in the villages where 88 per cent. of the population live.

India is a ruralized country, and will remain so as long as agriculture forms the main occupation of the masses. There are 2,316 towns as compared to 685,665 villages. The cities in India are, on the whole, fairly well provided with medical and maternity relief and proper sanitation, but in rural areas it is not so.

The Bombay Presidency is divided into 19 districts, each district has from 7 to 10 talukas, each taluka has 100 to 150 villages, and the population in each village varies from 400 to 1,000.

In each taluka (a hundred villages) there is a dispensary run by the Government or the local body. It is clear that one medical officer for over 100 villages is quite hopelessly insufficient. To take an instance, Sholapur district has 7 talukas and about 700 villages, each with an area of 4,521 square miles and a population of about 600,000. For rural medical relief in the whole district there are only 7 dispensaries and 1 midwife. This works out to 1 dispensary for 648 square miles and 1 medical officer for 85,714 persons.

Notwithstanding the mythical wealth of India one reads of in story-books, India is a very poor country. Most of the villagers have barely more than one meal a day, and that the least nourishing, while their clothing is insufficient to protect them from climatic changes.

His poverty makes the Indian villager a helpless being incapable of assisting himself, even in essential matters like medical relief and maternity and child welfare.

Ignorance, poverty, and insanitation are beyond description, and the houses are totally unsuited for maternity work. No description of the rooms they occupy can convey the actual state of affairs from the sanitary point of view, when you find men, women, children, and animals sharing the same room at night. Maternity work is thus very difficult, and what mothers survive is through sheer good luck, and due more to non-interference rather than to the knowledge of maternity work.

The funds at the disposal of any progressive government are somewhat limited, but in India there are hardly any spare funds for the most urgent and crying needs.

I could go on enumerating at great length under what appalling conditions the villager exists, but I will pass on to a brighter chapter and describe how the first beginning has been made, however small it may be, to improve the prevailing conditions.

The Bombay Mofussil Maternity Child Welfare and Health Council so recently as January, 1936, started the organization of maternity and child welfare work in small towns and villages. As the Presidency is divided into districts for revenue purposes we utilize as one of our units a district where a local district council is established, and the small towns and villages work under this Committee. In the course of the last twelve months, 23 maternity centres and 27 infant welfare centres have been established in towns and in villages. There are no previous figures to compare with, and the work is organized on the lines of the Infant Welfare Society, which I have just described to you.

I must not fail to pay a tribute to the various mission societies in India who have for many years done a large amount of pioneer work for medical relief, maternity, and child welfare in the remotest parts of the country. They were the first to establish contact with the poorest people, and have given as much assistance as their time, labour, and money permitted them to do. Their work still continues, and relates more to the curative side. We, however, work in the closest co-operation with the missions, and wherever new centres are established their aid and assistance is always gratefully appreciated.

The attendance at these newly opened clinics is increasing day by day and being appreciated by the villagers. By way of illustration, the work in the town and villages of Satara and Khed-Shivapur, near Poona, under the Poona Seva-Sedan, is some of the best of its kind. There is a maternity home, an infant welfare centre, a public health school, and a dai training class. All the workers are voluntary, except the health visitors and midwives, who are paid through the Council. The whole work is a voluntary effort for the social uplift of the poorest people of the Presidency.

The ultimate object is to try and provide every village with a

trained nurse-midwife. At the present moment and for many years to come this will be impossible of achievement. Under these circumstances the next best thing is to make the best use of the material that is available by giving training to the dais in as simple a manner as possible.

The general impression is that all cases of confinements in the villages are attended by the dais. This is not so. In villages, and to a less extent also in some cities, the older women of the family help the younger women, or call in neighbours who are willing to do the service free.

The dais are sent for only when the cases do not end normally. In other words, in villages every grown-up woman is a potential dai. From what has been said it will be seen that the dais learn the business by precept or often by instinct. In spite of this, in villages one meets with some very experienced dais who are able to conduct successfully in their own way even the commoner abnormal cases.

The scheme which we have at the present moment, and which is proving satisfactory, is to open training classes for these women in every district. A large number of the older women have been given some elementary knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, while the younger ones have been kept attached to maternity homes for a period of about two to three months, where they have had the opportunity of witnessing maternity work and conducting several cases. This is what is known as primary and secondary training. A scheme is now under consideration to lay down a uniform standard of training for a minimum period of about six months, at the end of which an examination will be held. Those passing it successfully will attain a certificate to differentiate them from those who have had no training at all. This will enable every village to have semi-trained persons, while every district will have a complete unit, with a maternity home, health visitors, who will, as time and money permit, supervise the work of the dais in the villages.

I would just like to make a reference to public health and to another institution—namely, the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association, whose activities during the last twelve years have been instrumental in awakening interest among the masses on all questions of public health.

This Association has been holding health exhibitions, producing educational and medical cinema films, giving magic lantern talks, distributing literature, providing health models throughout the Presidency, and during the year 1936 they have assisted as many as a hundred and sixty-six centres in this Presidency by their educational health touring exhibitions and touring officers.

There is, however, one side of their work which I would like to

make better known, and that is research work on balanced diets. The diet of the Indian is getting poorer in quality and insufficient in quantity; and this Association, finding itself handicapped in its health propaganda on account of the unbalanced diet, undertook research on this subject to try and find a diet that would suit the poorest people, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian, and which would be both nourishing and inexpensive. They have very nearly succeeded, after laborious effort for the last three years, in finding one costing Rs. 5, or 7s. 6d. a month. The research work is still in progress, and the Society keeps itself in touch with men like Sir Robert MacCarrison, Dr. Aykroyd, and others. They have been carrying out experiments in two institutions, one for vegetarians and the other for non-vegetarians, and the enquiries are being carried out by a Committee under the joint auspices of the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association and the Gordhanes Sunderdas Medical College, assisted by several doctors interested in this subject. The result of that enquiry will, we hope, go a long way to improve the health of millions of people.

This is but the first step, and the response that the Council has so far received from the Government and municipal officers, medical practitioners, and private citizens who live in the districts and who actually form the local Committees, is a most encouraging and hopeful sign that Social Service in the villages for the villagers will continue to form the most important and humane service.

I will now refer to a subject which is engaging the minds of so many people and countries—namely, “Family Limitation,” and with that subject I will associate the name of the Society for the Study and Promotion of Family Hygiene so recently established in Bombay.

We have already reviewed the situation in India, its high infant and maternal mortality, its poverty and ignorance and lack of medical facilities.

The point to emphasize is that maternity and child welfare is not an isolated subject, but is closely interrelated with all other social activities essential to human progress, such as education, sanitation, medical relief, uplift of women, and so on.

Birth control has been, and will continue to be, a controversial subject in any country for political, religious, social, and economic reasons. But I would like to deal with it more especially from the medical point of view and its relation to the health of the mother and her child.

It is said that “habit, and ignorance of better things, help one to face life with all its difficulties in a spirit of resignation that might not be possible in other circumstances”; but can anyone enjoy these difficulties?

The Society for the Study and Promotion of Family Hygiene is

but trying to give the poor married Indian woman a chance of enjoying better health for herself and her children by introducing a new science unknown and unheard-of by her, in order to enable her to limit her family to the extent that it will leave no injury, or at least no permanent injury, to her physical health.

The outstanding achievement of the Society was the opening of the first clinic known as the Woman's Free Welfare and Birth-Control Clinic, Bombay. The clinic was formally opened by the Mayor of Bombay (the first Labour Mayor of this city): The clinic is in charge of a fully trained nurse, with a lady doctor attending daily, together with social workers, who attend the session as often as is possible. The lady doctor was trained in the technique of contraception by our honoured general secretary Dr. Pillay, and all married women attending this clinic receive free medical examination and birth-control advice. I must add that the establishment of these two clinics is due to the untiring efforts of Dr. Pillay.

The first clinic was opened just a year ago, May 20, 1936, in a mill area at Parel, and the report of the eleven months is quite encouraging, notwithstanding the difficulties and the unfair criticism that the Society has met with. During the short time it has been able to advise more than two hundred and fifty women.

In order to meet the demands of women living in other districts, a second clinic in a central locality easily accessible to women of the lower middle class was opened, and we are glad to say that this clinic is accommodated in a private maternity hospital, due to the co-operation and kindness of the doctor, to whom we are most grateful.

On the whole, the work may be considered to be satisfactory when it is realized that it is especially intended for women of the poorest classes, who can neither read nor write, and with whom it has been difficult to establish personal contact.

The population of India has, as is known, increased in the last ten years by thirty-five millions, and the country has neither sufficient food, nor clothing, nor employment for its vast masses.

Any pioneer work will, of course, meet with opposition and criticism in its initial stages, and there is naturally a certain amount of opposition to the establishment of these free clinics in Bombay City. Unfortunately co-operation is lacking, and is withheld by several institutions and individuals who could easily help. Such institutions as the Infant Welfare Society and the Bombay Municipality, who have well-organized and well-equipped maternity homes and infant welfare centres distributed in all the poorest quarters of the city, decline to include birth-control service even on medical grounds. Consequently the Society for the Study and

Promotion of Family Hygiene felt compelled to undertake the work, with the sole object of relieving distress and misery in so many homes.

The maternal mortality in India is higher than in England and in Wales, and the death rate of children aged one to five years in India is four times as much as in England.

At the Annual Conference of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council (an influential women's organization) they passed a resolution sympathizing with the object of our Society with regard to birth-control propaganda, and requested the Government and municipalities to assist poor married women by opening clinics in the various districts. At the same conference a social worker stated that she had paid house-to-house visits in one of the poorest localities of the city, to find that in almost all the homes nearly 50 per cent. of the children born had died within the first year of their birth. She also stated that those who survived were suffering from malnutrition and other diseases, while the mother's health was extremely poor, and she was not in a position to stand the strain of frequent childbirth.

Some of us consider that no infant welfare institute can completely divorce itself from a birth-control service if the mother and her child are to derive the full benefit from such institution. The conclusion is obvious when we bear in mind that "the vitality of the people is poor, expectation of life is small, the earning capacity of the father is very low, and everyone marries irrespective of the fact whether he or she is biologically fit or not."

In the first year of an infant's life it gets nourishment without much extra cost to the parent, but in the second year and onwards the father's poverty makes it impossible for him to get suitable food for his children.

A common experience of welfare workers is to see a baby prize-winner of nine months changed into a miserable skeleton at the age of eighteen months.

The visits of Mrs. Sanger and Mrs. Edith How Martyn have gone a long way in creating interest and sympathy in this work, and I am sure that their visits have led to a better understanding of this medical science in its various aspects.

Propaganda methods of spreading the knowledge of birth control deserve a great deal of consideration and thought, and the Committee of the Bombay Woman's Welfare and Birth Control Clinic has appointed a special Committee to consider the best ways and means of bringing to the notice of the poor married women the establishment of these two clinics, but with the general ignorance this becomes increasingly difficult. One of the methods, however, is to put up posters in all such medical and social institutions as will agree to do so, and I am glad to say we have so far

received replies from as many as twenty-five societies who are willing to exhibit our posters.

We try as far as possible to advertise that birth control is not the destruction of life, that birth control means only spaced babies, happy families, and healthy mothers; that lack of knowledge, prejudice, and superstition lead to misery, unhappiness, ill-health, high maternal and infant mortality.

Another means of propaganda is to induce the cinema houses to exhibit this poster in the form of a slide, merely giving the details as to where the clinic is situated and its working hours. We hope that this will reach the poorest women, for whom these clinics have been specially established, and that the husbands will realize the benefit of this work and encourage their wives to seek guidance at the hands of properly trained persons.

Our greatest difficulty at the present moment is the lack of lady doctors. There are, roughly speaking, seven hundred medical women practising in India. Preventive medicine is dominant in medical practice today, and yet how few doctors can give advice on birth control even to such women for whom another pregnancy would be fatal. Even if we suppose that each of these doctors has a good working knowledge of birth control, which very few of them have, each would still have to deal with several thousands of cases if only a small proportion of women of child-bearing age were to come for advice, and naturally the majority of women always prefer to go to medical women. To suggest anything else would involve many dangers.

The Society is trying to do what it can to assist the poor women in the villages through the Mofussil Council, which I have already referred to, and it is noteworthy to report that at the last annual meeting of the Council attended by representatives of various districts, the medical members were given an opportunity of visiting the birth-control clinics and offered free training, provided they were going to assist the maternal and infant welfare centres in the districts and villages. I should also like to mention that a special session for men is held every Sunday by Dr. Pillay, as the co-operation of the husbands is very important when one has to deal with a class of more or less ignorant women.

I have now finished, but have drawn the bare outline of a picture, the major portion of which is yet to be painted, we hope in the brightest colours, depicting the new India of tomorrow shouldering her responsibility with patience, courage and foresight, for the health, happiness, and welfare of her teeming millions.

WIRELESS IN INDIA

By E. HEReward PHILLIPS

WIRELESS, a miracle in itself, is working miracles in the country districts of England and in such places as the backwoods of America, uniting, educating and entertaining peoples the world over. But of all the miracles of wireless its greatest is promised in India, where the most exciting prospects of achievements are unfolding.

In this great sub-continent, the home of a fifth of the world's population and of the oldest of civilizations, progress in education, fighting disease, and raising the standard of living, has been shackled hand and foot by incredible poverty, long distances, communal strife, a diversity of languages, climate and innumerable other difficulties. In one step wireless promises to assist materially in solving half the difficulties with which Indian and British administrators have been struggling, by providing them with a means of reaching most of the population with invaluable educational propaganda.

The stage now reached in the development of broadcasting in India is a suitable one for reviewing the position, for after much labour the child has been born and is on the point of cutting its teeth. To those in the West accustomed to years of first-class programmes, it is necessary to visualize the state of affairs about thirteen years ago in England to obtain a rough parallel of the position in India.

A recent article in the Indian Press, entitled "Advantages of Radio to Villagers," written by an officer of the Dehra Dun Broadcasting Association, which specializes in programmes of an educational nature, conveys delightfully something of the atmosphere:

"At first the villagers suspected that the aerials installed in their villages were for the authorities to listen-in to the gossip. . . .

"Instruction can be given in the form of dramas, dialogues, songs or lectures. The language used is kept very simple. Stories are very much appreciated, and keep them spell-bound. Generally the villager gets his news from people passing through the village, and, circulated from mouth to mouth, this may become dangerous, for it is interpreted in

various ways by these simple people. The news-bulletin is, therefore, of great value.

"People who are interested in music listen to songs, often sitting with pencil and paper to jot down words and tunes and to practise them afterwards. Several villages have now got concert parties and music clubs."

The article also points out how villagers walk miles to hear market rates for agricultural produce broadcast, so that they may avoid being swindled by middlemen. Valuable information about locust plagues, forest fires, times to plant crops and which implements to use, the place to go for medicines, and a variety of other invaluable information is thus for the first time brought first-hand to the doors of thousands of villagers. In these villages community sets are the medium.

Dehra Dun, however, is only one small broadcasting centre set up for educational purposes. Our concern is with the national organization, named All-India Radio, giving the appropriate initials A.I.R. All-India Radio, which is promising to give India its first comprehensive system, follows two previous varieties of organization. First, there were "radio clubs" in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi and Rangoon, run by enthusiasts upon the inadequate revenue from licence fees collected by Government. Then came an Indian Broadcasting Company in 1927 with stations at Calcutta and Bombay, but after three years this had to be wound up, and Government was induced to step in and take up wireless as a whole—the word "induced" is used deliberately, for no Government likes to take over what is apparently a losing proposition. A year or two later, however, the increasing income from licence fees and duties upon radio sets encouraged Government to consider wide extensions. In 1934, it was decided to make a special grant of Rs. 20 lakhs (about £150,000) for establishing a new station at Delhi and for engaging a broadcasting expert. Two years later—in March, 1936—this grant was doubled, becoming Rs. 40 lakhs (about £300,000), a large sum in a poor country like India.

By the middle of 1935, a broadcasting expert, India's first Controller of Broadcasting, appeared upon the scene in the person of Mr. Lionel Fielden, who had behind him many years' experience on the staff of the B.B.C. He brought to his task a young, fertile, dynamic and courageous genius. By superhuman efforts he succeeded in launching by January, 1936, a new station at his headquarters the Imperial Capital Delhi, having to create a staff from scratch and build up programmes out of any material he could find.

The inside story of the early days of the Delhi station would

make a most entertaining book. First, Mr. Fielden had to master the ways of Government procedure in order to see what he could spend and what revenue to expect. Then he had to cast around for a suitable staff, and this was not easy in a country where youth is trained with a view to Government or University posts, and where the elasticity of mind and enterprise necessary in a programme director are anything but common. The problem of providing programmes was even greater. Delhi consists of civil servants and an old town of moderate resources. The best musicians and entertainers are mainly located in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In addition, the money available for payment to artists was anything but substantial. These problems still remain.

Side by side with the launching of the Delhi station and the creation of staff and programmes, went the examination of plans for new stations and a certain amount of reorganization of the stations at Bombay and Calcutta, as well as the development of an *Indian Listener*, the journal of A.I.R. This was early in 1936, which also saw the bringing out to India of an expert wireless engineer to report upon the technical aspect of development, and a furious "battle of the waves." This battle of the waves illustrates clearly at once some of the problems wireless engineers have to face. On the one hand, there was a large body of opinion agitating for short waves, and, on the other, the protagonists of medium waves. For several months of the year storms interfere seriously with reception, hence the preference for short wave broadcasting which has been found so free from interference. At the same time, short wave stations, but for a very small area in the neighbourhood of the station, jump about 150 miles. Broadcast programmes to be popular must be in the language of listeners and have a local flavour. As the language of districts in India alters radically every few hundred miles, those who supported medium waves argued, for example, that for Calcutta, where the vernacular is Bengalee, a short wave station would have to be about two hundred miles outside the Presidency to be capable of reception by its inhabitants. The solution to this problem has been the installation of both short and medium wave transmitting instruments at the three main centres—Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta.

As a matter of fact, however, the medium waves have really won. It has been announced by the Government of India that while originally it was thought best to have a few central broadcasting stations of high power for entertainment purposes, leaving small stations for educational propaganda to local authorities, it had been concluded that once a broadcasting station was set up it would have to meet all the needs of its area as efficiently as possible. Accordingly, the policy has been adopted of developing a

larger number of smaller powered stations to give a better distributed service. This will make it possible to provide programmes suited to different linguistic areas and to rural needs.

It is interesting at this point to look at the question broadly. Europe (excluding Russia) may be compared with India from the point of view of size and area to be covered. In Europe there are well over 100 high and medium power stations which have cost over Rs. 10 crores (about £7,500,000). In England alone, with a population of about 46,000,000, and an area of 89,000 square miles, compared to India's 350,000,000 and two million square miles, over Rs. 1 crore (about £750,000) has been spent on transmitters alone, apart from studios, buildings, etc. These figures will help to emphasize the fact that this *first* programme of expansion to cost Rs. 40 lakhs (or £300,000) must only be regarded as a beginning, and that when wireless gets properly under way in India it will have vast scope.

With the approval recently of the general scheme for the new stations, wireless in India is on the point of its most important step forward. By Christmas the transmitter built and run by the Young Men's Christian Association in Lahore, the capital of the Province of Punjab (which has a population of over 21 millions and a language of its own, Punjabee), will have been taken over, and a new studio, staff and transmitter will be in operation. During the next two years or so new stations will come into being in Trichinopoly, Dacca, Lucknow, and Madras, new equipment will be installed at Delhi, Bombay, Peshawar, and Calcutta, and an efficient research station (which will also train young engineers) will be created at Delhi.

Substantial progress has already been made with the Research station since the autumn of 1936, when Mr. C. W. Goyder (another young and experienced member of the B.B.C. staff, with a fine engineering record) arrived out in Delhi as Chief Engineer and energetically began experiments. Mr. Goyder's arrival was soon noticed in a distinct improvement in the strength and adjustment of stations. In a country where enthusiastic amateurs are few, the amount of research to be done and the data to be collected is enormous. A large amount of work has been involved in finding a satisfactory acoustic material with which to line the new studios, which for the present will be located in existing buildings. Such materials as rockwool or cabot quilt are not feasible in a country which, in the hot season, is liable to be overrun by white ants and a variety of insects.

Programmes have in the main been built up on much the same lines as those in the West, with certain natural radical differences. At most stations transmitting begins about 6.30 a.m. or 7 a.m. (most Indians rise about 6 a.m.) with Indian music and news

bulletins in English and the vernacular, and continues until about 9 a.m. There is another session at midday, generally Indian items, and a third from about 5 p.m. to 10.30 p.m., Indian items until 9.30 p.m., and then European. The Indian programme consists of national music and talks, the European of a talk and music. An effort is made, especially at Delhi, to provide a suitable programme for villagers between 7 p.m. and 8 p.m., when the peasant, home from the fields, sits smoking his *hukka* or gossiping for an hour before going to sleep.

Devising these villager programmes and providing sets has not been easy, but this is recognized as one of the most valuable features of wireless in India. The Research section has designed a model community set for the assistance of manufacturers, and these are now being purchased and installed as part of the different Governments' rural uplift schemes. There is a good story told of a high official who set out to discover for himself what the villager thought of the programme designed for him. First, the official drove right into the village in his car, and met with the most flattering reception and description of "raddu," as radio is pronounced. At the next village the car was stopped some distance from the village and the official, in shorts and open-necked shirt, walked in as a chance wanderer—and learnt the truth—namely, that the villagers had no time for well-meant lectures or high-brow Indian music. As a result, it was decided to divide the village hour into more or less five-minute sections. Village musicians were engaged to entertain with rough, jolly tunes, and, greatest success of all, two village wits were taken on to indulge in a few minutes' back-chat before the microphone each evening.

Fierce discussions have raged about the quality of Indian music broadcast, and this may lead to one of the most important of developments in this branch of national art. Indian music is limited in range, and there is no system of notation, tunes being passed from one musician to another. It therefore tends to become monotonous and has been found almost incapable of standing the strain of being broadcast all day, week after week. With instruments limited to the range of the human voice, most themes being of a monotonous character in a minor key, and a paucity of harmony, even enthusiastic nationalists can be pardoned for wondering if something cannot be done to make Indian music more vital.

Faced with the awful prospect of the main part of their programme palling, the possibility of providing Indian music with a notation similar to that in Europe, of developing harmony, increasing range, and encouraging lighter compositions, is now being actively examined by All-India Radio in co-operation with musicians. Hopes are already entertained that new inspiration

and impetus may be given in this way to national music. Naturally, the lack of notation involves a variety of difficulties, such as being sure a player or singer is giving a correct version of some ancient composition: it also complicates the drawing-up of a balanced programme of light and serious music.

Two most serious obstacles, however, have to be overcome before wireless can succeed in India and achieve the results hoped for it. They are the low standard of living and the high cost of wireless receivers. Whether modern science will by solving the latter kill two birds with one stone is perhaps too much to hope for, but until these difficulties are at least modified progress will be much slower than it should be. At present the radio manufacturer in India does not really exist. The result is that most of the receivers have to be imported, and, *in addition*, pay a high rate of duty. The community sets designed for villages by the new Research section, though incorporating the latest and most economic devices, cost over Rs. 300s. (about £23). To this has to be added the cost in most districts of maintaining and supplying batteries. Sets of this calibre are essential for good reception in a country of long distances, where the transmitting station may be anything from fifty to three or four hundred miles away. In the towns, of course, the worker can and does get good results with cheap crystal sets, but the listener up-country has to pay anything from between Rs. 250 (£19) to Rs. 500s. (about £38 10s.) for a set that will give satisfaction. Another factor which does not encourage the spontaneous payment of licence fees is their price, Rs. 10s. (or about 15s.), and there have been recurring demands for a reduction of this figure. Collection of wireless licence fees is in the hands of the post office, and with sales rapidly rising this should result in a welcome addition to income. When the earnings of a peasant, even at the best, are about Rs. 18 (£1 8s.) a month, it will be seen that wireless can only really be enjoyed by the wealthy.

The Imperial, Provincial and State Governments, however, are all very much alive to the value of wireless to the villager, educationally, socially and politically, and are doing much to subsidize the provision of community sets for villages. In the meantime revenue from licence fees and from import duties on receiving sets continues to expand steadily. With the present high import duty it is certain that radio manufacturers will soon spring up in India to meet what will be a huge market.

An optimistic view is taken of the future by the Controller of Broadcasting, who early this year made remarks which, in conclusion, are well worth quoting:

"If I were an astrologer there is one thing I would prophesy without feeling that I was even optimistic, and that is that within

fifteen years there will be not less than fifty broadcasting stations in India. Broadcasting will come to India just as surely as the railway and the telegraph, the telephone and the motor-car, and as aviation is coming. Within the next few years the whole of Asia will be awakening to the possibilities of wireless—it is awakening now—and India, whether she likes it or not, will be forced to awaken also, if only because of the mass of propaganda which will beat upon her from the stations of the world.

“Apart from that it is surely clear to all of us that, whatever the difficulties, the great distances of India make wireless an ideal means of communication, while the illiteracy of the majority makes it an ideal method of instruction and information.”

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

I.—1846-1890

BY PANDIT RAM CHANDRA KAK

FOR a proper appreciation of the causes which in the middle of the last century contributed to the rise of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of the events which occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century, not only in India, but also in Europe, which largely shaped the policy of the European Powers who had a stake or interest in India about the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The French Revolution had, in 1789, overthrown the French monarchy. Louis XVI. had been executed. The Revolutionary Government made no secret of its aim to spread its subversive ideas in the monarchical countries of Europe. The Governments of all European countries were thoroughly alarmed, and they combined to crush the revolutionary régime in France. France was saved from being overwhelmed by the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte. The hostilities in Europe between France and England, which was a member of the anti-Revolutionary Alliance, found their repercussions in India, where the French assisted Tipu Sultan against the English East India Company. Tipu, when pressed hard, sent an embassy to Napoleon in 1799, formally proposing an offensive and defensive alliance for the expulsion of the English from India. As Tipu was killed soon after in the same year, the alliance proposed by him did not come into existence, but Emperor Paul of Russia, who was an ardent admirer of Napoleon, proposed in 1800 an alliance with the French with the object of humiliating England by organizing a Russo-French invasion of India, by way of Central Asia and Sistan. In pursuance of this agreement, an army of forty thousand Russians is said to have passed the Volga on its long march to India, but this incipient invasion proved abortive, as Emperor Paul died about this time, and his successor was not friendly to Napoleon.

During the period which intervened between the fall of Napoleon in 1815 and the rise of the German Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century, England's naval supremacy was unchallenged, and Russia was recognised as the principal land Power on the Continent. It was one of Russia's most cherished objectives to secure an outlet into the Mediterranean through the

Black Sea. But so long as Dardanelles was under the control of the Turks, Russia could not achieve her object. Hence the frequent occurrence of Russo-Turkish Wars in the nineteenth century. If Russia had succeeded in crushing Turkey and securing a free outlet to the Mediterranean, England's interests would have seriously suffered. Consequently, whenever Russia made a move towards the south, England stepped in and prevented her from achieving her goal. Thus we see that on every occasion on which Russia fell out with Turkey, England lent, according to the exigencies of the situation, her moral or material assistance to Turkey—e.g., during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29, the Crimean War of 1853-56, and the Russo-Turkish War of 1878-79. That both England and Russia thoroughly understood each other's motives is borne out by the fact that Emperor Nicholas, before the outbreak of the Crimean War, proposed that England and Russia, as the parties most directly concerned, should divide the estate of the "sick man," which uncomplimentary epithet he applied to the Sublime Porte.

Russia, finding her expansion towards the south continually obstructed, accelerated her progress towards the east, where she had already established a large sphere of influence. In 1837, Persia, which was practically at the mercy of Russia, and where a Russian ambassador had been appointed, was induced to undertake the siege of Herat, and the Russian ambassador deputed Captain Vickovitch to Kabul with letters inviting Amir Dost Mohammad to join a Russo-Persian alliance against the English in India. Lord Auckland, who was at that time Governor-General of the East India Company's possessions in India, had already sent Captain (later Sir Alexander) Burnes on a special mission to Kabul with the object of preventing the Amir from accepting overtures from the Russians, which it had been expected would be made. The cordial reception which Dost Mohammad accorded to the English mission was, however, short-lived, as the British Government declined to undertake the restoration of Peshawar, which had been wrested from Kabul by Ranjit Singh. Dost Mohammad thereupon decided in favour of a Russian alliance, a *dénouement* which the British could not view without serious misgivings. War was therefore inevitable, and was declared. Then followed the ill-fated British expedition to Kabul, the murder of Shah Shuja, the nominee of the English to the Kabul throne, a second British expedition to retrieve the prestige lost during the first expedition, and finally *status quo ante* in Afghanistan.

All this while the shadow of Russia was lengthening eastwards.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839. His death was followed by a period of more or less anarchy, accentuated by personal bickerings between the Sikh Sardars, which rather strangely culminated

in the first Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46. Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who negotiated the peace treaty between the English and the Sikhs, entered into a separate treaty with the East India Company by which the British Government, besides recognising him as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, made over to him "in independent possession all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Rawi," etc., ceded with other contiguous territories to the British Government by the Government of Lahore in lieu of the war indemnity which they had undertaken to pay. This transfer has, in the light of later events, been adversely criticized by British historians, but the position in 1846 was such that the East India Company must have considered the transaction as a piece of great good fortune, as it not only gave them the assurance of support on the northern frontier of India from a friendly power at a time when Russia was looming large on that horizon, and Afghanistan was bitter with the memories of the recent war, but also established a friendly power in the rear of the Sikhs, who were still chafing under their recent defeat. Not only this. As very little was known of the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, the East India Company by its transfer got rid of a territorial appendage which it would have been difficult for them to reach, impossible to govern, and equally impossible to abandon. Incidentally, by its transfer they put into their pocket the substantial sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. And, last but not the least, they secured the goodwill of a Ruler who had already made himself formidable by his resourcefulness, enterprise, and extensive possessions, in the acquisition of which his armies had travelled far and had overcome much opposition. There is little doubt that the East India Company viewed the matter in this light, and that further, they were not fully aware of the character of the territories transferred, as is borne out by the fact that the very boundaries of the region transferred, as stated in the first article of the treaty, are far from precise. If, supposing the British had decided to annex Kashmir and the adjacent territories, as speculative writers argue they should have done, they would have found it extremely difficult to do so without undertaking a fresh campaign immediately after the termination of a sanguinary war. The campaign, if undertaken, would have entailed the transport of an army, including artillery, from a distant base through the by no means well-affected Punjab, and through difficult mountain passes inhabited by hostile tribesmen, with Gulab Singh watching, not as an ally, but as a potential enemy, for a favourable opportunity to pounce upon the expeditionary force. As such a course was obviously fraught with danger, the Company, under the circumstances then existing, did

the only thing which it was advisable for them to do—namely, transfer the territory which they could neither defend nor administer without considerable difficulty to a Ruler who could do both with comparative ease, and convert a potential enemy into a warm ally. The act of transfer was the more attractive as, in addition to political advantages, it brought a considerable sum of money into their treasury.

Though Maharaja Gulab Singh had been a feudatory of the Government of Lahore till 1846, his own armies had traversed far countries, enlarging his dominion and enhancing his prestige and power. This process of expansion did not stop with the Treaty of Amritsar, when Gulab Singh entered into relations of subordinate alliance and friendship with the British Government, as in the course of the three decades following the Treaty of Amritsar, the State of Jammu and Kashmir, by the force of its arms and at considerable expenditure in men and money, brought the entire country stretching up to the Pamirs under its subjection. It does not seem to have invoked the assistance of the British Government in doing so, though under Article 9 of the Treaty it is provided that "the British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territory from external enemies." In 1877 the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir accepted, with the concurrence of the Government of India, the allegiance of the Mehtar of Chitral. It is worthy of note that Hunza, Nagar, and other frontier principalities which now acknowledge the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir as their suzerain to whom they pay tribute were not in 1846 connected in any way either with Maharaja Gulab Singh or with the Sikh Government or with the British Government. Indeed, when in 1847 Lieutenant Vans Agnew was deputed by the British Government to Gilgit on a special mission, not a single frontier chief sent a suitable representative to meet him. The conquest of this district by the Jammu and Kashmir State made it easy for the Government of India to establish a Political Agency at Gilgit later on.

The same Article (9) of the Treaty of Amritsar indicates the nature of the military relations subsisting between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh. Not only was there no condition empowering the British Government to locate a subsidiary military force in the Jammu and Kashmir State, for the maintenance of which cession of territory might have been required, as was the case in the treaties of several important States, they did not even undertake the defence of the Maharaja's territories from external enemies, but contented themselves with holding out a promise that they would give their aid to him in protecting his State from external enemies, though in actual fact the Maharaja does not seem ever to have asked for such aid. This attitude both

on the part of the British Government and of Maharaja Gulab Singh is the more remarkable as the northern frontiers of the State were co-extensive for several hundred miles with those of great and independent powers, and the northern regions of the State were inhabited by fierce and untamed tribesmen who lived by plunder and rapine, and it was these tribesmen that the Maharaja's armies fought and conquered.

The other distinguishing features of Maharaja Gulab Singh's treaty with the British Government are that, (a) he ceded no territory, but on the contrary received a substantial addition to his existing territories by the treaty; (b) excepting the specified sum which he paid in lieu of the territory received by him from the British, neither he nor his descendants paid any tribute to the British Government, the annual present of twelve shawl goats and three pairs of Kashmir shawls, which was later converted into a tribute of shawls only, being more in the nature of a symbol of acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the British Crown than of a tribute to the Government; (c) there was no stipulation with regard to the establishment of British Cantonments within the State territories; and, (d) there was no provision with regard to the appointment of a British Resident at the Court of the Maharaja; nor in fact was a Resident appointed until 1885, after Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the son and successor of Maharaja Gulab Singh, had died. Both the father and son had always maintained the position that the status of Jammu and Kashmir was in a category by itself. Even Maharaja Pratap Singh, at whose accession the appointment of a British Resident was announced, protested against the appointment, but without effect. He, however, was soon after his accession accused of having disloyal dealings with Russia, which was, as Professor Keith puts it, "followed by the acceptance of enforced resignation by the Maharaja."

Before the Treaty of Amritsar, Maharaja Gulab Singh had conquered, and annexed to his principality of Jammu, the tract now comprising the Jammu Province including Kishtwar, and also the entire provinces of Ladakh and Baltistan, which are about 45,000 square miles in area. In the course of their conquest of Ladakh his officers had penetrated into Chinese Tibet, but, owing to the inclemency of the climate and defective commissariat arrangements, his army had sustained a disastrous reverse in that country. His conquest of Ladakh, however, was complete and undisputed. Curiously enough, when Maharaja Gulab Singh conquered Ladakh he not only assumed the rulership of that country, but also took over the possessions of the former rulers of Ladakh in Chinese Tibet. These last-mentioned possessions were a remnant of the empire which some centuries ago extended all over Ladakh and a considerable part of Tibet, and of which Sengge

Namgyal, the king of Ladakh, was Ruler. When the power of Ladakh declined, its rulers lost control of their extensive dominions in Western Tibet, but the area of land mentioned above remained with them until the conquest of Ladakh by Maharaja Gulab Singh. This area still exists as an appanage of the Jammu and Kashmir State, and the State derives revenue from it.

In 1842—i.e., four years before the Treaty of Amritsar—Maharaja Gulab Singh executed a treaty with the Tibetan Government, the text of which may be translated as follows:

“Whereas on this auspicious occasion, we the officers of Lhasa, namely Kaloon of Soukan and Bakshi Sachuh, Officer in the army of the Emperor of China, on the one hand, and two representatives of Maharaja Raja-i-Rajgan Gulab Sahib Bahadur, namely Mukhtar-ud-daula Diwan Hari Chand and Wazarat-panah Wazir Ratnu, on the other, having assembled together on the 2nd of Assuj 1899 with a view to conclude a treaty of Amity and Concord, have agreed with perfect goodwill and sincerity and on oath (of Kanchak) that relations of sincere friendship and cordiality shall for ever subsist between Sri Maharaja Sahib Bahadur Raja Gulab Singh, the Emperor of China and the Lama of Lhasa; in the name (of Kanchak) no secession shall by any means be allowed from his engagement. We have no desire to make any changes, nor shall we ever make any, in the boundaries of the country of Ladakh, which have been fixed from ancient times. The export of Pashmina wool and tea shall be allowed, every year, by way of Ladakh, in accordance with the ancient usage. If anyone hostile to Sri Raja Sahib Bahadur enters our country (Tibet) we shall not cherish his views, nor shall we allow him to stay in our country. And the merchants of Ladakh coming to our country shall not be interfered with. And whatever we have undertaken herein-above in writing about friendship and concord, and about fixing the boundary of the country of Ladakh and about continuing the export of Pashmina wool and tea, we shall not go back on it in the smallest degree.

“To this agreement, executed on the 2nd day of Assuj 1899 (Kanchak) and Katri Pasi Zhu Zhuh, Mian Khushal Chuh are witnesses.” (The names of the persons have become distorted in the Tibetan version.)

Later on, in 1851-52, six years after the Treaty of Amritsar, and apparently without the knowledge or concurrence of the British Government, another agreement was entered into between the Governments of Tibet and Kashmir, extracts from which are given below:

“The Ladakhis shall provide the Tibetan Government traders with accommodation and servants as usual, and render them any other assistance according to the old-established custom. The

Garpons (Tibetan District Officers) will issue orders to the effect that tea and woollen goods arriving at Nagri shall only be sent to Ladakh and not to any other place. The boundary between Ladakh and Tibet will remain the same as before. No restriction shall be placed by the people of Rudok on the export of salt and woollen goods and the import of barley. Neither party shall contravene the existing rules, and the rates of customs duties and market supplies shall be fixed by both the parties concerned. The above rules shall apply also to the Rongpas who export salt. The travellers from north and west who come through Rong are provided with passports by the Garpons, and those coming from Rong are given passports by the Thanedar.”

“In deciding all important matters, the Ruler shall take into consideration the manners and customs of both sides and observe the old-established rules regarding supply of transport, etc.”

“The boundary between Tibet and Ladakh will remain as hitherto. As the interests of Ladakhis, Tibetans, and Singpas (Kashmiris) are identical, they shall not seek to create any trouble beyond guarding their respective frontiers.”

Both the Tibeto-Kashmir treaties were intended to preserve and promote commercial relations between the two countries, and they subsist to this day, commercial missions and presents being regularly exchanged between the two Governments.

Between 1840 and 1870 Maharaja Gulab Singh and his son and successor, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, conquered or brought within their sphere of influence Hunza, Nagar, Punyal, Darel, Chilas, etc. In doing so they had to send several large military expeditions, which met with varied success on different occasions, but the ultimate result was the extension of the power of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir over these regions.

During this period events were progressing rapidly in Central Asia. Russia was taking long strides towards the east, and had, within twenty years after the Crimean War, traversed six hundred miles. Chimkent was occupied in 1864, Tashkent in 1865, Khojent in 1866, Yenikargan in 1867. The Khanate of Bukhara was brought within the Russian sphere of influence. Samarkand was occupied in 1868. When Russians entered Khiva in 1873, only Afghanistan remained between them and India. All this while, however, Russia was protesting that she had no designs on Afghanistan, and that her march towards the east was not premeditated, but was due to unavoidable circumstances. Amir Sher Ali of Afghanistan made overtures to the British Government, which were coldly received. He therefore decided to approach Russia.

In 1878 a Russian mission under General Stolietoff arrived in Afghanistan and was cordially received. The British Govern-

ment, on hearing this, proposed to the Amir that he should receive a British mission headed by General Sir Neville Chamberlain, but on the advice of General Stolietoff, the Amir refused to receive it. The British Government thereupon sent an ultimatum to the Amir, which producing no satisfactory reply, they declared war. With the result of this war we are not concerned here, but what we are concerned with is an account of the circumstances which existed in the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and which had an important bearing on the status and administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State, then and thereafter. The unobstructed progress of Russia, and her dalliance with Afghanistan on the one hand, and with Persia on the other, thoroughly alarmed the British Government both in England and in India. The most vulnerable spot in the British armour was India. Methods of protecting India from a powerful foreign foe were, therefore, feverishly discussed. There were various schools of thought representing both the forward and the more pacific views. Finally the choice fell upon development of what was called the "scientific frontier," which entailed the extension of the railway through the Bolan Pass to Quetta, extension of the strategic railway to Rawalpindi and beyond, strengthening of the Khyber Pass, subsidization of the friendly Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan, and supply to him of arms and ammunition, and other similar matters of policy. While, by these measures, the British hoped to secure a safe North-Western frontier, there were two open doors in the north which still remained to be secured. These were Chitral and Gilgit, through which hostile forces might reach Peshawar and Kashmir. Both Chitral and Gilgit were within the territories of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, who maintained a garrison at Gilgit. To the north of Gilgit were the subordinate principalities of Nagar and Hunza, which had, in 1868 and 1869 respectively, acknowledged the supremacy of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The northern boundary of Hunza was co-terminous with the Russian frontier, and intercourse between tribesmen on the two sides of the dividing line was frequent. Such being the state of affairs, it was by no means impossible for a small flying column of Cossacks to enter Hunza. Indeed, in 1888 Captain Grombchewsky with a few Cossacks did pay an informal visit to Hunza. The northern frontier of Kashmir was thus, in the eighties of the last century, a source of grave anxiety, as a military raid on Kashmir from that quarter would be fraught with serious consequences to the Empire. Three courses were, under the circumstances, open to the Government of India:

1. To assist the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in forming an effective force able to defend the northern passes.

2. To arrange the transfer of the strategic frontier in lieu of suitable territories in the south, taking upon themselves the responsibility of defending the frontier, and,

3. So to arrange that, while the territory and the Defence Force remained the Maharaja's, effective control of both should pass into the hands of the Government of India.

The last-named course was adopted by the British Government.

As has been mentioned in a foregoing paragraph, there was, in the Treaty of Amritsar, no provision for appointment of a Resident in Jammu and Kashmir. The British Government were aware of this fact, as also of the objection of the Rulers of Jammu and Kashmir to such an appointment. Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India, writing in 1884 to the Viceroy, stated that "in 1854 it was decided not to appoint a Political Officer to reside permanently at the Maharaja's Court, whilst in 1873, when the measure was recommended by Lord Northbrook's Government, the necessity for it did not seem to Her Majesty's Government to be so clearly established as to justify them in disregarding objections which were expressed by authorities entitled to respect," by which apparently it is meant that Maharaja Gulab Singh and Maharaja Ranbir Singh had refused to agree to the acceptance of a Resident. That Lord Kimberley was fully aware of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's objections is borne out by the last sentence of the same letter, in which he advised the Viceroy that, pending the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, strict secrecy should be observed as regards the proposed conversion of the British Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir into a full-fledged Resident on the accession of Pratap Singh after his father's death, which was expected in a short time. This Officer on Special Duty had no political status, being deputed to Kashmir apparently at the request of the Maharaja for a portion of the summer season, purely in the capacity of a Magistrate to settle any disputes that might occur among or in respect of European tourists in Kashmir. Even after the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and communication to Maharaja Pratap Singh, at the time of his installation on the Gadi, of the decision of the Government of India (vide Kharita dated December 14, 1885), no mention was made in that Kharita about the appointment of a Resident. All that was said was:

"Your Highness has before you a difficult task. During the illness of your father, the administration of the State became seriously disorganized, and it will be necessary for you to introduce many reforms. But my agent, Sir Oliver St. John, will remain with you and help you to the utmost of his ability, and I feel confident that with his aid all your difficulties will be successfully met and overcome. I request Your Highness to refer to him for a more

detailed explanation of my views regarding the future administration of the State, and I hope Your Highness will not fail to consult him freely at all times and be guided by his advice in carrying those views into execution."

When Maharaja Pratap Singh protested against the substitution of a "Resident" for the "Officer on Special Duty," the Secretary of State for India, Lord Randolph Churchill, authorized the Viceroy to inform the Maharaja "in reply to his objections for the proposed change in the status of the representative of the Government of India at his Court, that an arrangement which is considered suitable in the cases of other great Princes and Chiefs of India cannot be regarded either as derogatory to the dignity of Kashmir State or as indicating a desire on the part of the paramount power to interfere in its internal affairs."

"I have to express my full approval of the proceeding of Your Excellency's Government in the matter. Having regard to the condition of the country, to the character of the new Ruler, and to the aspect of affairs beyond the frontier in respect of which Kashmir occupies so important a position, I entertain no doubt as to the necessity for the measures now reported, which will, I trust, conduce to the material well-being of the State and tend to the better security of the Imperial interests."

In the above communications there are two points of interest:

(1) The fact that the Officer on Special Duty performed no political functions and was only a Magistrate is entirely overlooked. That he did not, till then, perform any political duties seems clear from the letter of the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India to the Officer on Special Duty, dated 1st August, 1884, in which he observes, "You should abstain from any allusion to the subject of changes in the existing position of the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir."

(2) The second point is, that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India felt that they were not justified in appointing a Resident in the State against the spirit and letter of the treaty and against the established usage. This is proved by the constant repetition of the formula that appointment of a Resident did not connote any lowering of the prestige of the State, as Residents had been appointed in other great States in India. They also tried to soften the implications of the word "Resident," vide the Foreign Secretary's letter referred to above, in which he advised Sir Oliver St. John that on the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh "you should then announce, with the view of aiding His Highness in the introduction and maintenance of these reforms, the Viceroy has decided to give His Highness the assistance of a resident English Officer, and that for the future the British representative in Kashmir will have the same status and

duties as the Political Residents in other States in subordinate alliance with the British Government."

Notwithstanding this, Maharaja Pratap Singh was still reluctant to accept the proposal of the Government of India, and he strongly protested against the appointment of a Resident, but without success. Even after it was realized that the Government of India would not revoke their decision, His Highness's Government did not address important communications to the Resident, for as late as April 21, 1888—i.e., three years after the establishment of the Residency in Kashmir—the Resident wrote as follows, in enclosing a Kharita from His Highness the Maharaja to His Excellency the Viceroy:

"I am not aware of the contents of the Kharita, but I understand that it gives cover to a scheme for reorganization of the State Council . . ." and he asked for instructions of the Government of India as regards the desirability of transmission of sealed communications from His Highness's Government to the Government of India through the Residency.

Thus, owing to circumstances which determined the mutual relations of the great empires of Britain and Russia, the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which in 1846 had started, and until 1885 continued, so far as its own affairs were concerned, as a practically independent Government, and could and did undertake military expeditions resulting in the acquisition of extensive fresh territory, became by 1889 an Indian principality of the ordinary type—important no doubt by reason of its strategic position and military responsibilities—but, nevertheless, conforming to type.

It is only fair to add that notwithstanding the virtual independence enjoyed by the State during this period, it discharged faithfully its obligations as a friend and subordinate ally of the British Crown, as, for instance, during the mutiny, when not only did the State render valuable assistance to the British Government, but refused the proffered reward of estates in Oudh. Maharaja Ranbir Singh is said to have stated on this occasion that the assistance he gave the British was as a friend and not as a mercenary.

From 1889 begins a new chapter in the history of Jammu and Kashmir. In that year the State Council was established, and Maharaja ceased directly controlling the administration for a period of five years. In the same year the Gilgit Agency, which had first been established in 1878 and removed immediately after, was re-established. In 1890 Srinagar was connected by a cart road with the rail-head at Rawalpindi. Simultaneously, the military road to Gilgit was constructed, and it proved extremely useful during the Hunza-Nagar War in 1891-93. After the establishment of the Political Agency at Gilgit, Chitral, which was in 1885 officially shown as lying within Kashmir, was in 1895 trans-

ferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the North-West Frontier Province, though His Highness the Mehtar of Chitral is still formally a feudatory of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and the announcement of his accession to the Gadi of Chitral is made by the Government of India in the name and on behalf of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE FAR EAST: A QUALITATIVE SUMMARY

BY WILBUR BURTON

IN a long-range view of history, the most strikingly significant fact about the Far East is the extreme natural poverty of most of the area. For all else is inevitably conditioned thereby. Only in the extreme north and the extreme south of the Orient are there varied and extensive natural resources. The eastern part of Siberia is quite wealthy and Manchuria is much less so; and the tropical and semi-tropical regions of French Indo-China, the Philippine Islands, Siam, British Malaysia and the Netherland East Indies contain vast and diverse mineral and agricultural resources, although none is naturally endowed with all the essentials for a balanced, national economy of first rank—that is, comparable to Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and France. Indeed, in all Asia (outside of Siberia), India is the only land so endowed. It has immense quantities of coal, iron, copper and oil—the four most essential items in modern industry—and as large amounts as any one country excepting the United States and the Soviet Union of the subsidiary items. Iron is very scarce in all the Far Eastern areas excepting the Philippines, which is short on coal, while what it has is not contiguous to its iron. There is no appreciable oil south of the Soviet Union except in the Netherland East Indies, which is short on both iron and coal. Copper is not extensive anywhere in the Far East.

Of all the Far Eastern areas Japan proper is the poorest in both mineral and agricultural assets. Among all the major countries of the present-day world, it is comparable only to Italy in the scarcity of natural resources, and comparable only to Italy and the Soviet Union in still being more dependent on agriculture than on industry. But while the Soviet Union is capable on the basis of the natural resources within its own borders of becoming the most industrialized country in the world with the possible exception of the United States, Japan is as limited as Italy in indigenous natural resources for industrialization.

Japan, as Professor John E. Orchard (of Columbia University) pointed out a few years ago in a careful survey entitled "Japan's Economic Position" (published in New York in 1931), has had in modern times the ambition to become "the England of Asia." But, as Professor Orchard says, "it is doubtful whether any nation

in the future can safely place so great a dependence upon manufacturing and trade as England has done"; further, "England possessed for industrial expansion abundant supplies of raw materials for manufacturing, notably iron ore and coal. . . . Japan has few raw materials and certainly, if she must depend upon her own natural resources, there can be no industrial development at all comparable to that of England. . . . Japan is rich in water power, richer than England, but in all else poorer."

There is little coal and only two workable iron ore deposits in Japan proper. Nor are there any other mineral deposits of consequence. Only about 20 per cent. of Japan is arable, and the population has long since been in excess of the number the country could feed despite a standard of living that Dr. Egerton Charles Grey, in a study for the League of Nations, found too low for adequate nourishment. Japanese physique, he reported, was slighter than that of other Asiatics less dependent on rice, and diseases of the digestive organs account for more deaths than does any other ailment. There is now an annual increase in population of almost one million a year, which requires an annual addition of approximately 135,000 acres of rice production, but even the most extensive terracing of mountainous areas has never increased the rice acreage by more than 25,000 to 35,000 acres in a year. Thus, a constant increase in food imports is necessary, and to pay for them there must be a constant increase in the export of manufactured products—or mass migration.

It is here that Manchuria enters the picture. So far, however, it has proved neither an outlet for immigrants nor a source of additional food supply. It is doubtful, indeed, if it will ever be extensively colonized by the Japanese, for there is good reason to believe that they are not capable of adapting themselves either to its climate or to competition with the Chinese peasants now settled there, but it should eventually at least aid materially in solving Japan's food problem. Otherwise, however, Manchuria is insufficient to supply in any adequate degree Japan's need for raw materials. Manchuria does have more iron and coal than Japan, but not enough for a major industrial nation. The metallic iron content of the known deposits are about one-seventh of the estimated reserves of the United States, but most of it is low grade and much would not be counted as ore in the United States.

Outside of coal and iron and some gold, Manchuria is very poor in minerals. There is no oil except shale oil, which is both difficult and expensive to produce; so far, Japan's attempts at shale oil production there have been both costly and unsuccessful. Japan's nearest oil supplies are in Soviet Sakhalin and British and Dutch Borneo and Dutch Sumatra. Forests in Manchuria are not very extensive, but probably sufficient for Japan's needs.

About half of Japan's industry is devoted to textile manufacturing—silk, rayon and cotton. Raw silk and rayon are produced within her own borders in all needed quantities, but cotton—which is most extensively required—must be imported. It is also important to note that cotton is a major necessity for warfare. Manchuria is not capable of producing much cotton, but North China is. North China also has considerable coal and some iron, but neither of the latter is in sufficient quantity or of adequate quality for a major steel industry. And so far Japan has not succeeded in appreciably increasing cotton production in North China. Thus her *de facto* possession of this area has so far not aided materially in solving her economic problems; however, there is no physical reason why it should not eventually supply upwards of one-half of her total cotton requirements. There are political and financial factors which handicap this development, but these are beyond the scope of our survey.

From the viewpoint of Japan, it may be summarized that while Manchuria and North China are actually or potentially of considerable importance as sources of certain raw materials, they are extremely inadequate to meet the needs of a major power. On the other hand, if we may assume that these areas have been permanently severed from China, she is forever reduced to a position even inferior to that of Japan in so far as industrialization is concerned—for, as Dr. Franklin Ho, leading Chinese economist, once pointed out to me, Manchuria and North China were not only the country's principal sources for raw materials in manufacturing, but the only parts of China that in modern times have produced a food surplus. Hence their loss will weaken the country considerably for all time.

The rest of China is extraordinarily poor in minerals excepting tungsten (or wolfram) and antimony. China's deposits of tungsten—which is, incidentally, a highly essential component of war machinery—are believed to be the largest in the world, and the antimony deposits are among the largest in the world. There is a little, but very little, oil. To be sure, there has never been a complete quantitative survey of China's sub-surface resources, but enough is now known to indicate that they are very small. In the case of oil, for example, the deep salt wells of Szechuen have resulted in the discovery of some, but the fact that a "gusher" has never been found is fairly clear evidence to experts that the quantity cannot be extensive. In the case of other minerals, geologists have pointed out that the type of mountains prevailing in China are definitely not the ore-bearing kind. It used to be thought that some of the remote provinces, such as Szechuen, Yunnan and Sinkiang, were rich in minerals, but the first two have now been sufficiently explored to indicate that there are no major metallic

reserves in either excepting a tin lode in Yunnan that will be exhausted in about forty years at the present modest rate of exploitation.

Sinkiang is still little known by any excepting perhaps Soviet experts, but in any event it can be described as almost as much a part of the Soviet Union as Manchuria is a part of Japan. In any case, it is so remote that Chinese exploitation of it would not be feasible under conditions in the predictable future.

Summing up the mineral side of China's natural resources, Dr. George Babcock Cressey says in his splendid survey, "China's Geographical Foundations," that: "Without coal and oil for power, iron and copper for construction, limestone for cement and as flux, and sulphur for sulphuric acid, a nation is distinctly handicapped in this modern age. It has often been vaguely assumed that China was bountifully supplied with all these, and it will come as a surprise to many to learn that her supplies of oil, iron, copper, and probably sulphur are distinctly limited. Enormous stores of coal are present and there is no lack of limestone, but in the absence of iron it is difficult to see how industry can develop."

Even the "enormous stores of coal," however, are most optimistically estimated at not more than one-fourth of the existing reserves in the United States. Nor are there many possibilities for hydro-electric development save in the more remote parts of the country, such as Szechuen. Iron is steadily mined, mostly for export to Japan, in the Yangtze Valley, but experts estimate that the total low-grade and high-grade reserves in all China proper, including North China, would be consumed by the United States in ten to fifteen years. Further, even with the meagre reserves that exist, development of a steel industry is handicapped by the paucity of coking coal.

China, it may be recalled, reached her zenith as one of the principal powers of the ancient world—comparable almost to Rome in many ways—in the days before minerals played a major part in human destinies. She was also isolated, and it may be doubted if she could have held her own in contact with Rome. But, in any event, her resources were then sufficient for the requirements of an isolated agricultural economy. They are certainly not sufficient, however, for the foundations of a modern industrial nation.

Indeed, they are now insufficient for an overwhelmingly agricultural economy on the basis of population. There has never been an exact census in China, but the conventional estimate of 400,000,000 is probably a reasonably correct average over a period of ten or twenty years, for with few of the safeguards to life that exist in modern states (such as Japan), there are wide

fluctuations through disease and natural disasters. There are always famines through flood or drought somewhere in China, and in some years millions thus perish. Floods have often destroyed millions directly, as in 1931. Further, civil wars have taken greater tolls than international wars elsewhere in the world; upwards of 15,000,000 perished in the Taiping Rebellion about 75 years ago, and some estimate that upwards of 10,000,000 were annihilated in the agrarian revolution and its suppression during the past ten years. Cholera plagues have killed as many as a million in a summer.

The extremes in population density—60 to the square mile in Kansu and 900 in Kiangsu—have often caused superficial observers to draw incorrect conclusions about China's population in relation to natural resources, and here I will quote from Dr. Cressey: "Merely to state that six-sevenths of the population are concentrated in one-third of the area is to give the impression that the population problem is one of maldistribution. The fact is that two-thirds of the country has the capacity to support a population of only one-sixth as great as the remaining third. All parts of China are essentially filled to their capacity under available methods of production. . . . For all of agricultural China there are an average of 1,479 people to each square mile of cultivated land. Fishing and herding may locally supplement the food supply, but the bulk of these people must obtain their entire livelihood from the products of the soil. Such concentration is more graphically appreciated when it is realized that 1,479 people per square mile means an average of only 0.43 acre per person."

In addition to the annual ravages of flood and drought, there is little natural fertility left in Chinese soil. Floods, of course, serve to build up, thereby offsetting some of their damage, but the chief element that makes life at all possible at the present population level is the use of night soil. And even at the present standard of living—a standard that for fully 90 per cent. of the population is sub-human as compared only to the standard of an English unemployed worker on relief—food imports amount to over 1 per cent. of the total consumption. This does not sound large, but it is large in view of the fact that China is about 80 per cent. agricultural; further, there is an almost annual increase in food imports.

In a word, it may be said that China today has at least four times the population her natural resources are capable of supporting at a standard of living which would be regarded as sufficient in Western countries—a standard, for example, like that of the average Balkan peasant.

From the viewpoint of Japan, *all* of China proper could offer her little in *natural resources* excepting tungsten and antimony; indeed, in so far as natural resources are concerned, Japan would

be virtually no better off with all of China than she is now compared with her strongest Oriental neighbour, the Soviet Union. Markets and man-power are, of course, outside the scope of this survey.

South of China proper the picture radically changes. There is no over-population in this part of the Far East excepting Java and the extreme south of Cochin-China. Both French Indo-China and Siam export huge quantities of food, especially rice. Tonkin, in French Indo-China, has by far the largest and best anthracite deposits in all the Far East. It also has extensive zinc mines. Laos has large quantities of tin and lead. Siam, parts of British Malaya, and Banca and Billiton in the Rhio Archipelago of the Netherland East Indies contain what are believed to be the largest tin deposits in the entire world; the supply in Siam alone appears to be virtually inexhaustible.

In a previous article in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, I pointed out that the Philippine Islands were very wealthy in many minerals, notably gold, chromium and iron. The fact that the iron does not occur in conjunction with coal gravely handicaps Philippine Commonwealth in industrialization, but the source of iron supply is convenient for Japan. Indeed, most of the iron now mined in the Philippines goes to Japan. The known gold deposits of the Philippines are small compared with those in South Africa, the United States and Alaska, and less than those in the Soviet Union, but they are the largest known gold deposits in the Far East.

The mineral wealth of the Netherland East Indies is immense. Besides the tin already mentioned, there are oil reserves that are among the largest in the entire world. British Borneo is also very rich in oil. Java contains large amounts of manganese—an essential item in steel manufacture—and sulphur, as well as some gold and silver. Besides oil, Sumatra is rich in manganese, lead and zinc, and has also some coal, gold, silver, tin and iron. There are tungsten deposits in the Rhio Archipelago. Borneo has much coal in addition to oil, and some platinum. There is iron ore containing nickel in Celebes and the adjoining islands.

All of these areas, too, produce or are capable of producing many essential agricultural raw materials. The Netherland East Indies could most probably supply the entire rubber needs of the world. Rubber is also produced extensively in Siam and British Malaya, and could be grown in the Philippines. While not much cotton is now grown in either Siam or the Philippines, either area is capable of vast production. The Philippines have a natural monopoly on hemp. Copra production is large in every area.

Further, all of these areas, with the exception of Java and most probably British Malaya—which is sparsely populated, but is not a good food-producing region—offer much opportunity for colon-

ization by people adapted to tropical and sub-tropical conditions. Westerners are unlikely colonizers because of this qualification, but the Japanese are much better adapted to sub-tropical areas than to regions like Manchuria. Parts of Siam and the Philippines—which for the most part are only mildly tropical—are ideal for them. And either of these areas could probably support the entire population of Japan, although neither now has a population more than one-fifth that large. Indeed, as I pointed out in discussing the Philippines, they should be able to support a larger population than Japan's for their arable area is greater.

Japan today has only one sub-tropical stronghold, rather small and not very wealthy Formosa. Its greatest natural resource is camphor, and the largest part of the world's supply comes from there. It also supplies Japan with her sugar, but on the basis of very low consumption. (Java and the Philippines are among the world's largest producers of sugar.) Formosa also exports a small amount of rice to Japan.

With only Formosa, Japan is especially weak in sources of tropical raw materials, especially rubber and copra, nor has she any substitute (such as cotton-seed oil) for the latter. In her other deficiencies, lack of petroleum is in some ways a greater weakness than lack of iron. Through immense purchases of scrap iron during the past six years, Japan probably has an iron reserve for a year in event of emergency. With some difficulty, she has compelled foreign oil companies in Japan to keep on hand at all times a supply for six months, but this is the largest oil reserve she can hope to build up.

Our survey of Far Eastern surface and sub-surface natural resources is now complete, and it clearly shows that exclusive of Siberia the only really wealthy areas are in the south: French Indo-China, Siam, British Malaysia, the Philippines and the Netherland East Indies. They, and they alone, have together the agricultural and mineral assets necessary for the development of a powerful industrial nation, although not one has enough within its own borders for such development. In only one major item are they somewhat deficient: iron—and the only iron deposits in all non-Russian Asia comparable to those that Russia possesses are in Bihar, India.

There is one final and usually little-noted item in natural resources: climate. From personal experiences and observations throughout Asia I have become convinced that Henry Thomas Buckle was on the right track when he ascribed to climate a major rôle in human history; it may even, indeed, be the first among qualitative factors. Its influence on agriculture is obvious enough, but its effect on human character is likely to be less noted. Everyone, of course, knows that the tropics are somewhat enervating;

less known are the violent effects on the nervous system of the glaring, merciless sun in the sub-tropical areas. And it is not generally known that the omnipresent haze in the tropics proper at or near sea-level results in a less pronounced sun than is found ten to fifteen degrees of latitude away; there is even far more danger of sunstroke in Peiping (Peking) on the fortieth parallel during five months of the year than in Singapore, 73 miles from the equator, at any time during the year. This is because of dryness of the Peiping atmosphere due to the proximity of the Gobi Desert.

All of non-Russian Asia excepting the extreme northern parts of Mongolia and Manchuria are south of fiftieth parallel that runs between Paris and London, and most of the non-Russian Far East is south of any part of Europe excepting the southern parts of Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece. Latitude, of course, is only one factor in climate, and other factors make the non-tropical Far East very different from the Mediterranean area. China's monsoonal climate arises out of the existence of the tremendous arid plains in Central Asia. These heat more quickly in the summer and cool more quickly in the winter than the seas to the east and south, and the areas of low and high pressure thus created cause very hot, humid, rainy summers in much of the country and extremely cold winters in relation to latitude. The alternating floods and droughts are also thereby produced. Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette has further observed (in his *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*) that "the undoubted fact that of late centuries the Chinese in the Yangtze and the south average higher in initiative and leadership can . . . be attributed in part to the climatic contrasts between the great sections of the land." It should be here noted that several centuries ago the Central Asia plains were fertile and prosperous, but have now been reduced to virtual desert by steady desiccation, which in turn has caused a slow but constant change for the worse in the climate of China. Thus it may be said that China reached her zenith under climatic conditions somewhat different from those prevailing today.

Only Japan and a few parts of North China and South Manchuria today have a climate like that in which any of the dynamic civilizations of the Western world have developed—a temperate climate somewhat similar to the North Mediterranean which does not run to extremes of either hot or cold. Outside of this climate, however, the Japanese are (unlike Westerners) definitely better adapted to sub-tropical and tropical areas than the colder regions; it is very significant that in their invasions of both Siberia and North Manchuria in the past two decades they suffered far more casualties from cold than from bullets. The conquest of North

Manchuria was only completed by rigorous and costly development of "cold weather" divisions on the principle of "survival of the fittest."

Climate, therefore, may be regarded as the final physical factor in directing Japan's course of expansion southward rather than northward.

CHINESE SOCIAL LEGISLATION AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS ENFORCEMENT

By C. S. CHAN

(A Member of the Staff of the International Labour Office.)

INTRODUCTION

BEFORE enquiring into the legal protection afforded by a country to its "workers," it is desirable that this term should be defined. If it covers all who are obliged to work for a living under conditions "involving"—to quote the Preamble to Part XIII. of the Treaty of Peace—"injustice, hardship and privation," whether as wage-earners or as independent workers, whether in industry or in agriculture, their number in China may be reckoned, in the writer's opinion, at between 150 and 200 million, although accurate figures are still lacking. The overwhelming majority are agricultural workers: salaried workers, tenants and small landowners, while the remainder comprise workers in modern industries, handicraftsmen, commercial employees, coolies, and intellectual workers. These facts show the extensive and complex nature of the problem of legal protection for workers in China. So numerous are the workers to be protected that reform on a very wide scale is required, while their diversity calls for measures of the most varied kinds. The immensity of this task becomes still more obvious if one bears in mind the social and economic—not to mention political—conditions now obtaining in China.

As in Western countries, social legislation in China has concentrated on the industrial workers, or rather on those employed in modern industries. In time, it will no doubt be extended to other categories, some of which already enjoy a measure of protection.

The object of this survey is to trace the progress and still more the enforcement of modern Chinese social legislation. We hope that the latter point will prove of special interest to readers on account of its novelty. The practical value of social legislation lies in the extent to which it is enforced; and where enforcement is only partial, it seems desirable to point out the causes of failure and the problems and difficulties involved.

I.—THE PROGRESS OF CHINESE SOCIAL LEGISLATION*

The progress of social legislation, which began some twenty years ago in China, has not moved parallel with the industrializa-

* See the article, "Social Legislation in China under the Nationalist Government," by C. S. Chan, *International Labour Review*, January, 1929.

tion of the country. Indeed, modern industry has taken a long while to obtain a foothold in China, and the country remains essentially agricultural, with three-quarters of its population at work on the land. Moreover, handicrafts and cottage industries are responsible for three-quarters of its industrial products. There do not appear to be more than two million factory workers in the whole country, and more than one million employed in the modern mines and in communications. Industrialization is mostly limited to a few large ports, where it is in striking contrast to conditions up-country.

A movement in favour of labour legislation started after the Great War. It grew side by side with the trade union movement (to be discussed later), but the principal cause of its rapid development was unquestionably the triumph of the Nationalist party, whose leader, the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, drew up an extremely liberal social programme enshrining his doctrine of the "three principles of the people." The coming to power of the Nationalist Government at Nanking made it possible to give practical effect to part of this programme by legislation. An important part in this movement for the legal protection of Chinese workers was played by the International Labour Organization. It was as a result of the Washington International Labour Conference in 1919, at which Chinese labour problems were discussed, and still more of the visit paid by Mr. Albert Thomas to China at the end of 1928, that social legislation made uninterrupted headway. The following is a short historical account of Chinese social legislation.

Under the former Peking Government. In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission on Special Countries at the Washington Conference, the former Peking Government adopted the first general measure for the protection of the workers by promulgating provisional factory regulations on March 29, 1923. A number of regulations concerning work in mines were issued during the same year, and in December, 1923, a ministerial circular forbade the manufacture, importation and sale of matches containing white phosphorus, this being a result of the ratification by China of the Berne Convention of 1906. A Bill on workers' associations was also under consideration. These first measures for the protection of workers were not, however, effectively applied.

Under the Nationalist Government. Freedom of association was legally recognized by Dr. Sun Yat Sen's Government at Canton in 1924. Since the constitution of the Nanking Government, labour legislation has progressed rapidly. The following are the chief laws and regulations subsequently promulgated and enforced:

(1) Act concerning the settlement of labour disputes, promulgated on June 9, 1928 (in force since that date).

(2) Act respecting trade unions, promulgated on October 21, 1929 (in force since November 1, 1929).

(3) Factory Act, promulgated on December 30, 1929 (in force since August 1, 1931).

(4) Act concerning factory inspection, promulgated on February 10, 1931 (in force since October 1, 1931).

(5) Act regarding collective agreements, promulgated on October 28, 1930 (in force since November 1, 1932).

(6) Order for the administration of the Factory Act, issued on December 16, 1930 (in force since August 1, 1931).

(7) Order for the administration of the Act respecting trade unions, issued on June 6, 1930.

(8) Regulations concerning the organization of special seamen's, railway workers', postal workers' and telegraph workers' unions, issued on October 5, 1932.

(9) Provisional regulations concerning fee-charging employment agencies, issued on December 3, 1931.

(10) Regulations concerning workers' savings, issued on April 1, 1932.

(11) Regulations regarding the introduction of workers' education, issued on February 4, 1932.

(12) Provisional regulations regarding the introduction of minimum wages in Government undertakings, issued on March 22, 1934.

(13) Regulations concerning safety and hygiene in factories, issued on October 12, 1935.

Other important measures—i.e., Acts on mining labour, on labour contract, on minimum salary, etc.—have been published and shall be enforced by subsequent orders.

Two important Bills are about to be promulgated, one dealing with placing and the other with accident and sickness insurance.

Other Acts closely connected with social legislation have come into force, namely: (1) The 1930 Act on agricultural unions; (2) the 1929 Act on industrial and commercial guilds; (3) the 1935 Act on co-operative societies; and (4) the 1935 Act on simplified insurance.

China has also ratified twelve International Labour Conventions:

(1) Convention concerning the creation of minimum wage-fixing machinery, ratified in 1930.

(2) Convention concerning the marking of the weight on heavy packages transported by vessels, ratified in 1931.

(3) Convention concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers, ratified in 1934.

(4) Convention concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings, ratified in 1934.

(5) Convention concerning equality of treatment as regards workmen's compensation for accidents, ratified in 1934.

(6) Convention concerning the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading ships, ratified in 1935.

(7) Convention concerning the underground work of women in mines.

(8) to (12) Five conventions on maritime affairs.

II.—THE CHIEF LABOUR LAWS AND THEIR ENFORCEMENT

Amongst these various measures for the protection of the workers, some of which have subsequently been amended, the most important are unquestionably the Labour Disputes Act, the Act concerning freedom of association, and the Factory Act. An attempt is made below to outline the substance of each of these Acts and to discuss the problem of its enforcement.

I.—ACT CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF LABOUR DISPUTES (PROMULGATED ON JUNE 9, 1928, AMENDED ON MARCH 17, 1930, AND SEPTEMBER 27, 1932)

(a) Summary of the Act

The Act applies to disputes between employers' and workers' organizations or groups consisting of fifteen or more workers, arising out of the maintenance or alteration of contracts of employment.

In the event of a dispute, conciliation is practically compulsory—i.e., the conciliation board may be convened by the competent administrative authority at the request of either party or *ex officio*, if thought desirable. If the attempt at conciliation is unsuccessful, recourse to arbitration procedure is optional and can be had only if asked for by both parties, unless: (1) the dispute grows serious and lasts for more than one month, in which case the competent administrative authority may refer it *ex officio* to an arbitration board; or (2) it occurs in any of the public utility undertakings mentioned in the Act, in which case arbitration is compulsory.

Strikes and lockouts are forbidden in any of the public utility undertakings mentioned in the Act. In others they are forbidden only during conciliation or arbitration proceedings.

Employers may not dismiss workers during conciliation or arbitration proceedings, nor may workers and workers' organizations commit acts of sabotage in the factory or compel other workers to strike.

The conciliation board is composed of five to seven members: one to three representatives of the competent administrative authority, and two representatives appointed by each party.

The arbitration board is composed of five members: a representative appointed by the competent administrative authority, a representative appointed by the provincial, local or municipal committee of the Kuomintang party, a representative of the local law court, a workers' representative and an employers' representative; the last two may not be directly concerned in the dispute.

Decisions by conciliation and arbitration boards have the force of contracts between the parties. Penalties are imposed in the event of contravention.

(b) *Enforcement of the Act*

This was the first measure of social legislation adopted by the Nationalist Government. Its object was to put an end to the disturbances provoked by the innumerable labour disputes between 1925 and 1927. Statistics show that 501 strikes, involving 1,188,155 workers, occurred in 1925, and 535, involving 539,000 workers, in 1926. Shanghai alone experienced 117 strikes, involving 881,000 strikers, in 1927, and 118 strikes, with 200,000 strikers, in 1928. It should be remembered that the big strikes which occurred in Shanghai in February and March, 1927, partook of the nature of insurrections, and the 1928 Act was to some extent a preventive measure for the protection of society.

Some idea of the results obtained from this Act is given by the statistics of labour disputes published by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the City Government of Greater Shanghai. Between 1928 and 1932, 1,491 disputes were recorded which did not result in strikes or lockouts, of which 394 (i.e., 26.41 per cent.) were settled by conciliation boards and 61 (4.09 per cent.) by arbitration boards, while 56.96 per cent. were settled by mediation or administrative measures taken by the Bureau of Social Affairs. (Many disputes are not covered by the 1928 Act, and in these cases recourse is usually had to mediation or administrative measures.) In the same period, there were 517 strikes and lockouts, of which 75 (14.51 per cent.) were settled by conciliation boards and 20 (3.87 per cent.) by arbitration boards, while 34.33 per cent. were settled by mediation or administrative measures.* Statistics for 1933 relating to the country as a whole have been published by Professor Ta Chen. Out of 296 disputes, 35.47 per cent. were settled by conciliation boards and 1.35 per cent. by arbitration boards. Out of 79 strikes, 25.32 per cent. were settled by conciliation boards, and 2.53 per cent. by arbitration boards.†

It is clear that the 1928 Act was applied in only a small per-

* *Strikes and Lockouts in Shanghai since 1918, 1933; Industrial Disputes in Shanghai since 1928, 1934; Bureau of Social Affairs, the City Government of Greater Shanghai.*

† *The China Year-Book, 1934.*

centage of cases, especially as regards arbitration. In Shanghai the parties showed an obvious tendency to avoid its application in favour of some other method of settling their disputes.

In an effort to strengthen its policy of economic reconstruction, the Nationalist Government may perhaps endeavour in the future to play a still more preponderant rôle in the settlement of disputes.

II.—ACT RESPECTING TRADE UNIONS (PROMULGATED ON OCTOBER 21, 1929, AMENDED ON DECEMBER 12, 1931, SEPTEMBER 27, 1932, AND JULY 20, 1933).

(a) *Summary of the Act*

Workers of either sex who have attained the age of sixteen years and are engaged in the same craft or the same industry may combine to form trade unions in conformity with this Act provided that the minimum number of members is 100 in the case of an industrial union and 50 in the case of a craft union.

Such unions may aim at increasing the skill and productive capacity of their members, and at maintaining or improving their conditions of employment or standard of living.

Wage-earning employees in administrative departments of the State, communication services, State industrial undertakings, public education and other public undertakings may form trade unions, while officials and salaried employees in the same undertakings and officials, salaried employees and wage-earning employees in the army or in arms and munitions industries may not do so.

To found a union an application signed by the number of members needed for its formation must be submitted to the competent authority.

Workers engaged in the same industry or the same craft may not form more than one union in a particular locality.

The entrance fee for each member may not exceed \$1, and the regular contribution may not exceed 2 per cent. of the member's income.

Trade unions may not compel workers to join or to leave, nor may they refuse admission to any applicant who possesses the requisite qualifications according to the law.

In the event of a labour dispute, a strike may not be declared by the trade union until conciliation proceedings have been taken, nor then unless it has been decided by a two-thirds majority of the total number of members on a secret ballot taken at a general meeting of the union.

The trade union may not act to the detriment of the public peace and order or endanger the person or property of employers or other persons.

A union may not declare a strike to enforce the claim of its members to a wage above the standard rate.

Employers and their representatives may not refuse workers employment or treat them unfairly because they are officers or members of a trade union. They may not make it a condition of employment that their workers shall not be members or officers of a union.

Trade unions enjoy certain privileges in regard to taxation, bankruptcy, etc.

Trade unions in the same industry or the same craft may combine to form trade union federations, if authorized to do so by the competent authority. They may not be affiliated to a federation of trade unions in any foreign country without permission from the Government.

(b) Enforcement of the Act

This Act proved very difficult to enforce at first owing to the existence of a great number of trade unions which did not conform to the new conditions imposed by the 1929 Act. The Act also omits to deal with important points, for the solution of which it has often been necessary to seek official interpretation. The problem which has claimed most attention in trade union circles has been to know which categories of workers are entitled to benefit by the Act. The official interpretation given with regard to this point excludes a whole series of workers such as commercial employees, rickshaw coolies and palanquin bearers, etc., whose existing trade unions were obliged to close down. The second important question for the trade unions was to know on what geographical basis they could unite in federations. Were they allowed to form a national confederation of labour and national and provincial federations for particular industries, or were they to unite in all-embracing trade unions resembling provincial or municipal labour exchanges? This is not expressly stated in the Act, and again an official interpretation had to be sought. According to the latter, the formation of provincial or municipal federations for each industry and craft is legal, while that of national federations on the same lines or of a national confederation of labour is not. It was also held illegal to form all-inclusive trade unions embracing the unions of a given district irrespective of industry or craft. With regard to this last point, however, a different interpretation was given in September, 1934, and since that date the formation of municipal or district trade unions on an all-inclusive basis has been permitted, but not that of provincial unions. This constitutes an important victory for the Chinese trade unions, which have always been associated in this

way and can only hope to recover their former authority by continuing the tradition. Lastly, under the present system certain workers and employees in State and public utility undertakings may form unions only in virtue of a special statute; examples are seamen, railway workers, postal workers and telegraph workers.

Before enquiring into the present situation of trade unionism in China, it is necessary to say a few words about its past history.* The movement began immediately the Great War was over. After a hesitating start, during which all kinds of political and legal difficulties had to be overcome, it progressed with extreme rapidity between 1925 and 1927, making common cause to some extent with the patriotic and nationalist movement. By the beginning of 1927 the number of trade unionists was reckoned at 3 millions. In the spring of that year trade unionism suffered a severe setback as the result of repressive measures which followed the break between the Kuomintang and the Communist party. Existing unions were dissolved or reorganized. The 1929 Act aimed at regulating the trade union movement on a new basis. The official statistics published by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang show that there were 1,517 trade unions in 1933 with a total of 800,065 members.† These figures were obtained by an investigation carried out in 17 provinces and 4 municipalities. Another set of statistics, regarding 17 industrial centres, gave 288,808 trade union members in 1934.‡

A few remarks are necessary here if the situation is to be properly understood.

(1) In the first place, the statistical figures should be treated with caution. Moreover, if account is taken only of members who regularly pay their contributions and take an effective part in the work of the unions, the progress achieved by trade unionism in China seems relatively slight. The following views on trade unions as they exist at present have been expressed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang:§

"It is generally admitted that the worker remains indifferent to his trade union." And again: "The worker regards his trade union merely as an instrument in each passing economic struggle. He takes no part in its work except during an actual labour dispute, and as soon as that is settled, his interest vanishes." And

* *Freedom of Association*, vol. v., published by the International Labour Office, 1930; *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 32.

† Report on the trade unions of the various districts, published by the Department for Popular Movements of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Nanking, 1934. (In Chinese.)

‡ *China's Labour Problems of To-day*, Chu Hsioh Fang, 1936.

§ General Report on the trade unions of the various districts, published by the Department for Popular Movements of the Chinese Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, 1933. (In Chinese.)

again: "Those responsible for trade unions are often unable of performing their duties for lack of knowledge and time, and the work of the unions is therefore left entirely to secretaries, who are not usually workers themselves."

(2) The Chinese trade union movement is at present exclusively controlled by the Kuomintang party, coming as it does within the sphere of the party's Central Executive Committee or, more correctly, of its Department for Popular Movements. Under the present system, the local committees of the Kuomintang have the power, after due enquiry, to grant or refuse requests for the formation of trade unions, and in the event of their granting such a request the union remains under their permanent supervision. It is of interest to know that the workers' delegates and advisers at the International Labour Conference are appointed by the Department for Popular Movements. This supervision by the Kuomintang is explained by the party's social policy, one of the objects of which is "to protect workers' organizations in order to assist their development."

(3) The Chinese trade unions have unquestionably done much to assist the nationalist revolution. At the height of their influence they were very successful in settling labour disputes and negotiating collective agreements. These latter deserve special note. In the course of two years the unions secured the conclusion of several hundred collective agreements with the employers which ensured them extensive advantages and, in particular, guarantees regarding security of employment and rises in wages; some even allowed workers to share in the profits. Never had the workers won benefits more tangible than those ensured to them by these collective agreements. This whole position was altered since the anti-communist movement in 1927. Thenceforth, most of the former collective agreements lapsed or were amended on the pretext that they had been extorted under threat. The collective agreements now in operation are few in number and narrow in scope as compared with those of former years. In accordance with the law, they have first been approved by the authorities or, as in most cases, they have been concluded as the result of conciliation or arbitration proceedings.

Strikes and disputes become less numerous every year. Welfare and mutual aid schemes undertaken by the trade unions are infrequent. According to the information available for the year 1932-33, these schemes were only undertaken by a quarter of the trade unions in Shanghai, Tientsin and Changsha, where most of them dealt with educational matters.* Such schemes are neces-

* *General Survey of the Labour Movement in 1933.* (In Chinese.) Published by the Department for Popular Movements of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

sarily limited in scope by lack of funds. The larger unions naturally cannot avoid taking a more or less direct interest in politics.

It should be borne in mind that the Chinese worker is known for his habits of sobriety and hard work, as well as for his manual skill and peaceful, conciliatory nature. Once his material means and intellectual circumstances permit, he will undoubtedly be capable of carrying out the task of ensuring his professional solidarity and defence in addition to that of national reconstruction.

III.—FACTORY ACT (PROMULGATED ON DECEMBER 30, 1929, IN FORCE SINCE AUGUST 1, 1931, AND AMENDED ON DECEMBER 30, 1932)

(a) *Summary of the Act*

The Act applies only to factories using mechanical power and usually employing thirty or more workers.

Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed in any factory. Boys and girls above the age of fourteen years and below the age of sixteen years are deemed to be young persons and may be employed only on light work. Young persons and women workers may not be employed on certain tasks—in particular, on any work prejudicial to their health or morals.

The normal hours of work for adults are 8 in the day. These hours may be extended if this is rendered necessary by varying local conditions or the nature of the work, but not beyond 10 hours. Through *force majeure*, the working day may be extended to 12 hours, but the total amount of overtime may not exceed 46 hours a month. The normal daily hours of work for young persons are fixed at 8 hours, and these persons may not be employed during the hours between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. Women workers may not be employed during the hours between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.

Every worker must have a break of half an hour after working continuously for five hours.

The weekly rest is obligatory.

Workers employed uninterruptedly for a period of 1, 3, 5, 10 or more years are granted annual leave of 7, 10, 14 or more days respectively, up to a maximum of 30 days.

Regular wages are paid for public holidays, rest days and for the annual leave; workers who do not wish to take their annual holiday must receive extra wages.

Minimum wage rates for workers must be based on the standard of living in the locality where the factory is situated.

Female workers are paid at the same rate of wages as male workers when they perform the same kind of work with equal efficiency.

Due notice of dismissal must be given.

Employers must take steps to provide their workers with certain amenities, such as educational and savings facilities, amusements, etc.

Female workers must be given leave before and after childbirth, amounting altogether to 8 weeks, with full wages if they have been employed in the factory for at least six months and with half wages if they have been employed in the factory for less than six months.

Factories must contain safety and hygienic appliances (these provisions have been completed by the 1935 regulations on safety and hygiene in factories).

When workers fall sick or are injured or lose their lives in the performance of their duty, they or their legal heirs must receive the allowances or compensation provided by the Act.

The Act provides for the formation of factory councils consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the employers and the workers, their chief functions being to promote efficiency in work, to improve the relations between employers and employees, and to assist in the enforcement of contracts and workshop regulations.

The Act also provides for protective measures to be taken for apprentices.

Unlike the provisional factory regulations promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923, the present Factory Act provides a series of penalties, ranging from a fine of \$50 to one year's imprisonment, in the event of a contravention.

(b) *Enforcement of the Act*

The Factory Act is undoubtedly the most important labour law passed by the Chinese Government, since it regulates the actual working conditions and thus prevents the serious consequences to which bad conditions might give rise. According to the definition given in Article 1, the Act must now cover more than 500,000 workers. The results of its enforcement or non-enforcement are therefore a matter of constant anxiety to all interested in the cause of the workers. For this reason, the enforcement of the Act will be examined in greater detail.

(1) The administration of the Factory Act depends in the last resort on the Ministry of Industries but, since the factory inspection service is responsible for its practical enforcement, strictly speaking the Act comes under the Central Bureau of factory inspection, which was created in 1933 as a department in the above Ministry. The Bureau has drawn up a "gradual enforcement scheme" on the grounds that "while the Factory Act and that concerning factory inspection are in force and should be applied . . . it would be difficult, in view of the country's declining industrial output, to enforce all their provisions at once." The

Bureau has therefore undertaken to divide the enforcement of the Factory Act into several, or more accurately into five, stages. The first includes matters relating to the keeping of registers in factories, the employment of children, women and apprentices, sickness and accident compensation, reports to be made on industrial accidents, apprentices' contracts and the treatment of apprentices. The second stage includes matters relating to industrial safety and hygiene and the limitation of the number of apprentices. The third includes hours of work (except for Article 8 of the Factory Act concerning the 8-hour principle and the possibility of extension), rest days and holidays and supplementary education for children and apprentices. The fourth includes matters relating to the age of admission to factories, the employment of women at night and leave of absence with wages before and after childbirth. Lastly, the fifth stage includes hours of work—i.e., the 8-hour day, with exceptions which may be granted according to local conditions and the nature of the work—and the annual holiday. Each stage involves the continuation of those which preceded it and the preparation of those which will follow. No date, however, is specified for the coming into force and the achievement of each.

The first stage began in April, 1934. According to reports published by the Central Bureau of factory inspection, it would seem that not all the provisions laid down for this stage have been strictly enforced in the legal sense of the word. The inspection appears to have been no more than a kind of enquiry carried out in the factories. No legal steps were taken against offenders, although certain reports admit that prevailing conditions are far from identical with those required by law.* In other words, Chapter XII. of the Factory Act, relating to penalties, remains unapplied, though legally in force. The authorities no doubt prefer to use persuasive methods at first, and regard the Factory Act to some extent as an administrative programme which they will enforce when the time is ripe. Or perhaps they wish to take no further steps until the problem of its enforcement in the Concessions has been settled.

The second stage of this scheme has officially come into force since May, 1935, with the issue of supplementary regulations concerning safety and hygiene in factories. This is one of the most important aspects of the Chinese labour problem, and if it is to be satisfactorily solved, adequate technical training and competent staffs are more than ever essential.

(2) In discussing the enforcement of the Factory Act, it should

* Cf. Report on Factory Inspection, 1935, for the Municipalities of Tientsin and Hankow, *Monthly Labour Review* (published in Chinese), vol. iv., Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1935.

be remembered that the Act was chiefly a theoretical statement of the social doctrines of the Kuomintang. From a practical point of view, it has often been criticized as being too far ahead of the times. Among the chief criticisms passed on it may be mentioned those of Dr. Ta Chen* of the Ching Hwa College, and of Dr. H. D. Fong† of the Nankai Institute of Economics.

Dr. Ta Chen, basing his remarks on an investigation carried out in 1931 into 221 Shanghai factories, shows the enormous discrepancy between the terms of the Factory Act and actual conditions obtaining in the factories. He concludes that an immediate application of the Act in its entirety would ruin the industries of China, and he therefore proposes more moderate and progressive legislation.

Dr. H. D. Fong, in a study confined to the effects of the Factory Act on the cotton industry (which includes half the workers covered by it) observes that the Act has remained up to the present a dead letter, and is destined to remain more of a curiosity than a legislative instrument having the force of law, since it takes no account of the situation of China's cotton industry. The provisions regarding the employment of women at night, the weekly rest and holidays with pay are described as especially burdensome and difficult to apply.

Voices have, however, been raised in defence of the Factory Act.‡

This controversy reminds the writer how wise and far-seeing were the views expressed on this topic by the late Albert Thomas, first Director of the International Labour Office, with whom he was on a mission in China at the end of 1928, when the Factory Bill was submitted to him for his criticism. While he gave his whole-hearted sympathy and support to Chinese social legislation, Albert Thomas was of opinion that everything would depend upon choosing the appropriate time and methods. The essential points were to realize the reforms in such a way as to avoid administering a terrible shock to actual conditions, and at the same time to maintain respect for the legislative authority of the Chinese Government. The value and authority of the Chinese labour laws would thus be all the more obvious to the foreign authorities in the Concessions and elsewhere. The judgment of this great man has proved right.

(3) The system of consular jurisdiction and foreign Concessions undoubtedly constitutes a serious obstacle to the enforcement of the Factory Act. Negotiations on this matter took place in the

may part of 1931. By arrangement with the parties concerned, the International Labour Office placed its services at their disposal, in order to facilitate a satisfactory solution,* and a mission, including Mr. C. Pône of the International Labour Office, and the late Dame Adelaide Anderson, was sent to China in September, 1931. It was on their initiative that meetings were held in Shanghai in the presence of all parties concerned and that some fundamental principles on factory inspection in the Concessions have been agreed upon. Further negotiations would lead to the adoption of positive measures for application. Unfortunately, negotiations were interrupted in 1931 by the Sino-Japanese dispute. In 1933 an agreement concerning certain aspects of the question was on the point of being reached between the Chinese municipal authorities at Shanghai and the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Concession, but in the end nothing came of it. It seems that the International Concession regards factory inspection as a police measure which comes within its own traditional sphere, while the Chinese authorities claim that Chinese legislative and administrative sovereignty should be respected in this matter. The question remains undecided. It has been raised several times by the Chinese delegates at the International Labour Conference. At the request of the Chinese Government, the International Labour Office has, however, entered into direct negotiations with the Governments concerned. It should be observed that all discussions hitherto have been concerned rather with the problem of factory inspection than with the enforcement of the Factory Act as a whole. In the writer's view, it would be a mistake to dissociate these two, since the first should be no more than a means of enforcing the second.† As regards this problem of the Concessions, we are of opinion that a distinction should be made between (1) the problem of Chinese and foreign factories in the Concessions, and (2) that of foreign factories enjoying extra-territorial privileges within the Concessions or outside. Both of these problems must be solved if the Factory Act is to be effectively enforced. As to their content, each of them has at least three aspects: (1) The problem of legislative competence, (2) that of factory inspection proper, and (3) that of the competent jurisdiction in cases of contraventions of the Act.

* The author of this article recalls with pleasure that in January, 1931, when Director of the Branch Office of the International Labour Office in China, he was the first to put the authorities of the International Concession and the Chinese authorities in touch with one another, in order to secure an agreement on this question. The following month he suggested to the International Labour Office that a mission should be sent to help the Chinese Government in the creation of a factory inspection service.

† Cf. General Principles of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization and the Recommendation on factory inspection voted by the International Labour Conference in 1923.

* Study of the applicability of the Factory Act of the Chinese Government. China Institute of Scientific Management, Shanghai, 1931.

† *Monthly Bulletin on Economic China*, March, 1934.

‡ *Facing Labour Issues in China*, Lowe Chuan-Hwa, Shanghai, 1933.

These are all of equal importance, and if one were to be discussed without the others, difficulties might arise at every step. It is not intended to go into details here,* but merely to show how important it is that we should see this problem in the proper light before attempting to solve it. In any case, the matter is urgent and should be settled without delay. The essential aim should be to secure a uniform enforcement of social legislation throughout all the factories existing in China, whether Chinese or foreign, within the Concessions or outside, with or without extra-territorial privileges. The effect of this would be to allow half a million workers adequate measures of protection—to which they have been entitled since 1931—and, at the same time, to assist the progress of Chinese social legislation along normal lines.

In June, 1936, another attempt was made and a draft agreement was approved by the Chinese authorities at Shanghai and the Municipal Council of the International Concession, according to which (1) the Chinese authorities delegate their authority to the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Concession with a view to enforcing the Factory Act in the territory of the Concession. The Council will, however, enforce only those portions of the Factory Act which are applied in Chinese territory and which are agreed upon in negotiations from time to time; (2) a factory inspectorate will be established within the Municipal Council of the Concession, but half of the inspectors will be nominated by the Chinese authorities; (3) the inspectors will be required to have certain agreed qualifications; (4) inspectors will perform their task in accordance with the Chinese factory laws; (5) enforcement of the Chinese factory laws in cases of delinquency will be by proceedings in the courts; (6) the agreement will be for a period of three years and will thereafter continue in force, subject to termination upon six months' notice by either side.

However, in July the draft agreement submitted to the Shanghai consular body was rejected by the latter, on the ground "that the Shanghai Municipal Council has no power to make any concession concerning the extra-territorial privileges possessed by various Powers."

Recently we are informed that a fresh attempt has been made to reopen negotiations.

In our opinion, even if the above agreement came into force it may be doubted whether this would solve all the difficulties mentioned above. (1) In the first place, who is to decide whether a particular portion of the Factory Act has been enforced on

* Cf. the writer's article in Chinese, "The Enforcement of the Factory Act in the Concessions and in Foreign Factories," *Tong Fang Tsa Tze*, vol. xxx., No. 13, and *International Labour Information* (in Chinese), vol. iv., No. 6, 1933.

Chinese territory, and how is this to be done? (2) Can other reasons be alleged for not applying regulations already in force on Chinese territory, and if not, what is meant by these "negotiations from time to time"? (3) Enforcement of the Chinese factory laws in cases of delinquency is to be by proceedings in the courts, but in which courts—the Chinese, the special court of the International Concession, or through the Consular jurisdiction? (4) Is the agreement to be applied without distinction to Chinese factories in the Concession and to foreign factories whose owners enjoy extra-territorial privileges? All these questions require an answer. Nevertheless, from a practical point of view this agreement, if effectively enforced, would constitute an initial step forward in the effort to protect the Chinese workers in foreign Concessions and foreign factories in China.

(Translated from the French.)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE REHABILITATION OF CHINA'S RAILWAYS*

BY KENNETH CANTLIE

(Technical Adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Railways.)

IN order to give a clear conception of the state of the railways, it seems essential to give a short historical survey in order to demonstrate how the railways came to be in the lamentable state that they were in 1931.

China's first railway, if we agree to exclude the short-lived Shanghai-Woosung Railway, was built by a mining concern and later worked as a private railway company. It was found, however, that the difficulty of raising private Chinese capital made it desirable for the Chinese Imperial Government to intervene in order to complete an extension of the line to the capital (Peking). As Chinese capitalists were still reluctant to invest in railways, even under the Government ægis, the Chinese Government obtained a foreign loan by an issue of bonds through the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank under certain stipulations by the bank which took the form of a "Loan Agreement." These conditions stipulated that, through the appointment of Britons to key posts on the railway, a large measure of financial and administrative control should be in their hands. The arrangement might be considered a modification of the system of foreign railway companies such as was, and is, successfully operated in South America and other countries, and was created to meet the natural desire of the Chinese to have at least nominal control of the only modern means of communication in the Empire.

The refusal to entertain the idea of foreign-controlled private railway companies under strict Government inspection was also caused by the system of legal extra-territoriality then and now in force under which the subjects of important nations were under Consular, and not Chinese, jurisdiction. This system, which was a modification of that adopted in the Turkish Empire in the sixteenth century, though excellent in theory, has not, for various reasons, had good results in China, and in practice has sometimes hampered progress, as in the present case.

The original loan agreement concluded between the Chinese

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Government and the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, as the agents for foreign bond-holders, was regarded as a model, and was imitated to a greater or less extent by later loan agreements.

The ensuing period in China's history was an unsavoury one. China had been so greatly weakened by the Sino-Japanese War that it seemed to the world that the break-up of the Empire was at hand, and each great Power manœuvred to prevent any other Powers from seizing part or all of it. These manœuvres often took the form of forestalling other nations in their attempts to secure railway and other concessions and also of enhancing as much as possible their trade with China. In consequence there followed what has been called the "Battle of Concessions." Insofar as railways are concerned, the Powers saw that railway concessions were not only politically desirable, but economically profitable; competition in this sphere was keen, and several of China's major railways came into existence as a result.

The Boxer Rising called a halt to these politico-economic manœuvres, and after the Russo-Japanese War the enhanced comparative strength of Britain and the United States in China causing a relaxation of the expectation that China was shortly to be divided up by the Powers, the clamour for political railway concessions died. Thereafter loans for railway construction were made upon a business basis, though as the lenders were still supported by their Governments this often resulted in political pressure being put upon the Chinese Government. Many Chinese as a consequence not unnaturally failed to note the fundamental difference in the basis of the loans, and could see little improvement in China's position.

In justice to all parties it might be pointed out that, though political pressure was frequently used to procure further advantages for foreign syndicates, it was also much used to overcome obscurantism, petty restrictions, and favouritism on the part of some of the officials. Nevertheless, though the results may often have been good, pressure of this kind could not fail to cause resentment in such a justifiably proud nation as the Chinese.

The scrupulous care with which payment was made on the railway bonds as they fell due improved China's credit rapidly, and the terms on which railway bonds could be sold on foreign markets became progressively easier. As a result, loan agreement safeguarding clauses (employment of foreign staff, deposition of funds, etc.) became less and less stringent.

In 1911 the Chinese Imperial Government decided to take back direct control of the trunk railways from the Provincial Governments, and this was the immediate cause of the Revolution which caused the displacement of the Manchu dynasty. The effect of the Revolution on the railways was not great, and after a short

pause the flow of foreign money and materials to China for railway construction was actually accelerated.

The Great War, however, caused an absolute cessation of foreign lending, and its aftermath of financial confusion prevented any renewal of interest in Chinese railways. In the meantime China had commenced that long period of civil wars which, reminiscent as they were of England's Wars of the Roses, were extremely confusing to outsiders, and caused conservative foreign financial interests to await tranquillity before re-entering the investment field.

Railways, being the sole modern means of transport, naturally suffered severely during this period, and the foreign railway officers, whose dual duties under the Loan Agreements were to safeguard not only the rights of the Central Government, but also the interests of the foreign bond-holders, were placed in an invidious position, and had to endeavour to withstand the requirements of the various War Lords and Governors in whose territories they chanced to be. In consequence, a large majority of the foreign staff, and also many of the experienced Chinese staff, on the various railways were removed and their substitutes were frequently military or political appointees whose knowledge of railway matters was sometimes small.

The rise of the Nationalists in 1926 was followed by their split with the Communists in 1927. Prior to the split much communist propaganda had been spread, and this had caused a large fall in the efficiency of the various railways, especially in shops and sheds, due to decay of discipline. It became, consequently, less and less possible to repair the damage to the railways done in the civil wars.

To the heavy damage to rolling-stock resulting from the wars there was added the wholesale removal of locomotives, carriages, and wagons by the "Old Marshal" Chang Tso-Lin when he retreated to "the three Eastern Provinces" (as the Chinese call Manchuria), and this equipment was used by him on the new railways which he built in Manchuria, and little of this stock ever returned to the owning railways (mainly the Peiping-Hankow, Tientsin-Pukow, Peiping-Suiyuan, and Lunghai).

In 1929 the National Government occupied Peking (the name of which was changed from "Peking," Northern Capital, to "Peiping," Northern Peace), and there came a period of peace. A Ministry of Railways was then established (formerly the railways had been under the Ministry of Communications) in Nanking, the new national capital, to endeavour to rehabilitate the railways, which by then were in a deplorable condition. On some lines as many as 60 per cent. of the locomotives were out of service, and the condition of rolling-stock was almost as bad. Interest on bonds was in arrears on almost all lines, and repayment of, or

even interest payments on, the large material loans, which during the wars had been made on increasingly onerous terms, was also impossible.

Before palliatives were possible, yet another war broke out, led by certain discontented leaders then in the north. For six months the struggle continued along the Peiping-Hankow, Tientsin-Pukow, and the Lunghai lines, and still more damage was done.

The ensuing peace found the majority of the railways in a condition little short of chaotic, with but a small proportion of serviceable rolling-stock, over-aged and rotten sleepers, patched and weakened bridges, a shortage of spares of all kinds, an subordinate staff heavily in arrears with salaries and wages, and an enormous mass of both long-term and short-term indebtedness which increased inexorably year by year, much of it at heavy compound interest.

That was the problem confronting the Ministry of Railways in 1931.

CONDITIONS IN 1931

It is no exaggeration to say that the task facing the Ministry of Railways in 1931 was one of the most complex and difficult railway problems which has ever been faced.

The railways were in ruins, large expenditure was necessary to keep them at work at all, and yet money could only be borrowed on almost prohibitive terms which still further increased the load of debt, already so great that the ability of the railways to pay it off at all was already questioned. Any railway official might be forgiven, therefore, who regarded the task as impossible.

The form of capitalization of the railways was a handicap, as, being a bond, and not a share, indebtedness, it was inflexible, and allowed no margin for the bad times which the railways were now experiencing. Fortunately the bond-holders, to their credit, realized the difficulties, and did not adopt an intransigent attitude, which would still further have complicated the position. The foundation of the subsequent improvement in the railways was, therefore, the desire of the Government and Ministry of Railways to honour its indebtedness and the willingness of the bond-holders to take a broad view of the situation. The fact that tacit co-operation existed between them almost from the beginning should never be forgotten.

The Chinese people have, throughout the centuries, suffered at frequent intervals from famine, pestilence, floods, and other natural and national disasters. This has developed within them a stoical outlook and philosophy which is the admiration of other nations. This stoicism was well exemplified by the attitude of the general public towards the Chinese railways at this period. Trains

were few, crowded, slow, and grossly unpunctual. The carriages were dirty and damaged, failures were frequent, and the unpaid railway staff frequently obtained money by illegal charges. All these troubles were faced by railway users with a cheerful equanimity which would be met with in no other country.

The movement of freight which had been awaiting the restoration of train services was considerable, and called for the utilization of every serviceable wagon. Revenues, therefore, soon reached substantial figures. The railways, however, were in far too serious a condition for this revenue to have any immediate effect on their general position. Their credit was strained to the utmost to provide the wherewithal to continue operation, while the result of years of neglect may be seen in the enormously enhanced Operating Ratios. Furthermore, unproductive transport and taxation were still at a high level.

It should be remembered that it is the average of the railways which is being considered. Some railways in the coastal areas were in much better condition than those inland for several reasons. The Loan Agreements of these railways prevented them from giving much assistance to less fortunate lines.

At the outset, therefore, there was little opportunity for creating a detailed programme of rehabilitation, such as the Russian Five-Year Plan. The Ministry and the railways found that the only possible course was to use the available revenues to pay off the most urgent creditors, and thus secure sufficient new credit to continue operation. To do this coal, oil, consumable stores, and a few vital spares were essential, and equally urgent was the purchase of new sleepers. The renewal programmes were all in serious arrears, and on some lines the state of the track was so weak that it was dangerous to run at any greater speed than twenty miles per hour and sometimes even less. At least 2 million sleepers were required as soon as possible.

In September of 1931 occurred the Mukden incident which led immediately to the occupation of Manchuria. I have particularly keen recollections of this, as I was sent by the Ministry to discover and report on what the position actually was. The occupation of Manchuria and the subsequent creation of a new State in that area reduced the lines under the ægis of the Ministry of Railways by about 3,500 kilos, and at the same time rendered permanent the loss of the locomotives and rolling-stock taken away by Chang Tso-Lin.

In January, 1932, occurred the Shanghai affair, which caused an estimated damage of \$30,000,000 to the Nanking-Shanghai railway, including a serious loss of revenues due to complete cessation for three months and a restricted service for several months afterwards and the partial destruction of the shops and

stores. Not only the Nanking-Shanghai, but also the connecting-lines suffered through loss of traffic. I may add here a personal note, as I spent considerable time at the temporary headquarters of the line at Changchow, and say that some of the feats of transportation performed in supplying the 19th Route Army were of a very high grade considering that the line was single.

These events naturally caused a sharp drop in revenue, and it was not until 1935 that the revenue rose above the 1931 level. Despite this setback, however, the reorganization of the other lines was proceeding. It must not, however, be assumed that this reorganization could be effected in an atmosphere of calm consideration. Interruptions and emergencies continued throughout, while varying subsidies to military expenses and local contributions caused financial uncertainty.

Efforts were made to create a long-term system or a plan to improve the railways, but this had to be varied with changing circumstances. Furthermore, the reduction of Operating Expenses by an increase in the efficiency and a decrease in the number of the staff, as would be done in an industrial undertaking, could be carried through only to a very minor extent owing to political reasons. These reasons are simple: in a democracy political power is often dependent on popularity. A high official who created unemployment by reducing staff would not be likely to increase his popularity, to say the least, and there was, therefore, an inevitable tendency to retain surplus staff until they could be given posts on the new railways which, everyone anticipated, would shortly be built.

Revenues continued to mount. Payment was made of wages and salaries, and a start made on annulling the arrears of back pay, thus causing more content among the staff. Sums became available not only for sleepers, but for the purchase of fire-box steel, tyres, drills, tool-steel, and other necessary items, and also some spares in quantities sufficient to permit the shops to cease robbing unserviceable locomotives and rolling-stock of spare parts in order to keep the remainder in repair.

The workshops of the railways were choked with unserviceable and wrecked locomotives and rolling-stock. Many of these would have been uneconomic to repair had new capital been cheaper, but as it was repairs had to be done as opportunity offered. The general shortage of locomotives and rolling-stock was limiting the earnings of the railways very considerably, and in addition many wagons were under military control; the turn-round of the wagons was often tardy; and the engines were, on the average, unable to pull more than about 50 to 60 per cent. of what they should. A vicious circle had been formed. Shortage of rolling-stock and higher Operating Expenses were preventing payment of external

debts, and until these were paid capital could not be borrowed to buy new rolling-stock and/or reduce Operating Expenses.

It may, of course, be argued that the Government as a whole might have come to the assistance of the Ministry of Railways, but this had not hitherto been the custom, and, though the Ministry had large claims against other Government Departments for military transport, etc., those Departments had large counter-claims. The position was so complicated that some time may still elapse before all details are finally adjusted. The only method at that time possible for the Ministry of Railways was, consequently, to proceed independently, and, while endeavouring to sustain the credit of the lines whose bonds had not sunk to hopelessly low values, to devote as much revenue as possible to material improvements in the railways, including the purchase of new locomotives and rolling-stock which, by increasing the speed and number of the trains running, would considerably augment the revenue.

THE LOCOMOTIVES AND ROLLING-STOCK

Repair of existing locomotives and rolling-stock had naturally become of prime importance, and as the growth of the shops had failed in past years to keep pace with the increase in locomotives and rolling-stock, the heavy damages of the war years had put them seriously in arrears. Furthermore, the changes in personnel and the spread of discontent among the staff during the disturbed years had lowered the efficiency and outturn of almost all the shops.

To overtake the arrears some shops worked as many as four hours of overtime per day, while others adopted the two-shift system. Neither of these schemes was wholly successful in its object, as shortage of spare parts, stores, and extra skilled staff prevented the outturn from increasing in proportion to the extra hours worked.

Typical of the small but vital difficulties besetting the mechanical officials was the impossibility of transferring staff from sheds and depôts to shops, as the staff, being in arrears with their salaries, were owing such large sums to local tradesmen as to make transfer impossible. Furthermore, the shop staff objected to sending "their" engines for repair to the shops of other railways, as they feared reduction of staff as an ultimate consequence.

As the months passed the accumulation of locomotives and rolling-stock awaiting repairs at the various shops actually increased to a considerable extent, due to the resumption of heavy mileage entailing breakages of worn-out parts and for another important cause. This was the large number of tyres of minimum thickness extant, many of which became loose. They were kept running

either by fastening the tyres to the wheel-spokes by cramps or by putting liners between them. In either case it was impossible to use the brake-blocks on these tyres, and these were removed. In consequence the braking power of engines and trains was seriously diminished and frequent collisions occurred as a result.

The condition of the shops had serious repercussions on the sheds. It became impossible for either shops or sheds to maintain stocks of finished parts, and to relieve the shops rough castings instead of finished parts were sent out to each shed which possessed suitable machine tools. The system, however, did not work out well, as not only was the skilled staff at the sheds of a very low quality, but as large numbers of castings could not be sent from shops it was usually impossible for the sheds to machine for stock, and engines had to be held up while parts were finished.

The foregoing difficulties were intensified by the fact that locomotives and rolling-stock of different lines, which had become mingled during the troubled periods, had not as yet been sorted out to any great extent, due to the competition of all the lines for the least damaged cars irrespective of ownership. Each railway feared exchanging a good vehicle for a bad one, and in consequence interchange of wagons entirely ceased for a period, and only recommenced after many wagons had been repainted in the using line's colours. Before the wagons were sorted out some years elapsed, and during this time, as may be imagined, the multiplicity of equipment on each railway was a serious handicap to the shops and sheds.

Locomotive boilers were, perhaps, the most difficult feature of this difficult period. A very large proportion of the boilers in China were, and are, over-age according to the usual computations, and fire-boxes were in extremely poor condition. As only the cheapest materials could be afforded for repairs, they gave constant trouble, which was accentuated by the fact that the shortage of good boiler-makers, and even more of competent boiler-inspectors, was, and always has been, acute. Careless washing-out of boilers frequently caused scorched plates through accumulations of scale, while unskilful repair work caused grooved tube-ends, cracked tube-plate bridges, and bulged tube-sheets. Inasmuch as spare boilers did not exist on many of the railways, the delays to engines waiting for boilers were, as can be imagined, very great.

Welding here came to the rescue. Some good welders had been obtained on some of the lines, and some extraordinary feats of welding were attempted, often with some success. Tube holes in tube-plates had often been brought back to size by welding, and cracked tube-plate bridges repaired, but more ambitious repairs were now carried out, such as welding new flanges to tube-plates,

or even welding two halves of a tube-plate together. Superheater flues had rings welded on, while superheater elements had had their return bends, elbows, and ball-joints welded to such a degree that the extent of the steam passage through them was a matter of doubt. On some engines the entire superheater had been short-circuited at the header owing to shortage of elements. Much welding of pitted sheets and foundation rings was done, though not always with success. Despite these efforts the condition of the boilers was, it will be easily understood, very bad indeed, and hydraulic tests revealed such multitudinous small leaks, which nothing but new materials would rectify, that steam pressures had to be reduced, sometimes very materially.

The purchase of spare boilers and fire-boxes, and also of good-quality sheeting and stay-bolt material, soon caused an improvement, though it will be long before the boiler position is what it should be. One of the main obstacles to rapid improvement was the lack of standard classes of boiler. In China the average number of boilers of each type is less than five, and the fittings and connections are almost as diverse. An attempt to provide standard boilers for several similar classes of existing engines is to be made, and with clever designing much may be done.

The state of the engines apart from the boilers was also the cause of grave anxiety. Loose tyres have been already mentioned and their corollary of collisions, but another result of the rough treatment the engines had undergone was that of cracked frames, which were a very common feature. Both bar and plate frames cracked, but whereas the former cracked generally as the ultimate result of a collision, cracks in the latter were usually the result of a derailment. Plate frames had formerly an advantage over bar frames in that in a collision they bent rather than broke, but the advent of welding had largely nullified this advantage, and as the number of plate frames which cracked due to wear and tear was rather higher in China than elsewhere, there was little to choose in efficiency between the two types.

Cracked spokes were to be found in almost every engine, and welding was here of little permanent value. A large number of axles were of minimum diameter. Some of these had to be built up by welding, but in some cases leading and trailing coupled axles could be transposed without upsetting the balance of the wheels, and as the axle-wear took place mainly on the trailing axle, a new lease of life for it was thus provided at no cost. Bearing springs had been broken and replaced so often that the plates were latterly of very poor quality steel which required yet more frequent replacement, while cracked and loose buckles were an additional trouble.

The walls of cylinders had in many cases become dangerously thin, but only too frequently neither new cylinders nor new liners could be afforded. Where new and larger piston-heads to fit the worn cylinders were unobtainable, bronze or iron junk rings were cast on to the original heads.

Poor quality brass was a great handicap. On many of the lines the brass which was used for the best quality work had greatly declined in quality as a result of being repeatedly remelted and re-used. Crown brasses and side-rod brasses made of this brass wore out very rapidly, while boiler fittings soon leaked and required replacement.

In addition to these main causes a great many minor points caused extra trouble and work. One may be cited as an example. This was the worn-out and scorched condition of many smoke-box doors, which had ceased to be airtight, and thus impeded the steam-raising capabilities of the engines to which they were fitted. Replacement of these doors was essential, but could not be afforded, and instead fire-clay had to be used in large quantities to stop the leaks before the engines left the shed.

In the matter of carriages the condition was as bad as that of the locomotives and boilers. A large proportion of the up-to-date coaching stock, especially from the Peiping-Hankow line, had, as stated, been removed by Chang-Tso-lin, and had never returned or been replaced further than by the conversion of wagons to lower-class passenger stock. Also the various campaigns had reduced all carriages to a common level of dirt, decay, and wreckage. Apart from the many cars which had been burned out or smashed in collision, all mechanical parts, such as tyres, couplers brake-gear, and lighting, were badly worn, while the upholstery, etc., was in a very bad state.

Most of the bodies were of wood, and as Chinese people have a genius for working in this material, new bodies were built on the old frames, and if the design of these was sometimes imperfect the workmanship was adequate, though as softwood had to be used the life of these bodies was short. Interior fittings were repaired as far as supplies permitted. As money becomes available these carriages will be steadily improved, and the provision of extra stock will permit of the reconversion of the wagons running temporarily as carriages.

In the matter of wagons much could be said. At the end of 1931 wrecked and disabled wagons were scattered all over the war-zone. Slowly they were moved to shops, and a certain amount of repair done by transferring sound parts. From that time onwards steady work has been done in repairing the remainder. Wagons have gone out containing little but the original sole-bars, and even these have been laboriously straightened and reshaped.

It should again be pointed out that the only justification for some of the repairs carried out was the high cost of capital. Had it been possible to borrow new capital on reasonable terms, the wagons referred to above would certainly have been scrapped, but with the then condition of the money market the interest and amortization rates on capital borrowed to purchase new wagons would have more than swallowed up the savings made by the reduction in repairs and maintenance. It is an excellent example of how completely railway repair policy is based on the cost, and the future estimated cost, of capital, and applies to all railway equipment.

THE PERMANENT WAY

In our survey of the railways at that period we can now turn to the permanent way. The main need, as already mentioned, was for new sleepers. Shortage and cost of capital again entered into the problem and made the higher cost of hardwood or creosoted softwood not only difficult to afford, but financially unprofitable, and softwood was accordingly used in the majority of cases, though it was known that its life could not exceed about eight years, and in some districts less than three. The cleanliness of the ballast had a considerable effect on the life of the sleepers, but, though the gangs were adequate, it was frequently impossible to clean the ballast unless complete sections were relaid with new sleepers throughout, as so rotten were the old sleepers that had the ballast been dug out for cleaning the sleepers would have fallen to pieces. Ballast cleaning was, therefore, in many cases impossible, and sleepers, both new and old, lay in damp mud and their life was but short.

As to the rails, these were, in almost all cases, the identical ones that were laid when the line was first built, and they had suffered badly during their long life. The running surface of the rail, instead of being a curve, was too often worn completely flat; the rail-ends were battered and frequently had a permanent set, having low joints and high centres, which refused to yield to treatment. Their fish-plates were in still worse case, for they were so worn that they could no longer span the web of the rail and hold the joint solid by wedging themselves between the head and foot.

The repair and renewal of sleepers and bridges was more urgent than renewal of rails, for, apart from the flat rail-top, it could not be maintained that the state of the rails was actually dangerous. But when funds became available, albeit in limited amounts, a start was made in shimmying the fish-plates and raising the rail-joint. By the use of a special joint-jack, such as is used in the Federated

Malay States, it is hoped that the rails can be straightened in a vertical direction. Cropping the rail-ends in order to improve the joints has often been suggested, but this has the cardinal objection that it means buying a certain amount of new rail. For the larger 85-pound rail, which is standard on the majority of lines, it may prove possible, when the machinery exists, to re-roll these rails into 75-pound rails, and thus correct all their faults at one time, making them suitable for secondary lines.

THE BRIDGES

During the wars many of the bridges had been destroyed, the broken spans jacked up and mounted on sleeper stacks, and frequently destroyed again. Many bent and damaged girders were removed and laboriously straightened and patched. Others had to be replaced. To provide material, bridges over water-courses normally dry were replaced by Irish bridges (that is to say, the tracks were laid across the bed of the water-course with stone dressing). In this way a number of extra spans were obtained which were used either whole or in parts. Old rails or timber bents were used to support, either temporarily or semi-permanently, spans which had been permanently weakened as a result of multiple damage. It need not be emphasized that had capital been cheaper a large proportion of this work would not have been undertaken, as it would have been better in every way, and more economical, to replace the broken spans with new and stronger bridges.

It had been noted that welding has been widely used in locomotive and rolling-stock repair, and it was natural that the use of welding for strengthening the older and weaker bridges should have been mooted. Despite some reports of failure due to inability to anneal the weld after completion, many welded bridges in other countries have given no trouble, and in the present case the attempt is well worth while and is being carried out.

China is unusual in that the rails have on most lines always been stronger than the bridges, and in consequence the limit to locomotive size is not axle-load, but its effect on a bridge of certain strength. Until now it has been usual to take a certain Cooper loading. This is an American loading very similar to the British Engineering Standards Association's standard loadings. In view of the weak bridges, it became necessary to investigate what was actually the maximum size of locomotive which could safely negotiate each bridge. It requires no investigation but merely common-sense to show that a locomotive, when travelling across a bridge at speed, will cause more strain to the bridge than if it is standing still upon that bridge, and the higher the speed the

greater the disturbances set up in the bridge. Therefore to apply as a test a load which was stationary was clearly incorrect. This is, of course, generally agreed, and consequently a certain percentage is usually added to the bridge load, varying with each length of span, to allow for the greater strain to the bridge caused by high speed. No two bridge experts, however, are agreed what is the correct allowance to make for each span, the allowance on a 200-foot span varying from 5 to 40 per cent. approximately. It will be obvious that the whole system is rule-of-thumb and depends on a large safety factor. The Bridge Stress Committee, which were a Royal Commission, went into the whole matter far more thoroughly than it had ever been investigated previously, and stated as a result that in their opinion the whole procedure outlined in the foregoing was wrong, and that instead of adding a theoretical formula to a static load, the actual forces set up by each engine should be found. After many experiments they set out some standards which, though they apply more particularly to British engines, can be applied in principle to any engine in the world.

The percentage added to many bridges in China was proposed by Professor Turneure, and allows a considerable increase in strength for all spans. By working out the actual effect of engines on bridges on the lines suggested in the Bridge Stress Committee's report, and checking this against the actual gross strength of the bridge after making a deduction for vibration on the long spans, the actual margin of strength of the bridge at all speeds can be found.

Naturally the effect on a bridge differs with each individual engine. The slower the speed, the smaller the effect. Also the larger the driving wheels, the smaller the effect. The latest types of engine for China, especially the large 4-8-4 design for the Canton-Hankow line, were designed with these points in mind, and, though they exceed the static weight-limit, have given no trouble on bridges.

THE OTHER DEPARTMENTS

This survey of the various railway departments to obtain a bird's-eye view of what they were doing to overcome the difficulties of the position must include the Traffic Department. This was naturally put to great difficulties to maintain the traffic by the difficulties already mentioned, and also by the fact that with two minor exceptions all the main lines in China are single track. In consequence the crossing of trains without delay depends on the punctual arrival of both. If one train going north is late, the south-bound train which crosses it at a certain station will also

be made late. Unless the latter train can make up lost time, it will delay all north-bound trains which it crosses, and so on. With engines in bad condition delays were frequent; furthermore, with a strict speed limit to avoid danger on rotten sleepers it was impossible for trains, once late, to make up more than a trifling amount of time, even if the engine happened to be in good order. In consequence the time-keeping of trains was very poor, and on some lines became so bad that trains of the previous day delayed trains on the following day, and prevented any fresh start being made each morning. As the railways in China do not observe Sunday as a time of rest, and as exactly the same service is run, it thus became impossible to correct matters without a wholesale cancelling of trains or the conversion of certain regular trains to specials. The result of this late running was that it was impossible to roster engines or crews for return working, especially on lines without telephonic train-control, as the arrival of the engines was often a matter of conjecture. The shortage of rolling-stock was also accentuated by these troubles, especially in the case of passenger rolling-stock, and trains had sometimes to be cancelled as there was no rolling-stock available.

The foregoing may sound humorous, and has often been told with amusement by tourists to China, but this explanation of the causes will, I hope, remove the impression that the cure was simple: it was a condition brought on by several separate but interlocking circumstances, and it seemed impossible to avoid one without incurring another. To slow all trains down in an endeavour to ensure better punctuality sounds simple, but to do so would have accentuated the shortage of rolling-stock, as the miles per carriage per day would have been decreased, and consequently more overcrowding would have resulted. To reduce the loads of the engines would have had the same effect. To raise the speed of the trains required new sleepers, and to improve the reliability of the engines required new boilers and equipment. It was a position which had no outlet except cleverness in scheming the time-table in order to allow the more important trains clearer movement and less possibility of delay by less important trains.

The Traffic Department quite early after the wars reduced the unloading time of a wagon (even the standard 40-ton wagon) to six hours, and applied stiff penalties if this time was exceeded. This improved to some extent the turn-round time of wagons, and the plan of running goods-trains by night instead of by day improved it still further. The "wagon-ton-miles per wagon-day, per wagon in service," which is one of the most vital statistics in railway work, has, therefore, correspondingly improved, and this has done something to alleviate the shortage of wagons, which is, however, still a chronic condition on the average Chinese railway.

There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the utilization of wagons can be still further improved, and this applies with equal force to locomotives and carriages.

The other departments can be passed over, as their conditions though interesting to the expert, is hardly so to the layman. The rates and fares also, which steadily increased through the years, will also be omitted, though they are of great interest, especially in regard to the throttling effect which high rates had upon what might have been promising freight traffic had there been wagons to carry it and a rate which made it profitable.

The general situation, therefore, was that the railways were being gradually rehabilitated from their own revenues, despite a great many adverse factors which have already been touched upon. In doing so, however, it had been inevitable that no money was available for the payment of many of the material debts and of the bond amortization, and sometimes even the interest. This was regrettable, not only because it depressed China's credit, but also because the unpaid debts were steadily increasing in amount, many of them at heavy compound interest. Unless some agreement could be reached, therefore, it was only a matter of time before the sum of indebtedness rose beyond the maximum that the railways could pay, despite the most efficient management. Had this been allowed to happen, repudiation of some sort would have been hard to avoid, as the only alternative would have been a foreign loan on such onerous terms that its full observance would have been difficult.

THE BOXER INDEMNITY FUND

Fortunately at this time the Trustees of the British Boxer Indemnity Fund commenced to invest on a large scale in Chinese railways. The return of the British share of what is commonly called the Boxer Indemnity took place in 1931 and took the form of the creation of a revolving fund in China, the principal of which was to be invested in productive enterprises, the interest to go to educative and cultural enterprises. To administer this fund a Board of Trustees was created. The agreement further provided that the accumulated funds and half the future instalments should be expended in the British Isles, while the other half of the instalments should be expended in China or Britain. To conduct the expenditure on goods in Britain a Purchasing Commission was set up with wide powers.

The Chinese Government made an allocation of the funds to the various Government Departments, the lion's share going to the railways. It should be noted, however, that, though the various sums were earmarked for various Government Departments and

other enterprises, the investment of the funds remained strictly at the discretion of the Board.

A considerable number of rehabilitation loans for the railways were made, including new locomotives, carriages, and wagons for the Tientsin-Pukow, new rails and locomotives for the Kiaochow-Tsinan line, new bridges for the Peiping-Liaoning, etc. A train-ferry across the Yangtse River was also installed, and this increased the revenues of the adjoining railways, especially of the Nanking-Shanghai, very materially. These rehabilitation loans were, however, subsidiary to the main venture, which was to complete the building of the Canton-Hankow line, which had been building for almost forty years, but had never been finished.

It may have been noted that the Indemnity Fund arrangement, while it provided goods in England, did not provide cash in China beyond the future annual instalments of the indemnity. As railway construction requires both cash and material, the problem was to turn the materials from England rapidly into cash. This was effected by the above-mentioned material loans to other railways.

Another line built at the same time partly with funds provided by the Board was the Hangchow-Kiangshan-Yushan Railway in the Province of Chekiang.

The actual assistance given by the Board to the Chinese railways was great, but perhaps a still more valuable service was the fillip given to public confidence in railway investment. For the first time the Chinese banks began to consider long-term railway investment in a favourable light, especially when, as in the case of the Hangchow-Yushan line afore-mentioned, they were in partnership with the Board of Trustees. At the same time the gradual emergence of the world from the financial depression caused renewed interest in China as a field for investment, despite the constant pressure from the north, where the loss of Jehol and Chahar provinces was followed by the partial divorce of the northern provinces, including the cities of Peiping and Tientsin, from the Chinese national authority. The Fukien revolt, however, made capital extremely cautious for a time, despite its dramatic collapse. The independent attitude of Canton and the so-called Communists in Kiangsi had likewise a chilling effect. Later the clearing of the Communists out of Kiangsi had an excellent effect on public opinion, and since that time public confidence has not had many setbacks, the principal ones being friction with Japan on more than one occasion, the short-lived revolt of the Kwangsi generals, and the detention of General Chiang kai-shek in Sian. The outcome of each of these crises has been a strengthening of the authority of the National Government, and the union with Canton in particular has been of excellent augury for the future.

RECENT RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

The clearance of Kiangsi made the extension of the Hangchow-Yushan line westwards across Kiangsi very desirable in order to bring back prosperity to that province. Roads had already been driven across it, but a railway was of still greater service, as can be imagined. This line was financed partly by the Provincial Governments concerned and partly by a loan from German sources. The same sources are now supplying funds to extend the line still further to join the Canton-Hankow line, and eventually the line is planned to proceed still further to the west to Szechuen and Kweichow provinces.

Other lines which were projected at this time and which are now being actively pushed on were the extension of the Lung-hai westwards to Sian and beyond. Construction of this line never quite ceased even in the worst years, though it sometimes paused for a time. This line will in time go westwards to Lanchow, and so eventually into the far west of China. A branch from Sian will, however, go south-west to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuen. Both of these lines will traverse loess country and are likely to be difficult pieces of construction.

A line built in 1934-35 was that from Nanking to Wuhu, further up the Yangtse. At the latter place it connected with a line which had been commenced many years ago, but had only started operation the year before to as far south as Sunchiapu, though not as far as the coal seam which was the object of the original promoters of the line. The notable point about this line is that it was built by a Chinese railway company financed by Chinese banks. It is a sign of China's progress that, whereas Chinese railway companies were formerly almost invariably unsuccessful, the present venture has succeeded. This line will now be taken over by the Ministry of Railways as part of the new trunk line from Nanking to a junction with the line running from Hangchow westwards to the Canton-Hankow line. This line when complete will form the main route from Nanking and Shanghai to Canton.

Returning confidence in Chinese railways was exemplified when the British and Chinese Corporation came to terms with the Ministry for the issue (in Shanghai) of a new loan for the construction of the final section of the Shanghai-Hangchow Ningpo Railway to connect up the two latter towns. This line is comparatively short, but has two large estuaries to cross, and the Chien-Tang bridge at Hangchow, which is being separately financed, will be a magnificent structure of sixteen spans.

On the north side of the Yangtse River, at Wuhu, a line was

built two years ago to Lo-Ho on the Huai River to carry coal from the mines to the Yangtse. This line, built by the coal company, has been very successful, not only as a coal line, but also as a passenger-carrying line.

Another line, built in 1935-36, is the Shansi Provincial Railway. This line was built by the Shansi provincial authorities as a light railway of metre gauge connecting with the metre-gauge Chengtai Government Railway. This provincial line has been completed southwards to Pochow on the Yellow River, but the extension northwards to Tatung, on the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, is still under construction.

To complete the account of the new railways I will mention here the new Szechuen Railway from Chunking to Chengtu. This is being built by a Sino-French Railway Company, which is a novel venture, and the success of which will be watched with interest. Another line now being surveyed is a line from Canton to Swatow in Kwangtung province. This may one day be extended north-east to form a trunk railway, but that time is not yet. In the north a line which has been long projected, and the earthwork for a portion of which has been long prepared, is the railway from Shihkiachwang eastwards to the Tientsin-Pukow line. This will give a better ocean outlet to the excellent coal produced by Shansi.

Projected lines are many, and include the completion of the Pukow-Sinyang, which was commenced before the European War; the Hankow-Ichang line, construction of which was stopped for the same reason; and the Tsinan-Taokow line, etc.

To revert to the condition of the railways three years ago. It will be seen that the revival of confidence, mainly as a result of the action of the Board of Trustees, had eased the financial position of the railways, but, despite the establishment of sinking funds, the mountain of debt grew steadily until several Chinese officials despaired of ever paying it off, and ideas of repudiation began to be entertained, albeit by a small majority.

It was at this time that General Hammond came to China to report on the condition of the railways to the Chinese National Government. His report was delivered to the Government and was not for publication, but his remarks and comments while in China had the effect of giving some of the officials more confidence in themselves, and this was enhanced by the visit of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, who was instrumental in initiating some of the conversations which resulted in modifications of the Loan Agreements and contracts whereby it became practicable for the railways to pay off remaining arrears in time. This was a fortunate settlement, as it scotched any ideas of repudiation such as had always been entertained by extremist opinion which held that

the railway loans had been forced on China against her will, and that she was under no moral obligation to repay these sums if she could in any way get out of it. With the spread of a wider outlook, however, these ideas, which are the result very largely of anti-British propaganda, at one time very prevalent throughout China, are dying away, though a tendency on the part of the British to explain themselves a little more fully would do no harm.

The Ministry of Railways throughout the whole of the time from 1931 had before it several cardinal rules. The first of these was that there was no hope of obtaining a rehabilitation loan from foreign sources which would be in any way acceptable to the Chinese; until the railways could show the world that they were a sound investment, investors, both Chinese and foreign, would be shy of investing money in anything but short-term loans with personal security.

The second principle was that the offer of any foreign syndicate to take over and operate one or more of the national lines, paying surplus profits to the Government, would not be acceptable, partly owing to the feeling that such an arrangement would be derogatory to China's dignity, and partly to the difficulty of protecting the railway from interference by military on transfer, and also by bandits, who would be certain to gather round a company-owned line in the hope of being bought off. (It should be noted that this opinion dated from some years ago.)

The employment of foreign railway officers on the various lines was also not considered with much favour except by a few. It was not always fully appreciated that the foreign officer being free from politics could often be friendly with everyone, whereas few, if any, Chinese officers could be so independent. Those few foreign officers who remained on the lines had in some measure been short-circuited, and the change in the official language from English or French to Chinese had greatly restricted their capacity, as few of them had had the time to learn Chinese characters, and this placed them in the hands of their translators.

The worst of the situation was now past, and the railways were nearly all feeling the good effects of the improvements made by re-sleepering, the purchase of locomotive spares, general stores, etc. The workshops were still in serious arrears with their repair of locomotives and rolling-stock, but even they were slowly overtaking the arrears, and the backward lines were being increasingly helped by the lines in better condition, insofar as repair of locomotives and wagons was concerned. Later the Ministry decided to place the principal workshops of the country under its own control in order to prevent overlapping of work, and this should have excellent results when it is fully applied.

STANDARDS

In the work of adopting standards, the Ministry had continued the work of its predecessor, the Ministry of Communications. The standards adopted by the latter organization were of rather a general character, with some exceptions, notably the standard 40-ton wagons which had been designed and adopted complete. The Ministry of Railways endeavoured to avoid adopting too rigid a standard, and for a start at least endeavoured to standardize essential parts such as tyres, bogie trucks, brasses, etc., while for locomotives in place of standard engines the endeavour was to adopt standard boilers, wheel centres, tyres, axle-boxes, axles, piston-valves, pistons, etc., which in time would approach nearer and nearer to a standard engine. Factors which directed this policy included that of avoidance of obsolescence of design owing to the rapid progress in locomotive design which was and is being made throughout the world. Secondly, the large variation in conditions, climate, grades, etc., in such an immense area as China made it essential to vary the type to suit each case, as well as to suit the loads to be hauled and the speed. A large number of standard types would therefore be essential, and these types would be split up in small quantities on the existing railways amid locomotives of similar but non-standard design for which different spare parts would be needed.

Unless, therefore, a very large number of engines of the same type were required, the advantages of the standardization of whole locomotives would be lost, and the lesser method of standardizing details was consequently advisable.

At the same time the Ministry was and is awake to the latest improvements in locomotives, and these are incorporated in locomotives whenever conditions permit. High steam pressure, high superheat, large boiler, ample fire-box volume, big grate area, large diameter driving wheels, large piston-valves, extra long valve travel, light reciprocating parts, large main steam-pipes, poppet-valve regulators, and other modern points are all adhered to, though sometimes modifications are introduced to permit the engines to be driven on the new lines by pioneer drivers who have often little training.

In passenger cars the all-steel car has been adopted for main-line stock, though a secondary standard with steel frame and wood body may be used for branch and less important lines. The all-steel car is undoubtedly safer in accidents, but the cheapness of the wood-bodied car is in its favour, especially when capital is dear, and, provided that it is fitted with anti-telescoping girders at the ends, is quite satisfactory. These girders are now fitted to nearly

all the new wood-bodied stock, and no case of telescoping has so far occurred.

The standard bogie truck adopted is of the American type with full-elliptic bolster springs and triple helical equalizer springs. It is costly, but is found to give excellent results. The axle-boxes are of Isothermos type, as are those for tenders and carrying wheels, as these boxes have been found to give satisfaction.

The cars are fitted with pivoted-head couplers for ease of coupling on curves, and have a large combined buffer and gangway footplate above them which, when fitted with duplex springs, keeps the couplers tensed and thus avoids jerks when starting. The cars are also fitted with all-steel vestibule diaphragms, which are stronger, cleaner, and ultimately cheaper than the canvas bellows fitted elsewhere.

The standard wagons adopted are of the 40-ton type and generally follow American practice. Their design dates from 1921, but though later designs have various small improvements, it has not been thought advisable to amend the standard in any way so far. The wagons are of four types: covered, high-side, low-side, and flat, and there are minor differences between the details of each type, though all essentials are interchangeable.

As a final note it might be said that the organization of the Ministry differs from that of the railways inasmuch as while in the Ministry the running is separated from the mechanical engineers section, on the railways the Locomotive Superintendents combine running with shops (on the lines on which the Ministry has not taken over the shops). The transportation system has been tried for some three years on the Peiping-Liaoning, but did not prove very successful for various reasons, and the older system is now restored. Actually the railways are but sections of one large system, and if so regarded there is no real anomaly in the foregoing arrangement.

SOMETHING ABOUT KEDAH

BY TUNKU NONG

IF I am asked by a person, who is interested in the Malay States and who has never been east of Suez, to tell him something of Kedah, one of the five Malay States which are not federated, I would feel inclined to begin, quite in an irregular way in an article of this type, by telling him something which has no direct relation to the main subject. Robert Foran, in *Malayan Symphony*, writes of Kedah, "This section of the Peninsula gives the impression of having been woefully neglected." He, however, admits that he might be guilty of an injustice in saying or thinking so, as he only saw Kedah from "a railway carriage window." I do not blame him for deleting Kedah from his tour. After all, he was not the first to do it, by any means. It is usual for an average visitor to the Malay States only to see Penang, Singapore, and that stretch of some four hundred miles of mainland lying between those two ports. He thinks that he has seen enough of the country, not knowing that he has missed the more fascinating parts; I mean the States on the east coast in which perhaps my own Kedah may be included, where real Malay life, custom, and harmony prevail.

Let us be more patient, and take a train from Penang through Kedah to its most northerly point. Some of you would be satisfied with the remark, "You are now in Kedah," because Kedah is perhaps the least striking State from a train. As soon as you have left Province Wellesley, the strip of land lying adjacent to the island of Penang, which is included in the Penang administration, you see rows and rows of green rubber trees until you reach Sungei Petani, a town halfway between Penang and Alor Star. In Kedah it is only second in importance to Alor Star (20,000 population), which is the capital. After Sungei Petani one sees a short range of hills, although in the language of the people they are "mountains." This range has been called "a freak of Nature," even by lovers of the State. It should not be there, but it is there. It is as majestic as any short range of hills can be. Seen from the east coast of Penang, it is a wonderful advertisement inviting people to Kedah. To the sons of Kedah it is their pride. Kedah Peak, the highest elevation, is very nearly 4,000 feet high. The natives call it Gunong Jerai—a name which is connected with the history of the old kingdom of Kedah. A popular Malay legend about

Kedah's cannibal king, Měrong Maha-Wangsa, makes Jerai or Cherai his habitat. There are a few more legends from Gunong Jerai, but as the train would not stop we proceed on our journey as usual, covering thirty miles an hour at the best, as we are going into a very flat part of the State, and "safety first" over a line that is laid on once a marshy land means "less speed."

Between December and March you would see what might be described as an ocean of paddy-plants, from which you get rice, the staple of most Eastern countries. A few weeks before harvest time the plants change to a golden colour, very much like wheat or barley. Here and there you would see a Malay village, which you would at first take for a thicket. So the scenery dances past before you. It might be described as typical, until you are near Alor Star. You become hopeful, and wonder if you are going to see a couple of tigers in the streets, and gorgeous temples. You raise your hopes too soon, because you would not see the sign of a tiger until you go at least twenty miles into the interior of the State. That is, of course, if you are lucky. Beautiful temples do not exist in Kedah. You are thinking of Burma and Siam. What you see on your right, apart from bungalows, and black-and-white barracks for the coolies which belong to the F.M.S. (the Federated Malay States), is a group of buildings, Sultan Abdul Hamid College, named after the Sultan who has left the government of the State to his eldest surviving son. It is the biggest school in the State, and gives English education from primary to school Certificate standard. On your left you see some football fields, and a row of houses on both sides of the road. What you see of Alor Star from your carriage window as you cross the level-crossing is one straight road, and some brick shop-houses. The train then gradually speeds up for the north and Siam. All along you will find more paddy-fields, and occasionally coconut trees. So, as you are passing through Kedah, you perhaps say to yourself, "I think I have seen all I want to see."

For those to whom Nature is irresistible, and who are interested in the modes of living of the Malays, it is advisable to venture a little further. I would invite them to Alor Star, and show them those parts which are rarely reached by the average visitor, and explain to them the life of the Malays, especially of Kedah.

Kedah (about 3,700 square miles) has a population of 400,000, and here, unlike most of the other States, the Malays form the majority. No two States are really alike. Fashions, dialects, and even mentalities differ somewhat. While in the heart of Singapore a visitor to Malaya might feel as if he were in the Strand or Oxford Street, and in Trengannu or Kelantan he is in a strange world, in Kedah his mind is probably undecided. There is something about Kedah that is different from any other State. Its

people are different, more conservative, and perhaps more religious than some others. The Malay they speak is pure and unaffected, though apology must decidedly be tendered for the babel at the car parks, railway stations, and the non-Malay shops. No doubt the so-called bazaar Malay is easy for a beginner to understand and talk, but it is not Malay, or even worthy to be called a simplified Malay. It is rude in construction and most unpleasant to listen to. The boys in the streets speak it, and it has even penetrated into some respectable homes in the country.

The Kedah Malays are proud that they are born in Kedah, and they wish to see that it is second to none. Talk to a Malay youth and ask him how he likes his State to be? He would tell you that he likes to have it to himself, in the first place. He likes to see its capital big and beautiful. Although he may have very little knowledge of world economy, and the extremely intricate trading transactions with which he is not at all familiar, he can understand that the prosperity of a country depends on the activities of internal industries and external trade. He is beginning to realise that, and there is something at the back of his mind that is telling him that his country should have some big factories. He is not contented with living on the richness of the soil and the other facilities Nature grants him. It is a sure sign that he is prepared to make a more rapid progress, but to those concerned I would commend a steady natural way, which requires great understanding of the situation and, what is more important, sympathy and understanding of the people's mentality.

It is generally true, particularly so in Kedah, that the feelings of the people are easily hurt; but once you have won their confidence they can be stout John Bulls. There is a book by Sir Frank Swettenham, *British Malaya*, which I commend to those who really want to know more about the country in general, and in Dr. Winstedt's book the pictures alone would give you some idea what to expect when you visit that part of the world.

We have wandered from our course, and must return to Alor Star, on which are focussed the several aspects of Kedah Malay life. To understand the changing Kedah you must necessarily study Alor Star, from where Civil Servants are sent out to the different corners of the State. For a Malay town none can be ashamed of it. It has a mosque, which is supposed to be one of the best in the country, and the House of Audience, Balai Besar, is certainly worth a visit. The other outstanding buildings in the town are the lovely bridge that goes over the Kedah River, the Tower of Royal Music, Balai Nobat, and the High Court. The Sultan lives in a quiet, cool, and unpretentious palace. That is all the grand old man wants. There he lives by himself, and around him in their individual residences are his sons and daugh-

ters. Although he has passed his seventieth year, he regularly goes to pray in the mosque on Friday, the Islamic Sabbath day, and other special days. His people regard him as a saint, and there is hardly a home that does not have his photograph. They speak of him with reverence, and, although he has no hand in the government, the Malays believe that the destiny of the State is always guided by his blessing. So long as he lives they have no need for fear. As much as George V. represented the British nation, Abdul Hamid Halimshah is the very personification of his subjects.

Perhaps you have heard of the landing ground for aeroplanes at Alor Star. Kedah fully realizes her position in the country as a member of the Empire. Extensive paddy-fields have been converted into an aerodrome about seven miles outside the town, and accommodation has been furnished for regular air passengers and occasional visits by the Royal Air Force. The people are growing air-minded, whereas only about six years ago very few homes had ever heard of an aeroplane. The stories their fathers used to tell them about those marvellous boats were not credited.

Let us leave Alor Star and visit a Malay village near the aerodrome. The chieftain is usually elected for his popularity, and is one of the elder statesmen of the village. He is a married man with a few children. When they were young he sent them to the village school, and he keeps them busy until they are old enough to look after themselves and get married, by training them in the cultivation of the land. All the money he, his wife and children need for clothes is obtained by selling their surplus rice and the fruit that they grow in their own orchard. Nowadays all over the country, in every district, there are fairs where the village people gather to buy and sell. The object of these fairs, perhaps, is to instil in the minds of the people some rudimentary ideas of business. The Malays in Kedah, very much more so than in some other States, have hitherto had very little idea of converting their surplus into cash. They have no desire to be rich, nor the least necessity to grow foodstuffs for their fellow-countrymen in the towns. They are now beginning, however, to come more often to the towns and buy such luxuries as shoes, fancy cups, and cooking utensils. Malay families in the villages have started to use the fashionable napkins and Damask tablecloths, spread on the floor and not on tables, and drink scented tea out of glass. Table lamps have taken the place of the old-fashioned oil lamps, and tin lamps. This short catalogue of the changes in the heart of Singapore, convinces you that however slowly the tide in the Strand or civilization may be working in Kedah, yet it is in a strange established. The people are not slow to decide. There is some- being gay and bright. Watch them in any other State. Its

of amusement at Alor Star and the other big towns, how gaily they are clad, and how easily they are pleased!

Not so long ago the farmers used to send their sons to the State school to obtain English education in the hope that they would be absorbed by the Government. The Government has now made it clear that it cannot possibly take everybody with a School Certificate, and the fathers who wanted to see their sons dressed in white English suits and earning some regular money resented this at first. The Education Board is making education at the vernacular schools more attractive, and scholarships to deserving boys are awarded annually and in a liberal manner to further their studies. Malay craftsmen of tomorrow are being guided and properly trained, and to point to another fact worthy of the British policy, the village schoolboys are being taught to appreciate their own language and culture which for many years have been unfairly neglected. The time will soon come when Kedah boys will be qualified in the various activities and callings. Kedah Malay journalists, Kedah Malay business men, and so on, will shoulder the responsibilities of their own State. The mass of the people are just emerging from a long illusory dream. When they can see true daylight they will not be disappointed, because the State is not lacking in beauty spots, or space for them to play in and experiment. Kedah is not crowded.

Langkawi and the surrounding islands have been recognized as useful health resorts. Langkawi has a very beautiful natural harbour. I can never forget the first time I saw the island as the boat steamed towards it. I would have to travel far and wide to strike a scene that could beat it. Kedah can always be very proud of that treasure isle!

There are three beautiful waterfalls on the sides of Gunong Jerai, about twenty miles south of Alor Star. Year by year they are drawing more and more excursionists and visitors. If the visitors think that waterfalls are very much alike, I would suggest that they go to the eastern districts of the State, where they can have a glimpse of Malayan forests, and if they are lucky might meet some aborigines, the Sakais, who have short curly hair like the negroes of Africa, quite 4,000 miles away. Their physical features are almost perfect, although they are, as a rule, small in stature. Those whom you would encounter can generally speak Malay, with a broad country accent.

At the end of all these travels you would probably like a bathe in the clear stream at Baling, the chief town of Baling district. Bathing is perfectly safe here. Crocodiles do not live up the stream, and none of the rivers in Kedah are like the Congo River, or any of the rivers you see on the screen that are infested with crocodiles.

If the late afternoon is fine, as it usually is, you can go for a spin, and enjoy the cool fresh air. Kedah, like the rest of the country, can offer you plenty of that. The fresh appearance of the entire State might lead you to think that it is young, and has little or no history. Let us therefore return to Alor Star, and from there go to a fishing village about six miles outside it, at the mouth of the Kedah River. Kuala Kedah, as it is called, is a busy village. It supplies Alor Star, its suburbs, and the neighbouring towns with fish. The thatched houses here stand on numerous pillars, half of which are in the water. We cross by a "prahu," a small Malay boat, to the other side of the river to the lighthouse, which is surrounded by an old fort, and on its walls there are some cannon which are held in religious awe by the people. The Malay who keeps the lighthouse is only too pleased to tell you of the battles that that spot witnessed or took part in. You must show him your heartfelt sympathy, that is the only thing he expects from you. The ancient glory of Kedah was tarnished, and no Kedah Malays expect any other requisite than the goodwill of the peoples of the world. Our friend the lighthouse keeper would not tell us the absolutely true story of past bloodshed. He rather rests on the achievement of the canonized gun. He would tell you that countless invaders were killed. No mention of the losses on the side of his ancestors is made, although he might tell you that during the most intense fighting there was so much blood within the fort that people could swim!

That story is probably handed down to him by his father, but he would be pleased with you if you could at the appropriate time show some expressions of surprise and awe. When a Malay strikes upon a serious subject like that, do not laugh at him, however much he may appreciate good jokes and a good and hearty laugh! For the history of the country, and of Kedah, we must turn to the books. *Hikayat Abdullah* does not pretend to be a history book, nor even a descriptive record. For the more planned history we must turn to scholars like Dr. Winstedt, who has spent the best part of his life in the services of the country. I sincerely recommend his latest book on Malaya for more details. He will convince you that Malaya is not lacking in history, and there are two interesting chapters which are associated with the old Kedah. The brief account which I am offering you in the subsequent paragraphs does not pretend to give you more information than Dr. Winstedt's *A History of Malaya*.

Apart from the story of Měrong Maha-Wangsa, Kedah's cannibal king, which has become a legend, there is genuine history of Kedah with enough evidence to prove its genuineness. This goes as far back as the later middle ages. For the present, let us see how much of the lighthouse keeper's narrative is true.

Every educated Kedah Malay knows that at one time Penang, now a Crown Colony, belonged to Kedah. As Penang has grown in importance and size, there is bound to be a certain amount of jealousy between the people on both sides of the channel. Penang has become progressively separated from Kedah, chiefly perhaps because on the island the Chinese and Indians dominated the Malays. Education cannot have turned the Penangites, a word sometimes used by the Penang newspapers to describe its inhabitants, snobbish and forgetful of their origin. The Malay scholars take it more philosophically, and their feelings cannot be better expressed than by quoting the words of Awang Sulong Merah Muda in a story which Dr. Winstedt calls *Love Among the Islands*:

"Pulau Pinang bandar-nya baharu,
Kapitan Light mēnjadi raja,
Jangan di-kēnang zaman dahulu,
Dudok mēngalir ayer mata."

I would rather leave you with the original than attempt to translate it. However, I am sure Kedah can justifiably share some pride with Penang. Before Captain Francis Light founded the island, trade with India and China terminated on the mainland, in Kedah itself. The old kingdom of Kedah was roughly three or four times greater than the present-day Sultanate. It had an extensive supply of tin, pepper and elephants, however incoherent these names may sound, and she owed her prosperity mainly to them. The Malays have always had the worst in business transactions, due to either the greed of the ruler or the trading incapacity of the people. They still have much to learn of the peculiar ways of trade and commerce.

One can hardly expect a small State like Kedah to manage its financial affairs as well as its politics. While the king did not find it difficult to govern—for the feudal system worked extremely well in Kedah as in the rest of the country—he was from time to time confronted with outside threats and the unreasonable demands of his neighbouring rivals. Siam was Kedah's greatest problem. Before the East India Company extended its interest as far as the Malay States, the kingdom of Kedah was under Siam's suzerainty. Kedah paid tribute to the king of Siam in gold annually. On the top of all this she had to deal with the Dutch attempts at intervention and, what was more serious, attacks from the Bugis, then very formidable invaders. Fortunately for the depressed State, the Dutch episode did not leave a permanent mark, while the Bugis remodelled her policy to their best advantage, sharing with Kedah the revenues from the sale of opium, tin, wax, timber and rattan.

Events took another turn when Captain Light in 1771 made

arrangement with the Raja of Kedah for the occupation of a port in return for help against the Bugis who had overrun Selangor. The Raja was forced to oppose the scheme when he found that the Hon. Edward Monckton's terms did not include aid against the Bugis. However, when the need of a harbour somewhere in the Archipelago was realized, Captain Light opened fresh negotiations, which took nearly a whole year before they were concluded. On August 11, 1786, Penang ceased to be a part of Kedah. \$10,000 in Straits currency annually for eight years, and subsequently \$4,000 per annum as long as the Company held Penang were put forward as terms for the agreement. Because it did not mention anything about helping Kedah in case of Siamese attacks, the Raja then was not free from fear and misapprehension, Light's offer was rejected, and a force headed by the Raja himself went down to Prai in an attempt to regain Penang. Although his army outnumbered Light's small force of 400 men, the latter's clever tactics resulted in the signing of the Treaty of 1791 by which the Raja ceded Penang to the English Company, and in return was paid a sum of \$6,000 annually as rent. Later the Sultan left us to conjecture, when he gave to the Company the strip of land which is now called Province Wellesley for an annual rent of \$4,000. It was the need of money perhaps, more than anything else, which induced the Sultan to take such a desperate step.

Siam regarded it as a deliberate effrontery when the Sultan refused to go to Bangkok. In November, 1821, a Siamese fleet was sighted off Kuala Kedah, where there are still the remains of a brick fort. The commander gave order to his men to get ready, while the Bendahara and the Laksamana with a small body of men, when they threatened the invaders were pitilessly slaughtered. The Laksamana, the Malay equivalent of a War Minister and General, was the very symbol of Malay bravery and doggedness. The Bendahara himself was a man noted for his daring deeds. You perhaps remember the lighthouse keeper extolling the qualities of these two brave men. The Malays without a trusted leader from whom they could derive their inspiration, resisted blindly, and the Siamese did not find it difficult to suppress them. The victorious fleet attacked the Merbok River on which the next big town of Kedah, Sungei Petani, now stands.

The Sultan and his followers fled to Penang to save their lives. Ahmad Tay'udin Halimshah, for that was the name of the Sultan, was bent on regaining his throne by fighting. In 1823, about a year after the defeat, Tunku Abdullah, the Sultan's son, at the head of some 30,000 Malays attacked the Siamese, but without success. Negotiations were carried on instead, and the Governor of Penang took a great part in them. In the meantime the Sultan was a prisoner in Penang. In April, 1831, Kedah was attacked

from Province Wellesley, and the Siamese force was dispersed. Tunku Kudin, the unlucky Malay prince, became vice-regent, and his fickle policy invited another Siamese invasion on a grander scale. Tunku Kudin, with the heart and stubbornness of a Malay warrior, resisted it. In October, 1831, the Siamese dealt their final blow, and accounted for the destruction of nearly 2,000 Malays. Kudin himself was killed, and perhaps the Malays of Kedah ought to be grateful that he went. Whether the stories of his cruelty which are handed down to the children at home are to be taken as facts or not we cannot now decide, but there was no doubt that Kudin could not have been the ideal ruler for a shattered country. 1838 was a very lucky year for Kedah. Her fleet drove back the Siamese and relieved the fort which was held by those invaders. You perhaps remember what the lighthouse keeper said of the bravery of the Malays. Kedah seized Perlis and Trang, but at Singorra, after an ambitious ravaging foray, the force was repulsed and driven south to its own territory. Kedah's luck was not long-lived, for Chua Phya, with a Siamese force of 1,500 men, swooped on the State. It became clear to the exiled Sultan that his lost throne would be irretrievable if Kedah and Siam were to go on fighting, and by this time the latter grew tired of constant fighting, and her officials left Kedah. The Sultan returned to his State, although many of his dependencies, like Setul, now included in Siam, and Perlis, an independent State under its own native Raja, were surrendered. After these troubled years and when Siam adopted a more humane attitude towards Kedah, the State enjoyed a period of prosperity. At the close of the nineteenth century she became extravagant, and her expenses far exceeded her revenues, perhaps to a large extent on account of the dishonesty of petty officials and the village chieftains, or even the extreme liberality of the prevailing administration. In 1905 she was compelled to borrow about \$3,000,000 to stave off bankruptcy. Siam went a step further by nominating a special adviser to supervise Kedah's finance. That year is also memorable because a State Council was formed. It was the nucleus of the present-day government of Kedah. In it the people of the State feel their security lies, and on it their patriotism and services are based.

In 1909 Siam passed the four Malay States, which include Kedah, to British hands. Kedah, like her neighbours, accepted a British adviser, who is an important official in the State. He advises the Sultan in matters of foreign policy, finance, education, and the general government. Religion and customs of the State, however, are outside his sphere. These are important facts to remember, because the easiest way to embitter the feeling of a true-born Malay is by interfering in questions touching his life

and means of living. Let the Malays live as they like, and you need not doubt their patriotism. They only stick to those they love, and to win the admiration and love of a Malay you only have to show him your sympathy and understanding of his needs, his mind, and his ways. He is full of philosophy, and simple and honest thoughts. He is, as a rule, open-hearted, merciful, and cheerful. You might ask why he is philosophical? The truth is perhaps because he hates a rush and sudden revolutions. If he has a plot of ground to till and grow his rice, and a river to fish in, he is content. Most of his leisure hours are devoted to silent thoughts. He faithfully believes in a God, and that He guides his destiny. There is nothing that Man has achieved, he thinks, that has not met with the approval of God. It is only when Man tries to be above Him that he meets his downfall. He fully understands that community life is absolutely necessary in a country like his, and, much as he welcomes comfort and progress, he would not do away with his ancient practice and customs which have stood the test of time.

Kedah is an interesting State to study, because while changes are going on rapidly in the towns, the villages still cherish the old order. While the thoughts of the town people are in a stage of transition, the Kampong people are still living the lives they have lived from the time when they were first conscious that they were Malays of Kedah. The peaceful and contented atmosphere of the State cannot fail to attract the attention of a sympathetic traveller. For many years she has been able to balance her own budget, and show a surplus. She has progressive elements. She is educating her children, and making a comfortable and safe home for them. The younger generation are proud that they belong to Kedah. It falls to the lot of the British people to be at her helm. I can only assure them that the Malays of Kedah are not lacking in gratitude.

CHINESE LANDSCAPE PAINTING*

By WOO LEE-FU

(Professor at Fuh Tan University, Shanghai.)

I

CHINESE landscape painting is by no means unknown among art lovers in Great Britain. There are many authoritative works dealing with its history and general principles, and taste for it has been especially aroused since the splendid exhibition of Chinese art held at Burlington House in 1935. So it will be superfluous for me to deal with the historical development of this art or of its idealistic principles. On the contrary, I should like to confine myself to the discussion of a few technical points that may contribute to a more profound understanding. I will discuss first the relationship of calligraphy with painting, then the standard for the division of schools, and finally the idea of the imitation of nature. As I have specialized in landscape painting, I shall discuss these points only in relation to this particular branch.

According to the traditional story, China founded her hieroglyphics as early as 2255 B.C. As in Egypt, it was a combination of the elements of writing and drawing. As time went on, the former gave birth to calligraphy—that is to say, hand-writing as an independent art, while the latter developed into figure-subjects with mountains, trees, rivers as mere subordinates. A very good example may be found in the scroll kept in the British Museum entitled “The Admonitions of the Imperial Preceptress” after the style of Ku K'ai-Chih, an eminent artist of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Another picture after the same style to illustrate Tsao Chi's “Nymph of the River Lo,” a poem, is to be found in the Boston Museum. In these two pictures it may be noticed how landscape remains quite undeveloped and has neither perspective nor proportion. The tree standing beside a female figure is as small as a mere shrub, while the mountain at the same distance as the hunter is not larger than a piece of stone. But a spectator cannot fail to appreciate the linear beauties of these scrolls. Instead of seeking any formal resemblance to actual objects, the artist set himself to observe strictly the rules of calligraphy. He must apply with the brush an even distribution of force in drawing

* Based on a lecture delivered before the China Society on July 8. Sir Denison Ross presided.

every single line, be it the outline of the mountain or that of the trunk. Nor does he show any abruptness or sudden break in the line he makes. Moreover, the tip or the pointed head of the brush is always kept at the middle of the route which each line follows. And, if one takes some pains to study the beginning and the end of each line, one will scarcely find any trace left by the tip of the brush. The reason is that in accordance with a rule in calligraphy, one has to turn the tip a little to the right first if the line starts from the left and, in like manner, one has to turn it first a little bit to the left if the line is to start from the right. When the brush comes to the end of a line, the tip should be made to turn back a little after the end is reached. The same thing is done in lines taking any other directions than the horizontal and the vertical. The central idea of this practice is that the artist should attain as much reserve as possible. The two extremities of a line are really the places where he is most inclined to give evidence of exhaustion if there are not the so-called "counter-turns" of the tip of his brush. Hence we have a golden rule, saying "There should not be an expansion that is not at first a contraction itself, nor should there be any forward going that is not a retarding in the long run." Now, with the good beginning and the good ending attached to the extremities of the middle part, the great energy (or energy with much reserve) of the artist enables him to move along steadily in each line.

When these requirements of calligraphy grow into Chinese painting in different fields, the stroke or the disposition of a line always acts as the basic unit. Connoisseurs of Chinese painting used to analyse a work as they do in calligraphy into innumerable strokes and study whether each of them is a good element of the composition. But they do not consider strokes as isolated elements. They are especially anxious to see that the strokes of a painter will work together into a harmony with the tendentious lines of the composition of his picture. That is to say, the direction in which each line or stroke takes should be made congruous with the imaginary main lines that the picture composition suggests. For instance, in the first scroll mentioned, as the

... of Ku K'ai-Chih that I have just mentioned, the mountain assumes the shape of a triangle standing on its base so all those lines inside the outline which serve to give the convolutions of the mountain run obliquely somewhat like the other two sides of the triangle, meeting at the tip of the triangle. Starting from well-drawn lines, the Chinese painter works through space and finally combines his lines into the solidity of trees, mountains and rivers. Thus, it may be said that the component parts of a picture are nothing but lines never rebelling against the common goal toward which they have been directing themselves. In the first part of this treatise I have another point to bring

forward. As soon as the painter completes his first line, the same kind of mentality is expected to continue into the execution of the next line. This was practised by the calligrapher long before the painter. As is known, Chinese handwriting is composed of vertical lines of letters arranged from right to left. A good calligrapher is expected to make the force and tendency contained in the last letter of his first line to pass on and be assumed by the first word of his second line, and so on. No matter how many lines he will have to finish in a piece of work, all these lines should be understood to represent his mentality as a living whole. So the only possible way is to maintain the function of strong connectives in the last and the first letters of any two successive lines. But before one can attain this result one has to secure as well a continuity of life in every single line. It is really the same thing as what a painter should do. This truth will help to explain best our common terms "painting in one stroke" and "calligraphy in one stroke." Of course they do not mean that under these circumstances one stroke will do. They simply remind the artist of his duty to arrive at unity through diversity. Before I pass on to the second section I must still stress the fact that this continuity of life may be still present even when a line is broken at some point between the ends. The painter does it so skilfully sometimes that his stream of thought would rather be enhanced than interrupted. It serves as a kind of suspense and is quite different from abruptness, which implies a sudden cut, showing that the artist is too weak to carry on his work.

II

Now let me come to my second part. In the time of Ku K'ai-Chih, very little washing was used to get the effect of light and shade, consequently surface was not yet introduced as one of the determining ideas to be brought out in technique. This explains the fact that at the beginning of his divergence from calligraphy, a painter did not take as much interest in surface as he did later on because it is not so fundamental an element to calligraphy as line. But as we look into the landscape painting of the Sung dynasty (1115-1260 A.D.), about six hundred years after the time of Ku K'ai-Chih, we begin to be startled at the marked development of line into a sort of mixture, or unity rather, of line and surface. As a matter of fact, by pressing more heavily upon the tip of the brush, one can make the brush cover a bigger space on the paper or the silk. This enabled the painter quite naturally to drag his brush-tip through the surface of the paper or the silk when he had to portray the shade of a rock or that of a trunk. But the shade thus made is only surface further developed from line. As in calligraphy, the narrower part of a line is regarded as the line

proper, and the broader part as the line tending to result in surface. The most important point to remember is that the Sung landscape painters were so creative as to invent many ways of making their draggings. They began to apply these different draggings as the means of depicting the shade of rocks, mountains with rocks on them, trees and especially their trunks. In some of my pictures executed after the styles of these Sung landscape masters, I show the most diversified types of dragging. Thus, on the one hand, we have the dragging in lines, while, on the other, the dragging in surfaces. Now this style of dragging is called "p'i-Mah," meaning to throw fibres of hemp on a man and let them fall on his body. A second style of dragging is called "Pih-Fu," meaning to cut something through with an axe. The triangles or the quadrilaterals may be taken as the parts of a rock where the artist's pen-axe has just gone over. Between the two extremes there are, of course, many other styles of dragging, but most of them are beyond my deficient English to explain. Nevertheless, I should like to mention the names of just a few. There is, for instance, one called "Kuei-mien," or the face of a ghost, another called "Cheh-Tai," or the folded belt, and still another one called "Yu-Tien," or the rain-drop. Now, it is on account of these different ways of dragging that Chinese landscape painting divides itself into schools, the predominant ones being the Northern School and the Southern School. There the line of demarcation is not drawn from geographical locations where painters lived or were born, nor from their personal feelings toward Nature. The Northern School inclines more to the use of surface in dragging or the so-called "Pih-Fu," while the Southern School tends to the use of line, or the so-called "p'i-Mah." It is quite natural then that the more incongruous are the directions of lines to one another in dragging, the more bold will the picture look and the more difficult will it be for the artist to guard himself against crudeness and vulgarity. That is why the Northern School, using so many triangles and squares in dragging, has only two masters, Ma Yuan and Hsia Kuei, who really know how to control their strength in order to be strong but not crude.

Before concluding the second part, I wish to draw attention to another point of no less importance: To drag in lines, not in surfaces, is always the better means to keep congruity with the main tendentious lines in composition. It is clear enough that composition, fundamentally analysed, contains mostly draggings tending toward the assimilation of a few predominant and yet imaginary lines. So it is quite easy for these lines in dragging, that are curves or not straight in the absolute sense of the word, to coincide with or to fall into the main imaginary lines of the composition of a picture. But it is comparatively more difficult

for dragging in surface to achieve this. For the lines in composition are imaginary, not real. And by being imaginary, they are lines tending to become straight and are most consistent with the lines in dragging which look like straight but are practically all curves. The other day I happened to read a passage pointing out the same truth in the fourth volume of John Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, that "the most common outline in Nature is to be a curve so described as to have a constant tendency to become straight, although it may never become so." This quotation is a suitable conclusion to the second part of my study.

III

The last part, the idea of the imitation of Nature, I should say, arouses our interest a great deal, though it has been the least discussed by contemporaries. To an Oriental mind perhaps one of the outstanding features of European painting is its aptness to work after a model. For the Chinese landscape painters may go out with notebooks and set down some beautiful objects from Nature. But they are not accustomed to sit before a tree or a mountain and to bring their pictures to such a perfection as the Westerner. They would rather keep their sketchbooks in their studios for constant reference only. But it does not mean that they simply shut themselves up from Nature. The great masters of different dynasties have emphasized the importance of observing Nature and being inspired by her. It is only because they have been so anxious to unite themselves with the vital spirit of the universe that they ever sought after the comparatively abstract way of expressing themselves. In other words, they are abstract not because they cannot be realistic but because to be abstract is the best way; they must not only assimilate the spirit of Nature out of her disarrayed phenomena, but to have a higher development than Nature herself. I may here quote two instances. In the Tang dynasty, the great calligrapher, under the Buddhist name Hwai Su, improved his writing in the "running hand" after he had listened one night to the roar of the river Ka Lin. Another famous calligrapher, named Chang Tien, at a much earlier date, was able to use a more vigorous hand after seeing how Miss Kung Sun brandished her sword under the moonlight. Exactly the same principle was adopted by the landscape painters in the Sung dynasty as well as their successors. They were taught how to recognize and to manifest what Taine, the French critic and philosopher, calls in his *Lectures on Art* "the notable and predominant character of Nature." And they were not lacking in some practical methods. They were given the hint to analyse a piece of landscape into those particular traits conditioned by time

and space. Thus Kuo Shih, the great landscape painter of the Sung dynasty, wrote: "The mountain seems to smile in the spring, to drip in the summer, to decorate in the autumn, and to sleep in the winter." There, not only is the mountain personified to feel the climatic changes of a year, it is also typified to provide categories to be better approached by an art student in his imitation of Nature. Kuo Shih had some other vivid passage in his *Essays on Landscape*. "With a piece of landscape," he said, "one may do several things: To take a walk in, to gaze at, to journey through and to find lodging." I think everyone, even one who is not a painter, will realize how suggestive is this passage in the way of generalizing the objective reality, in its utmost degree of diversity and juxtaposition, into the subjective unity. With these brief hints, a painter knows what he should select and what to avoid for his materials. This power of assimilation is likely to develop itself, if he constantly keeps a discriminating eye upon Nature. But once he has got Nature's predominant character, he prefers to go back to his studio to work it out. For the less he is subjected to the formal accuracy of an object, the more he appeals to his power of assimilation. Perhaps, before Nature, he is only half passive and is thus able to exercise full sway over his imagination, while the other active half will tell him what he will do with the materials his passivity has received for him. And in order to guide this active side of his mind, a painter has always been advised to "read thousands of volumes and to travel thousands of 'lees' or miles." That is, he should keep his mind from barrenness by wide travel and extensive reading. Sometimes an unexpected subject for painting may come out, as Sung Tih, the great painter in the Sung dynasty, once suggested. "We may set up a piece of silk before a wall whose surface is quite worn out," said Sung Tih. "We just look at the wall through this piece of transparent silk for nights and days. By and by the unevenness of the surface of the wall will suggest to us some images of mountains, rivers or trees. Then you have to keep, on one hand, that which has been suggested to you and to develop by imagination, on the other hand, a convex upon the wall into the mountain, a concave into the river, a pit into the valley, and a breach into the brooklet. Or you may take the prominent part of the wall to be the foreground and the obscure one the background, as if you really saw men and birds going to and fro in the woods. Here, both your meditation and the objective disposition of things happen to meet to make a picture that looks like a heavenly product." Now, in this quotation, one is not likely to consider whether it is too unpractical. It simply stands for a sort of technique common to both the Oriental and the European. For it will not be a surprise to find exactly the same idea in Leonardo

da Vinci's notebooks. In the article numbered 2038 of his precious manuscripts one reads the following: "If you look at any walls spotted with various stains or with a mixture of different kinds of stones, if you are about to invent some scene you will be able to see in it a resemblance to various different landscapes adorned with mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, plains, wide valleys and various groups of hills. You will be able to see diverse combats and figures in quick movement and strange expression of faces, and outlandish costumes, and an infinite number of things which you can then reduce into separate and well-conceived forms." Hence the genius of the West and the East do possess minds penetrating enough into Nature to give full scope to the dictate of human imagination.

May I conclude with a few simple words: idealism does play an important part in Chinese landscape painting. But it means nothing save the exercise of imagination over the accidents of man's life in Nature. A Chinese landscape painter has unconsciously had a strong belief in chance, in the dialectic-materialistic understanding of the word "chance"—i.e., "the composition of Nature whose cause has not yet been discovered."

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

By STANLEY RICE

INDIA as a whole—that is, the thinking part of it—has an almost pathetic belief in the value of education. There is sometimes even a tendency to look upon it as an end in itself, as if it was a panacea for all possible ills and the royal road to what is now called “village uplift.” The British Government are accused by extreme opinion of keeping the population in ignorance in order to further their own design of keeping India in perpetual subjection. Some years ago, when Gokhale was urging the Government of India to adopt compulsory education, his suggestions were enthusiastically welcomed, and the plea that there was a lack of trained or at least competent teachers was brushed aside as a mere excuse. But it is a matter of common experience that even in a highly educated country the art of writing is used as little as may be, and the art of reading is confined to the reading of newspapers and cheap fiction. This is not to belittle the value of education. No one can deny that it is a great force in the progress of a people, but the idea that it is in itself a royal road to anything is a fallacy and makes a fetish of what is after all only a method. It confounds the means with the end.

India is, of course, predominantly agricultural. She is, to use a common current expression, “village-minded.” It seems to be a universal law that agricultural countries are educationally backward, and the same holds good of the agricultural parts of an industrial country. The boys and girls are educated as it were against their will and the will of their parents, or if the latter have any ambitions to move out of the agricultural rut the boys are so educated that they may be fitted for other callings. It is unfortunately true that the percentage of those who lapse into illiteracy is very high; even in Baroda State, where compulsory education has been practised for many years, it is said that about 80 per cent. so lapse. The reason is clear. The peasant who is mainly concerned with getting a livelihood from the land has neither the time nor the inclination for reading or writing. The boy who has learned the rudiments is very early needed to help on the land, and as the roots of his education have never gone much below the surface he soon loses all desire to make the best of what he has learned, and easily falls into the habits of his father. The girl, too, is wanted to help in the house and the

same thing happens. Even when education is compulsory, exceptions have to be made, and when these exceptions are too frequent or are too lightly given, the value of compulsion is largely lost. I have said that India is village-minded; this is true even of industrial pursuits, for it is well known that the heart of the industrial worker is with his village, to which he returns whenever he gets the opportunity.

In the early days of English education there was a great rush of students who wished to avail themselves of the new opportunities. There was at that time very little fear that the supply would exceed the demand, for there were very many clerical jobs in which a knowledge of English was desirable if not necessary, particularly when the ruling race was, as it has always been, more ready to accept those who would learn its language than to try and acquire a foreign tongue. In time, however, the conditions were reversed. Every student who could learn English well enough to pass the matriculation examination aspired to a post under Government, and when the supply exceeded the demand the standard of admission was raised and it became difficult for anyone who was not a B.A. to obtain suitable employment. But, even so, the situation tended to become even more difficult. Unemployment even of the graduate became serious. Youths, upon whom the savings and sacrifices of the parents had been lavished, went about in an almost hopeless quest of a job.

This state of affairs has been brought about partly by the offer of only a literary education, but also by the lack of professions which a boy can enter. We cannot blame the Indian for taking advantage of the only kind of education provided for him, nor for his desire to obtain what may be called a safe job, which after a given period ends in a pension and gives him, if not a comfortable old age, at least a subsistence allowance. That is the main reason why Government service has always been popular. Moreover, in a country where the activities of Government meet one everywhere, where Government does so many things which in more advanced countries are left to private enterprise, a position under Government carries with it a certain prestige, so that the local official, from the village headman upwards, commands a respect within his own orbit. Nor again is it a matter for wonder that the Indian has taken kindly to the profession of the law. Not only do its subtleties appeal to the brain of the Indian, but there are great prizes to be won. The eminent lawyer makes an income which, judged even by European standards, is large; he can become a political power in the land and may now aspire to Cabinet rank, at least within his own Province. But Government service and the law have, it seems, now reached saturation

point; the jobs in the first are not enough to go round, and the competition in the second is such that, though the prizes are still there, they are harder of attainment, and during the long years of waiting there is hardly a livelihood to be made. Careers open to an English boy are either non-existent or else do not attract. The Army, one might almost say, is a close preserve for the more martial races. There are large parts of the country which will never be attracted by a military career, even though under present conditions the prospects of Indians are brighter than they have ever been. The Navy is as yet too young to have any appreciable influence on unemployment, and there are large tracts in which the people have never seen the sea and cannot be expected to embark on such an untried adventure. Medicine attracts some, and many doctors are doing well, but here again the ubiquitous activities of Government are a hindrance to the free play of ordinary competition. The smaller places and the surrounding villages are served, often very inadequately, by the local dispensary or hospital, and a local doctor who is obliged to charge fees for his services has very little chance when such services can be obtained free. The Western doctor may sneer at the indigenous systems, but the people at large have faith in them, and another factor of competition intervenes. It would be tedious to enumerate all the openings for a boy who has had a university training. Journalism and education are obviously very limited in scope, and the former is in any case very precarious.

There is one very notable absentee from this category. In a great industrial country like England thousands of young men enter what is generically known as "business." Large combines, huge emporia that supply almost every material thing that the most fastidious and the most luxurious can want, even the smaller firms and those individual enterprises which aim at nothing higher than a modest livelihood, offer chances to young men of a career which, if not distinguished, is at least satisfying. In India these chances are comparatively few. Industries are, however, growing. Naturally the greatest progress has been made in those which are best suited to the country, such as textiles and cane sugar. The competition of Bombay and Ahmedabad with Manchester is beginning to show its effects and will no doubt increase with the years. The raw materials are at hand, and the very fact of the establishment of such factories is an encouragement to the ryots to grow crops for which they can find a ready market. But the warning given at the outset of the *Report on Vocational Training in India** is very timely. In the past, one of the main factors which upset the balance of supply

* *Report on Vocational Training in India*, by A. Abbott, C.B.E., and S. H. Wood, M.C., Government of India Press. 2s.

and demand was that youths, anxious to learn, to get work because of their educational attainments, and perhaps, too, to secure a better price or a better bargain in the matrimonial market, found that the supply had outstripped the demand because the spirit of the country confined them to certain callings outside which they could not easily travel. We have already seen some of the causes of this, but caste also intervened to some extent, though its influence is probably declining. A high-caste lad considered that it was beneath his dignity to begin on the lowest rung of the ladder, and was somewhat prone to expect that he would obtain either a clerical post or something at least which would absolve him from the drudgery of manual labour. The Committee are rightly anxious to see that youths shall not be enticed into learning trades for which, when the time comes, they will find that there is no opening for them and that the years of toil have consequently been wasted. This is so important in view of what has happened in the past that it is worth while to quote verbatim:

"It is for this reason [that 'comparatively few men will join a forlorn hope, on whose success or failure their whole fortunes and those of their wives and children are directly dependent'] that we are of opinion that the expansion of vocational education in India should be begun with caution and with full regard to the development of organized industry. It would be a great misfortune if a large body of men received a prolonged technical training and on its completion found that they had no opportunities of using the knowledge they had acquired."

This is easier said than done. It is therefore recommended that every Province shall institute a special survey, designed to ascertain as far as may be the kind of industry likely to be attractive, the type of instruction to be offered and "especially the number of recruits which can be absorbed." This sounds like a counsel of perfection. It may well be, however, that more can be gained by it than is at first apparent. Indians have a habit of taking up a new thing with great enthusiasm, but when the novelty has worn off of dropping it altogether or only supporting it in a half-hearted manner. Sometimes, too, such reforms as these are urged for political purposes, to remove a grievance, without much hope or intention of pushing the idea very far. This happened when volunteering was thrown open to Indians. The admission of Indians to the volunteer ranks was felt to be desirable, but when the thing was done the response was very meagre. On the other hand, there seems to be nothing political in the idea of vocational education, though even so there have been other schemes with the same enthusiasm followed by the same apathy. Agricultural ideas have been put forward and

adopted, but only by the more intelligent or the better educated farmers. Reports have too often been submitted, only to be relegated to shelves where they collect dust until such time as they are pronounced to be out of date and are therefore scrapped altogether. He would be a very rash man and very optimistic who expected that these vocational schools would be filled to overflowing in a few years. It is therefore wise of the Committee to recommend that there should be no over-specialization at the start. A certain number of boys may be—will be—attracted, but they must not be allowed to be trained for a special work, which leaves them to eat their hearts out in regret and despair later on.

I do not for a moment suppose that the writers of the Report had any notion of turning India into an industrial country. That is an impossible ideal; nor is it one that anyone would like to see fulfilled. If, however, large industries are to grow, there should be some means provided for training apprentices. This Report goes thoroughly into the whole question, and the scheme produced might, if it were really carried out, have the effect which the author intends. It is in the long run a question of overcoming not so much a prejudice but a habit and a tradition. Time and again efforts have been made to stir the ordinary peasant out of the deep rut into which he has fallen, because for so long he has been content to follow the practice of his forefathers; time and again such efforts, even if temporarily successful, have failed. If it be argued that many men are to be found in factories, in workshops, on the railways and in the mines, it is surely enough to retort that the total of such employment is out of all comparison smaller than that of the agriculturist, be he smallholder or landless labourer. For the plain fact is that India as a whole is not industrially-minded. As the authors of the Report say, more things are wanted for the starting of an industry than a supply of skilled labour. Capital is not easily available, and the idea of limited liability companies trading on a really large scale, though not by any means unknown, is still confined more or less to merchant princes. In smaller industries the old habit still prevails of a single owner or of partners, usually brothers or relatives, who employ a few hands, so far as their modest capital will allow. For the training of recruits—sons or others who will succeed to a well-established business—recourse is had to European countries, for the most part England and Germany, or to America for technical instruction. There is practically no technical education in India organized on a large scale, unless we except the Forest Schools at Coimbatore and Dehra Dun. Half measures will not serve. There is in Baroda State a handsome building almost fronting

the Palace gates, which is known as the Kala Bhavan. This was designed as a technical institute for the training of boys in various callings, and does a certain amount of good work. By no means all the pupils come from the State; in 1934-35 the percentage of such students was just under 50. The total is, or was, about 600, a very small proportion of the total available material; in Baroda itself the number was only 295. Of the total of 600 more than half were engaged in various branches of engineering, the electrical being the most favoured. It is perhaps significant that when the services of a British Indian educationist were invoked with a view to reorganizing the industrial schools a suggestion which he made to open a smithy was not adopted because there was no demand for it. Actually, as it seemed to me, the technical institute was trying to achieve too much. There are eight branches, three of engineering, two of chemical and weaving technology, as well as art, architecture, and commerce. Chemical technology and commerce are wide terms which may be made to cover many branches. Actually there are at least two sub-departments for calico printing and block engraving.

Baroda is a predominantly agricultural State. Praiseworthy efforts have been made to encourage industries, but the results are on the whole incommensurate with the work involved. There were in 1934-35 116 factories, but only 27 of these were perennial, and from time to time one hears of this or that failure from whatever cause. Much of the impulse comes from the Government, though some undertakings are due to private enterprise, notably one in Baroda City, which turns out drugs and perfumes, besides having the supply of liquor for the State. This is ably managed by a man who evidently has the business instinct and who was trained, I think, in Germany. His factory is well supplied with machinery imported from Europe. But on the whole the attempt to convert an agricultural country into an industrial has hitherto been unsuccessful. The indigenous arts, if so they may be called, still flourish on the old ancestral lines, but the people have not got the will to industry, and industrial concerns make very little appeal to them.

Nor does the experiment in Mysore appear to have succeeded any better. There, the Government introduced a scheme whereby a boy was given technical instruction as part of the curriculum, but the result was completely disappointing. The Director of Public Instruction writes: "Even at the Central Adikarnataka Institute, where every boy was given daily two hours' technical training for three years, it has been found that most of the men who have passed out of it have settled down as Government servants or in some other kind of life where this training has been of no use of all." This means that an industrial career has no

attraction, so long as any other is open; the boys, and probably also the parents, look upon this technical training, tacked on to a general literary training, as something to be endured because the Government choose to have it so, as waste of time and energy on the part of all concerned and in the end as leading nowhere. It should have been clear that such a scheme was bound to fail, if it had been realized that one cannot change the popular tastes by such devices, that if boys have a special bias towards certain professions and those only, they are not likely to be lured into others by a little desultory training. The Director now says he has another scheme in hand which contains "a parallel course of three years' Middle School vocational education and three years' High School vocational education." But he adds that even this scheme is doubtful of success without a preliminary survey of the now prevalent occupations and a scheme of development of possible urban and rural occupations. The Government review took no notice either of the failure of the existing scheme, or of the suggestions for another one to take its place. Doubtless they will carefully consider, as is their practice, any scheme which is presented to them in detail. It is clear that what the Director contemplates is something on the lines of the British Indian Report.

It is thus apparent that only if vocational education is organized on a scale which is calculated to absorb a large number of men, and which brings to the forefront the importance of industry in a progressive country, can success be hoped for. This is the great difficulty in the whole scheme, for so long as the idea lingers that business is uninteresting or does not hold out the hopes which such well-established careers as Government service and the Law already provide; so long as it is thought that business requires less brains and those of inferior quality, just because the Indian is above all things a creature of intellect, so long will it be useless to establish a complicated and comprehensive system for which the supply is never likely to reach the demand. It is difficult in an industrial country like England to realize this. We have grown so accustomed to business of different kinds as affording a career for boys, to the great prizes which are to be had in it, and to the apparently unlimited supply of capital—in a word, to all that is meant by urban life—that it is hard to visualize an agricultural country where industries are comparatively few and where towns are comparatively small.

But even if we must wait for years—perhaps many years—before industry catches the public taste enough to have justified the effort, there remain the thousands of Indian villages in which, though the wants are few, every peasant has need of an artisan. Not so very long ago these wants were supplied by what may be called the "caste professions," the carpenter, the blacksmith, the

potter, who were what they were because their fathers were the same before them. And so they worked on in the same ancestral rut. The carpenter turned out the same carts, and the potter the same pots, with never a thought of improvement. Things have somewhat changed, though not a great deal. The villager, if he has found a better carpenter, will forsake the village artisan, but he will get the same class of goods. The carpenter need not necessarily be of the caste; he may be one who has had a taste for carpentry. Now whereas the elementary school has had comparatively little effect on an agricultural population, it is possible that the boy might be more attracted by the possibility of learning one of these village trades, and a boy with brains would invent some small improvement. One thing would lead to another, as it always does in such cases, so that in the long run we should find the peasant equipped with better carts, better ploughs, better harrows, and better yokes. Similarly, a boy who had learned architecture might improve the village houses, which are so often put up by men who have nothing better to work with than their mother-wit.

These are the dreams of the future. India is gradually developing her industries, and she is beginning to understand what business on a large scale means. With the passing of the years it may well be that her youth will be more and more attracted, not only by the rich prizes which are open to ambition and capacity, but also by the realization that a comfortable livelihood is to be had, not more precarious than the favourite occupations of today. Engineering, for example, is far more popular than it used to be, and if vocational education can be established with any success in India itself, the trouble and expense of a sojourn in Europe will be eliminated. But the spirit has to be created, and at the present time that spirit is not there. When we talk of moral uplift, of doing this or that for the villagers, we too often forget that the villager does not really want to be "uplifted." He is generally content with the old ancestral ways and does not readily take to innovations. It is a delicate matter to stir him out of his "pathetic contentment," and if the optimist expects to see a revolution either in the towns or in the villages he is doomed to disappointment. To do too much is fatal, but to do nothing is to admit defeat before the battle is begun. It will be a matter for statesmanship to hit the happy mean.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE PALESTINE REPORT

BY ARCHER CUST

THE PROBLEM

THE Palestine problem is a legacy of the World War for which a solution has not yet been found. The Royal Commission, appointed under the presidency of Earl Peel after the 1936 disturbances broke out, has pronounced in favour of the drastic operation of Partition as the only remedy that can now be effective, and the British Government has hastened to declare that it is compelled to accept this conclusion. Whether such a policy will ultimately be put into effect and in what manner the future alone can show; at all events the hesitation shown in the Debate at Westminster and at Geneva and the first reactions of the Arabs and the Jews, both emphatically hostile, make it clear that there is a long way to travel before an acceptable scheme can be evolved. All that may be said with certainty at the moment is that the Report has blown away the fog of illusion and misconception which had obscured the truth, so that there is now a much wider understanding of the issues involved, combined with a determination that this running sore must be cured once and for all, no matter how distasteful the medicine may have to be.

Palestine—the Holy Land of the three great monotheistic Faiths, of the Cross, the Law, and the Crescent—stirs in millions of human hearts the most tender and profound emotions; and so, whatever the ultimate solution, there will inevitably be much disappointment and disillusionment. On this tiny bridge of land between the Arabian Desert and the Mediterranean are focussed several of the most searching political issues of the present day. Here where three continents converge the resurgent East meets the divided West; adjacent lies the Suez Canal and the Empire's highway; across it flows the oil of Mesopotamia on which our Navy and Air Forces so depend; and overshadowing all is Zionism, the fulfilment of one of the oldest ideals in human thought, and the only hope of salvation for millions of persecuted souls. To bring into harmony all these divergent political and religious and economic interests is as Herculean a task as ever confronted the statesmanship of the world. Whether the Report succeeds in this or no, it is generally agreed that it is a masterly document, which will rank as one of the most important State papers of our time.

For a proper understanding of the Arab and Jewish attitude to

the Report, an appreciation of the psychological background is essential. The first duty laid upon the Royal Commission was to ascertain the underlying cause of the disturbances. Here they found there was no need for any profound research or mental effort. The underlying cause was as plain and unvarying as it has been during the last twenty years—the uncompromising hostility of the Arab population to the policy of the Jewish National Home. They found, moreover, that that hostility could only become more intense under existing circumstances and had indeed already gathered such force that the hope by which the British Government had hitherto been guided, that in the course of time as the country progressed under the benevolent ægis of the British Empire Arab and Jew would come together to build up a common Palestinian State, must for all time be abandoned: for, despite a whole series of official pronouncements to the contrary, the aspirations of the two peoples were quite incompatible and they were in every way growing further apart. Indeed, the only sentiment that they had in common was fear, the one of submergence by a despised and alien race, invading their land behind the bayonets of the most powerful Empire in the world, the other that the hopes of restoration to which they have clung through all the centuries of their dispersion might be dashed away. And, embittering this fear, was the conviction felt by both that, for the sake of the other, Great Britain had broken her plighted word.

THE JEWISH CASE

Hitherto the Jewish case has undeniably received much wider recognition than the Arab, and for two main reasons. Firstly, their influence in the Press and the Film, and the presence of members of their race in many of the Legislatures of the world, gave them a platform of which they have taken full advantage. As the Arabs say, there would have been a different story to tell if there had also been English-Arabs at Westminster! Secondly, when Zionism, defined as meaning the realization of a legally secured, publicly recognized Home for the Jewish People in Palestine, became a political movement at the end of the last century, most English men and women brought up in the established Protestant Faith were by nature sympathetic. In Victorian literature as well as in doctrine, the ideal of the restoration of the Jews to the Land of Israel was accepted, either in fulfilment of prophecy or in reparation of the wrongs inflicted by Christendom on the Jewish people. As this ideal was not as yet a matter of practical politics, whether there was an existing population in the country and what their feelings might be was not given much thought: the only idea was that such inhabitants as there might be were a few primitive

Beduin or Abrahamic types, such as were depicted in Prayer Book illustrations, for whom the necessary provision could be made without difficulty. It can thus be understood that, when during the World War the Jews saw the opportunity of making what was still only a dream a living reality, the ground was already well prepared, while the Arabs have felt that there has been a weightage of opinion against them.

As is well known, the promise to the Jews was conveyed in the famous letter of Mr. Balfour, then Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917, commonly known as the Balfour Declaration. The Declaration was made when the fortunes of the Allies were at their lowest ebb; on land their forces were immobilized or defeated and on the sea the submarine menace was not yet mastered, and the end of the war could not be foreseen unless the United States, where Jewish influence was so strong, brought the whole of its resources into the conflict on the side of the Allies. That the Declaration contributed to that end cannot be denied. The substance of the Jewish case therefore is that Great Britain made a bargain with them in the hour of her need; they honoured their engagements, and now, in their time of trial, they look to Great Britain to do the same.

In considering the Jewish attitude, it is first essential to have a clear idea of what exactly was promised in Mr. Balfour's historic message. The actual text was as follows:

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

Emphatically this was not a promise that Palestine should be restored to the Jews. What was promised was that a National Home for the Jews should be established *in Palestine*, a very different matter. What exactly was intended in practical effect by the term "National Home" was not defined and probably was not very precisely understood, though undoubtedly it envisaged the ultimate establishment in some form of a Jewish State; but the use of the phrase "the Jewish People" is interpreted to signify that the promise was made to the Jewish people as a whole, so that in principle Great Britain is under the obligation to make it possible for any Jew who desires to settle in Palestine to be able to do so. Had less comprehensive language been used, the undertaking could have been held to mean merely the

strengthening of the existing Jewish community in Palestine as and how was best thought advisable. As the Declaration stands, in Jewish eyes the only criterion can be the absorptive capacity of the country from time to time; all other considerations must be excluded, and any form of restriction that goes beyond this principle would be a violation of Jewish rights. More than ever must this principle be upheld at the present time when that great section of the Jewish people that for centuries has had its home in Central Europe is suffering the most savage persecution so that it is condemned to virtual extinction unless the gates of Palestine are kept open.

Hitherto in regulating Jewish immigration this principle of absorptive capacity has been followed by the British Mandatory Government, though now it has been condemned by the Royal Commission; but the practical difficulty in determining what that capacity is has been evident every six months when the issue was made of certificates of immigration under the Labour Schedule, the pool of unskilled labour to meet the general demands of the market. Not unnaturally the Jews have been tempted to scale their calculations as high as possible, and the Government, whose purview over the whole economic field is of necessity much wider, has invariably found it necessary, after rather undignified haggling, to make very appreciable reductions in their figures. The consequence has been increased resentment among the Jews at the Government for unwarranted restrictions on immigration. This, however, has in no way lessened the hostility of the Arabs, who are opposed to the continuance of Jewish immigration in any form and regard the absorptive capacity principle as an iniquitous farce.

One of the complaints that the Arabs repeatedly put forward is that Jewish immigration is the cause of widespread unemployment among their workers. To what extent, if any, this is really the case is extremely difficult to determine owing to the absence of adequate data. The Jews, however, have never accepted that the state of Arab labour should be allowed materially to effect their immigration. They evoke with reason the principle of the "derived demand"—that is to say, Jewish capital is imported to Palestine for the purpose of giving employment to Jews; if others are to be the first to enjoy its benefit it will no longer be forthcoming. In the same way they argue with equal logic that only Jews should be employed on lands that have been acquired as the inalienable property of the Jewish race with the funds subscribed by millions of Jews, rich and poor, all over the world for the express purpose of making it possible for more of their oppressed brethren to rebuild their lives in the Land of Israel. To use such funds for any other purpose would be tantamount to a breach of trust.

That the great tracts of country which are in Jewish ownership and constitute the bulk of the land of highest fertility are thus virtually extraterritorialized from the point of view of the other inhabitants does not carry weight in Jewish opinion.

Towards the Arab population generally the Jews certainly desire to pursue a policy of friendship and co-operation; they recognize that their civil and religious rights and position must be protected—volumes have been written on what this phrase actually means—as the Mandate prescribes, but they hold that any *political rights* (which are expressly not mentioned) must be subject to the overriding needs of the National Home. This was made clear, as the Arabs have never forgotten, by their spokesman, the late Dr. Eder, before the Commission that reported on the 1921 disturbances when he declared that there was room for only one National Home in Palestine, and that was the Jewish. Hence also their opposition to any form of representative body in which they would be given the status of a minority.

But the thought perhaps that moves the hearts and minds of the Jews throughout the world most deeply is the comparison between their fate and the lot of the Arab peoples. They point to the vast heritage that, as the result of the victory of the Allies in the World War, the Arabs now enjoy. Their national aspirations have been satisfied in a manner that a few years ago would have appeared beyond the range of possibility: even the Palestine to which the Balfour Declaration referred has been reduced by half through the severance of the Emirate of Transjordan, so that within a short time all the vast territories that previously constituted the Arab provinces of the Sultan will have achieved their independence, with the one exception of this "small notch," to borrow Lord Balfour's phrase, between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. Can there be any real comparison in the conscience of the world between the needs of the Arab, so richly endowed, and the homeless, persecuted Jew?

THE ARAB CASE

If this is the frame of mind of the Jews, what of the Arabs, the majority in the country still by about four to one? Their attitude, as the Commission found, is as straightforward as it is uncompromising. They refuse to recognize Zionism or the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate, anything indeed except the presence of Great Britain by virtue of right of conquest. No Arab can understand by what standard of justice an alien race can claim rights of nationhood in somebody else's country against the wishes of the present inhabitants just because some two thousand years ago its ancestors happened to have lived there. Palestine, they

declare, is an Arab and a Moslem land where Arabs have lived since it was conquered by the followers of the Prophet in the seventh century; furthermore, the Jews were expelled some six centuries even before that. The enduring bonds that have bound Jewry for nineteen centuries to the Land of Israel mean nothing to them.

This is the main ethical ground for the hostility of the Arab population. But further, they argue, by every canon that they are told inspired the victors in the Great War, Zionism stands condemned as the grossest injustice. No longer were conquered peoples to be bartered about at the whim of their conquerors; instead there was the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was to herald a new order of international relationship, and Article XXII. laid down that certain communities, of which they were one, that had formed part of the Turkish Empire could be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to a period of tutelage under a Mandatory, in the choice of whom the wishes of the inhabitants were to be an important consideration. As it is they see themselves under despotic foreign rule with no opportunity for an effective voice in the governance of their country, and in fact deliberately excluded therefrom in order that the invasion of an alien race may be facilitated. As to the choice of a Mandatory, they were never so much as consulted about this or about the terms of the Mandate—in fact, they, the overwhelming majority, are not even mentioned in the Mandate except incidentally and under the humiliating description of "non-Jewish communities"!

As if all this was not enough, the Arabs of Palestine to the last man believe that Great Britain engaged herself to grant them independence after the victory of the Allies was assured. In 1916 Sir Henry MacMahon, then High Commissioner in Egypt, entered into negotiations with the Sherif Hussein of Mecca, by which it was agreed that if the Arabs revolted against the Turks, then after the end of the war they would be granted independence within certain defined areas. Whether the Arabs of Palestine can be said to have revolted and whether Palestine was intended to be included within those defined limits are questions on which there is acute difference of opinion. As regards the former, it must be remembered that till near the conclusion of hostilities Palestine lay under the heel of several Turkish armies so that an organized revolt was impossible; on the other hand, a large number of Palestine Arabs certainly did answer the call—some even deserted from the Turkish Divisions serving in Bulgaria—and fought in the Desert campaign under Feisal and Lawrence. As to the second question, although the British Government has always maintained that Palestine was not intended to be included, and Sir Henry MacMahon has recently added his own testimony to

that effect, anyone reading the correspondence with an unprejudiced eye, now that it is quoted in the Commission's Report, cannot deny that the Arab view on the matter is very understandable. At all events the matter is academic now; the Arabs are convinced that they are the victims of a breach of faith, and it is what they believe that matters.

If the Jews point with justifiable pride to the astounding development in the country of recent years and to its remarkable prosperity, due in the main to their energy and example and to the millions they have invested in agriculture and in industry, the Arabs retort that such development as there has been is really only of benefit to the Jews, and that in many ways they were better off under the Turk. (Here, as the Commission points out, the Arab argument certainly goes rather wide.) Were it, however, the fact that the Zionist Movement did convey to the Arabs the material benefits that are alleged, they would still far prefer to be poor and free, able to live their lives in their own country in the way they will. "Man," as they say, "does not live by bread alone."

The most bitter contention centres round the vital questions of land sales and immigration. While the Jews, as we have seen, resent any restrictions in these respects, the Arabs point to a whole series of reports by impartial authorities which have confirmed their argument that on economic grounds the country cannot absorb anything like the number of immigrants that have been brought in during the last few years. In the same way it has been shown that the land remaining in Arab hands is not now sufficient for the existing population, let alone for the generations to come. Yet, in the face of Jewish pressure, all these reports have been disregarded, land purchases by the Jews continue, and since 1932 Jewish immigration has reached the unheard-of figure of 200,000! To spoliation and injustice, they feel, is now added economic madness.

Had there been no Zionist complication, undoubtedly the issue of Arab Nationalism would have arisen in Palestine as it has in neighbouring countries. Just as Zionism has received a tremendous impulse from recent events in Central Europe, so this spirit of Nationalism has become the more intransigent as the result of the termination of the Iraq Mandate, whereby that country has attained independence, and the Treaty recently concluded by France with Syria by which that country will soon follow suit. The Arabs of Palestine, who with justice consider themselves as advanced as any other communities of their race, thus see themselves alone in being still subject to a foreign power and condemned to remain so for an indefinite period, admittedly in order that the Zionist programme may be fulfilled.

Towards Jews, as such, the Arabs bear no animosity. Like the

Christians, they are "Kitabi," people of the Book, worshippers of the True God but in an imperfect way, and they are thus enjoined to give them protection. They point to the honourable treatment that the Jews have always received at Moslem hands, while the history of the Jews in Europe has been one long tale of oppression and persecution. But Zionism they regard as their death-warrant, and they have been driven to the conclusion that, in the face of the pressure the Jews can bring, no representations they may make in a constitutional manner can be of any avail, and that the only remedy left to them is to trust in their own right hand.

These then are the psychological considerations that move the Arabs and the Jews in their attitude to the Commission's Report.

THE FUTURE

From their respective standpoints both can be justified: indeed, as was observed by the Mandates Commission, it is really a conflict of right with right. Herein lies the tragedy, for both sides must give up something to which they are entitled. If the Jews must endure a further contraction of what in their belief they were promised as their National Home, the Arabs must abandon lands that have been in their possession for so long. Both, too, must come to realize that the interests of Great Britain in this vital corner of the Mediterranean must be a paramount consideration: that at least is her due recompense for her immense outpouring of life and treasure, whereby both Zionism and Arab Nationalism as they are known today were rendered possible.

To engender the needful spirit of compromise if the Commission's plan is to become possible will be no easy task. As Lawrence said in a striking passage there are no half-tones in the Arab's political register, none of those hesitating greys such as the British people delight in. And the Jews do not conceal that they are a "stiff-necked race," who feel they have surrendered so much already. The first reactions of both to the Report were thus, not unexpectedly, wholly unfavourable; after a period of reflection, though, a certain change of mind can be detected. Jewry is sharply divided on the issue; the Central and Eastern European Jews who are the victims of persecution see in the scheme the opportunity for several hundred thousand more immigrants to be absorbed into the proposed Jewish State within a comparatively short time; for them Time is Salvation, therefore they are disposed to accept what is now offered: on the other hand, the powerful section in America, to whom the ideal of an undivided Jewish Palestine is more real than an actual physical need, are inclined to adopt a more intransigent attitude. The

Zionist Congress, however, that met recently in Zurich decided that, while the present scheme of Partition was unacceptable, the door should be left open for negotiation as to how the Jewish State should be brought into being. In the same way among the Arabs, although officially they reject the Report and all idea of a Jewish State, despite the terrorism that makes any expression of moderate opinion highly dangerous, there are indications of a growing movement in opposition to the extremist elements among the Nationalists, which is prepared to recognize that Palestine can no longer be regarded as a purely Arab country.

If, therefore, as thus seems possible, the principle of Partition in some form might come to be accepted, both Arabs and Jews would be prepared for hard bargaining on the conditions and both are bitterly hostile—from opposing points of view—to much of what the Commissioners recommend. The Arabs are chiefly concerned over the fact that there would be some 225,000 Arabs in the proposed Jewish State—as many indeed as there are Jews—while on the other hand there would only be some 1,200 Jews in their area. Arabs would therefore be by far the heaviest sufferers if the projected exchange of population took place; and it must be remembered that the Commission advised that in the last resort the exchange might have to be by compulsion. As to the proposed boundaries, they object that Galilee, which is allotted to the Jews, is a predominantly Arab district, and the fertile lands in the plains are essential economically to their proprietors up in the hills; furthermore, practically all the extensive Arab-owned orange groves will fall within the Jewish State or in the permanent Mandatory zone. Again, the Arab State practically cut off from the sea would be economically at the mercy of the Jewish, a fact which appears to a great extent admitted in the proposal that the Jews should pay them an annual subvention of £2,000,000; but no Arab would think of stooping to accept such “baksheesh”! Up to the present the Arabs have shown little appreciation of the offer of independence, and the only satisfaction they feel in the Report lies in the acceptance at last of their contention that the present Mandate was impossible of execution, and that as long as the attempt was made to enforce it there could never be peace in the land. They therefore in rejecting the Report repeat that the only possible solution is to accept what they have all along demanded, the stoppage of Jewish immigration and the prohibition of land sales, and the setting up of an Arab National Government for the whole of Palestine.

To the Jews, who confess to be bewildered at the nature of the Report, the most grievous blow is the smallness of the one fifth of the country, that is designated for the Jewish State. If the Arabs judge by arithmetic, the

geography.

and they see their “National Home” now reduced to about the size of Norfolk. In particular, they cannot understand their exclusion from the “Negeb,” the great waterless and practically uninhabited area south of Beersheba. If this could be brought back under cultivation, as much of it was in old days, the Jewish problem could largely be solved. Only they have the necessary resources to develop it, and it could never become of any potential value to the Arabs. They are also alarmed and resentful at the inclusion in the Arab State of the two great Jewish industrial undertakings, in which they take such justifiable pride, the Rutenberg Power Station in the Jordan Valley and the Potash Works at the Dead Sea. Strategically, too, they argue the Jewish State in the plains would be an invitation to the Arabs in the hills, and here they can quote history in support of their fears. But most of all perhaps they refuse to accept that there can be a Jewish State without Jerusalem. What is Zionism, they ask, without Zion? Over 70,000 of their people live in Jerusalem, most of them in the fine new quarters they have built south and west of the Old City; here, too, is the Hebrew University, the centre of their world culture. The Old City and the Holy Places may be left outside, but if Jaffa at one end of the Mandatory Corridor is to be included in the Arab State, they demand that New Jerusalem at the other should be included in the Jewish.

Doubtless there is room for considerable modification of detail in the Commission's recommendations; but it seems that to bring into line attitudes that are so utterly divergent will be a super-human task unless, in the face of realities, some sense of the spirit of moderation and mutual understanding should arise. And apart from what the Arabs and Jews feel, there remains the position of this country as Mandatory for Jerusalem and the Holy Places and for the Corridor to Jaffa. Here grave uncertainty is felt whether our security would be adequately assured and as to what our position would be in the case of any serious dispute between Jews and Arabs when their independence was a fact. It cannot be expected that the bitterness of a generation can be allayed at once by a few strokes of the pen, and a ready opportunity for mischief might therefore be given to any who should desire to cause embarrassment to the British Government. Recent events have shown how weak states excite the greed of others. Also it is distinctly doubtful whether in their present frame of mind either Arab or Jew is in the position to be entrusted with full responsibility for their own government and for their relations one with another. The Mandates Commission saw the force of these considerations and accordingly recommended an interim period during which the whole country would remain under Mandatory control, either as three distinct Mandates or under a scheme of autonomous “Cantons.”

How long such a probationary period would last time alone could show; it might be for a decade or even two, but it could not fail to be a useful breathing-space, allowing memories to soften and the future to be planned.

If all the three parties concerned—ourselves, the Arabs, and the Jews—must bear some of the blame for the tragedy that is Palestine, there are both Arabs and Jews of goodwill and understanding who are looking for the opportunity to co-operate with the British Government in finding an honourable way out of the impasse; that their efforts may find success must be the earnest hope of all who are anxious that peace may once again be restored to Jerusalem.

THE JAPANESE WAR IN CHINA

By O. M. GREEN

THREE months ago few people could have dreamed that China and Japan would by now be locked in the deadliest struggle that the Far East has ever seen.

There may have been some dark minds in the Japanese Army in Kuantung which had resolved what they meant to do, when Mr. Kawagoe, the Ambassador to Nanking, on returning to his post at the end of June, announced that his instructions were to work for friendship and better relations with China. This, to the military clique in Kuantung, who had so long directed matters in North China as they pleased, may well have seemed the climax of a trend in events which they had watched with growing dissatisfaction, and which called for swift and drastic action on their part.

But to the world at large the explosion between China and Japan has been a thunderbolt from what had really looked like a "set fair" sky.

To review briefly the main outlines of the war—the fact that it has not yet been officially announced as such makes, of course, no difference to the reality—it will be remembered that in the summer of 1936 the Japanese suddenly moved some 7,000 troops into North China, on the plea that her nationals must be protected against the Communists.

Under the Boxer Protocol of 1901, the Powers are entitled to maintain troops in North China in order to defend the Legations in Peking and keep open the road to the sea. But for several years this clause had become for all other Powers largely a matter of form. None of them kept more than a few hundreds in Peking and Tientsin, and their former practice of holding some light military exercises in the open country by the sea at Peitaiho had long been dropped. For Japan to bring in so large an army, with abundant mechanical equipment, cannot be described otherwise than as a marked abuse of the Protocol, and the freedom with which they subsequently marched their men about Peking and Tientsin, put a permanent force at Fengtai, the railway junction just outside Peking, and manœuvred about the country as if it were their own, was at least a cause of intense bitterness to the Chinese, if not an open provocation. What would the Japanese have said if any Power had attempted to take similar liberties round Tokyo and Yokohama?

On the night of July 7 the Japanese staged a sham battle near

Lukouchiao, another railway junction a few miles south-east of Peking—oddly enough, the only important point near the ancient capital which the Japanese did not hold—close by a large cantonment of the 29th Chinese Army, who, hearing all the firing in the dark, thought that they were being attacked and fired back. This seems the most probable explanation of an “incident” which has never satisfactorily been cleared up. One peculiarly dreadful part of the affair was that it devolved upon a mere lieutenant-colonel, a comparatively junior officer in charge of the Japanese troops at Fengtai, to decide whether the Japanese should hold off and allow space for reason to settle the trouble, or whether the Japanese should push home the encounter with force, as they did.

There followed some days of partial truces and renewed encounters, of desperate negotiations and more and more insistent demands. It is strange how faithfully events in 1937 have followed the pattern of the Manchurian *coup* in 1931. Then, as now, an “incident” which by a concession to reason and goodwill on the Japanese soldiers’ part might easily have been adjusted. Then, as now, visible efforts by Tokyo to localize the quarrel and get it patched up. As late as July 22 Prince Konoye, the Premier, was publicly expressing his earnest hope that peace would be preserved. But the soldiers overrode him as they had overridden Baron Shidehara in 1931. It is difficult in the light of later events to believe that the battle at Lukouchiao, when by their own admission the Japanese were carrying one ball cartridge apiece, was an accident.

The Japanese version of the Lukouchiao explosion, drawn up by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan and issued in pamphlet form, is that only 115 soldiers were engaged in the sham battle, which was part of the ordinary practice in preparation for the annual inspection, and that the Chinese were warned of it beforehand. They say that the Chinese fired on the Japanese troops without warning and in the ensuing days broke four truces by again attacking the Japanese. The 37th Chinese division, it is stated, to which the Lukouchiao garrison belonged, was notorious for its anti-Japanese feeling and “in view of the fact that Communists and Blue Shirts had been busily carrying on propaganda for the so-called ‘Anti-Japanese People’s Front’ the attitude of these troops was a matter of concern to both Chinese and Japanese authorities.”

Japan’s subsequent announcement that more troops were to be sent to China “was not intended to frighten China into submission” but “to forestall any conflict which would inevitably lead to hostilities on a larger scale.” The presence of 7,000 Japanese troops in North China since the summer of 1936 is defended under the Boxer Protocol. And great play is made with

recollections of the outrage at Nanking in 1927. There is, however, not the slightest analogy between the condition of China in 1927 and 1937; and if anti-Japanese feeling is strong in North as in all China, they have only themselves to thank in the ravishing from China of all Manchuria and the justifiable fears of the Chinese, based on subsequent events, that Japan meant to take North China too.

Within forty-eight hours of Lukouchiao thousands of troops were being poured into North China from Manchuria. No doubt the intention was to cow the Chinese so thoroughly that there would be an end of all resistance to Japanese plans. For a moment it looked as if the intimidation would work. On July 19, General Sung Cheh-yuan, head of the Hopei-Chahar Autonomous Council, submitted to a settlement which Nanking, possibly under the influence of the “peace at any price” party which was still potent, reluctantly agreed to accept. The 29th Army, however, whose blood by now was thoroughly up, from repeated skirmishing with the Japanese, appears to have said “No.” It was slow in withdrawing as stipulated by the agreement of the 19th. On Monday, July 26, the Japanese delivered an ultimatum. Some correspondents have said that it would have been physically impossible for the 29th Army to reach the place prescribed for it within the time limit. At any rate Sung Cheh-yuan rejected the ultimatum and the Japanese attacked.

They had little difficulty in scattering the troops around Peking, but Tientsin, to which they next turned their attention, was more difficult and in the straggling crowded streets around the railway stations and the Chinese City the Chinese fought heroically. Aeroplanes and heavy artillery were too much for them. Large parts of the Chinese City, the Nankai University, and many surrounding villages were bombed and burnt to the ground. Throughout this terrible conflict non-combatants and civil buildings have suffered to a degree which shows that the Japanese have thoroughly mastered the art of warfare as laid down according to the latest and most approved canons of our so-called civilization. By the end of July the whole of the Peking and Tientsin area had passed under Japanese control.

The scene now changes to Shanghai, also amazingly reproducing the story of five years ago. Then it was a Japanese priest who was killed in a riot; now, a lieutenant and marine who tried to force their way into a Chinese aerodrome. (The Japanese version is that they were merely inspecting Japanese mills.) And, as in 1932, the Japanese Navy took the bit between its teeth.

It would also seem as if the Navy were jealous of the Army and felt that they ought not to have all the fun. Without allowing any time for enquiry and peaceful settlement, all the First Battle Fleet, though with only one battleship, steamed up the Yangtze,

and on the plea that Chinese troops had invaded the area round Shanghai neutralized in 1932, landed marines and attacked in the old battle-ground of Hongkew and Chapei, and with the old failure.

To military observers it is amazing that the Japanese had forgotten the lessons of 1932 when it cost them six weeks' fighting and 60,000 men to turn out some 20,000 Chinese of the 19th Route Army. Street fighting is notoriously the worst of all sorts of fighting, and Hongkew and Chapei are perfect rabbit-warrens. Added to which the Japanese have had against them the flower of General Chiang Kai-shek's German-trained troops. By August 23, 50,000 Japanese troops had been fetched from Japan and had effected a patchy landing around Woosung (where the Whangpoo on which Shanghai stands enters the Yangtze) and in Yangtszepoo, the eastern end of the foreign part of Shanghai.

In one conspicuous respect, apart from being on a much bigger, more ferocious scale, the fighting has differed from that of 1932. On both occasions the Japanese have made the freest use of the International Settlement, which is in no respect whatever their exclusive property, as, for instance, the French Concession at the other side of Shanghai is France's, as a base from which to attack the Chinese. Such conduct cannot on any plea be excused. In 1932 the Chinese showed the greatest self-restraint in not hitting back at the enemy in the International Settlement. On this occasion they have felt free to retaliate where and how they could, and who can blame them? Bombs and shrapnel have at times dropped all over the settlement, on two occasions with horrid destruction. Meanwhile, the Japanese aeroplanes have continually raided all the country between Nanking, Shanghai, and Hangchow, and on the evidence of trustworthy foreigners have destroyed open villages remote from the war zone besides universities and philanthropic institutions. As the British Government's note to Japan on the bombing of Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen emphasizes, the fact that he was an ambassador was of less importance than the deliberate attacking of non-combatants far from the battle zone.

In the triangle between Shanghai, Woosung, and Liuhoo, which is about fifteen miles up the Yangtze from Woosung, the Japanese were unable for a considerable time to make any progress, although the weight of metal in their naval guns and especially their aeroplanes was overwhelmingly on their side. More reinforcements were telegraphed for and yet more. A "big push" was announced and raged through September 8, 9, and 10, so that all the buildings in Shanghai trembled. The Chinese were strongly posted and fought with a heroism that has earned even the admiration of the enemy. On September 13, yet more

reinforcements having arrived from Japan, who is said to have no fewer than 100,000 men at Shanghai, the Chinese withdrew to their second line more out of reach of the naval guns and where across the muddy rice fields and innumerable creeks which compose the Kiangwan-Woosung country it will be virtually impossible for the tanks and heavy stuff to follow them. At the moment of writing the fate of their further resistance is unknown. But they have at any rate made the Japanese pay the fullest price for whatever success they have gained, in quite unexpected exertions and corresponding losses. What undoubtedly was begun as a "sideshow," a little *divertissement* for the Navy, developed into operations of the largest size, and the honours, whatever the physical advantage, are not on Japan's side.

Meanwhile, events in the north have been obscured, partly by the dramatic events of Shanghai, partly by the Japanese censorship, the hugeness of the field of operations and the lack of trustworthy correspondents in the essential parts of it.

Yet there is general agreement that the north of China is the region to be watched. With the unexpected development of the fighting at Shanghai, Japan's ambitions in that quarter have correspondingly increased, at least according to the Japanese spokesmen of the Foreign and War Offices, who now tell us that nothing less will serve than the complete destruction of General Chiang Kai-shek's Government and the Kuomintang. Talk of this kind, in the heat of the conflict, is rather of the "killing Kruger with your mouth" order. It is equally unlikely at the present time that the Japanese generals really know what they want to do, or what they can do, about Shanghai and Nanking.

But in North China we have the guidance of what they have been trying to do for at least two years. Here they reckon to have the least inconvenience from meddling foreign Powers—and despite the rhodomontade of the Tanaka Memorial and the Tota Ishimarus one may doubt whether Japan feels able to defy them all—here in the cotton, coal, iron, salt, and hides of this rich district they hope to recoup themselves for the ceaseless debits of Manchuria, and here they plan entrenchments against the Russian infiltration and a base for attack upon Russia's flank in the anticipated war.

On August 7 the Japanese opened an attack upon the Nankow Pass, 25 miles north of Peking. It is 12 miles long, a position of great natural defensiveness, and the attackers had hammered at it for sixteen days with little success before the arrival of another Japanese army from Chahar, after capturing Kalgan, took the Chinese in the rear and the Pass fell. Since then the Japanese have swept on into north-eastern Shansi and at the time of writing have occupied Tatung, a short distance inside the border.

In passing, it may here be mentioned that that redoubtable guerrilla leader Chu Teh and his 100,000 Communist troops, now at last enrolled as part of the Chinese regular army, as they have been begging to be allowed to do for months, are reported to have entered Shansi in order to bar the Japanese advance. It will be extremely interesting to see what they will do. Chu Teh, by common consent, is the ablest general in China. It is not to be supposed that he could stand up to Japan in a pitched battle, or that he would try to do so. He has not the necessary artillery. But in agile harrying tactics he is a past master and it is not impossible that the Japanese may find him the most inconvenient opponent yet encountered.

In addition to the north-western push the Japanese have also begun a drive against the lines which the Chinese have established some 80 miles south of Peking and Tientsin from Paotingfu on the Peking-Hankow railway to Machang on the Tientsin-Pukow, and they are said to have captured Machang. But there is a stronger natural position a few miles further south at Tsangchow, and at the moment of writing we have not enough information to know exactly what has been happening.

Air raids on Canton, attacks on Swatow (always a virulently anti-Japanese place), seizure of the Pratas Islands some 200 miles east of Hong Kong—a serious matter for the Colony owing to the loss of the typhoon signals which the radio at the Pratas used to send—and a blockade of the entire China coast, make up in broad outline the tale of Japan's activities which, her spokesmen assure us, are not war, but only designed "to compel China to be friends with Japan and Manchuria." To which end "China must be beaten to her knees."

Volumes might, and no doubt will, be written on the background of this war, perhaps even tracing its origins back to the onerous one-sided treaties forced upon Japan by the West in 1858 and revealing the present hostilities as a stroke directed more at the white races' ascendancy in the Far East than at China. It is certainly no excessive use of imagination to date the quarrel from the presentation to Yuan Shih-kai of the famous Twenty-one Demands in 1915, which would have made China Japan's vassal. Japanese character is nothing if not tenacious and the compulsion put upon her at the Washington Conference to cancel the Demands and restore to China the old German possessions in Shantung meant both a loss to be repaired and a humiliation to be wiped out. There was the further "humiliation" of the London Naval Treaty of 1930, when Japan accepted the position of inferiority to Great Britain and America openly expressed in the 5:5:3 ratio of naval strength. The Japanese do not forget such things.

But the strongest stimulant to clinch the military decision has probably been the internal condition of Japan during the past few years coupled with the condition of China herself. In "The Changing Fabric of Japan," published some fifteen years ago, Captain Malcolm Kennedy wrote that the Japanese were going through a revolution more momentous than that of the Meiji Restoration. The truth of this observation and the terrible consequences of this internal turmoil are glaringly visible to-day. The London Naval Treaty was in military eyes the climax of a national degeneration which they had watched growing with the advent of politician Premiers (as distinct from the old aristocratic-military class) like Hara and Hamaguchi, the increasing ascendancy in political life of "big business," the corruption of Parliament, the callous indifference of the ruling classes for the beggared, servitude of the over-taxed farmer, the introduction of universal manhood suffrage, and the increasing popularity of Western fashions, Western clothes, cinemas, dance halls, and high-heeled shoes. Imperialist expansion was hardly more important a motive in the Manchurian *coup* in 1931, than the belief that Japan could only be saved by ousting the politicians and concentrating all power in the Army.

The strange conceptions of government which branched out from this belief, more suited to a 17th century, than to a modern, State, came to a climax in the great Tokyo mutiny in February, 1926, which went perilously near to plunging Japan in civil war and awoke the whole nation to the menace of military dictatorship. For the first time in history the Army found themselves unpopular. When the Diet assembled in the autumn it immediately attacked the Army's suspected plot against parliamentary government, and the storm broke into open revolt when the Budget for 1937 was opened, with its colossal demands for military and naval expansion. Parliament was dissolved, the Government was crushingly defeated at the polls, and General Hayashi made way for a new Premier, Prince Konoye, reputedly a kind-hearted and liberal man. But by the time that the Diet reassembled the war with China was fairly under way, and the politicians who had been calling for the Army's blood were now shouting for China's. The Army had chosen the time-honoured device of a war abroad in order to deflect public anger from itself against the enemy.

It is the fixed belief of every Chinese that Japan will never, if she can help it, allow them to become strong and united. Certainly it would seem that this belief was well founded. The extraordinary advance that China had been making for four or five years up to the beginning of the war, is fairly well known. In the growth of the Government's efficiency and prestige, in

economic development and the building of roads and railways, in social work and most of all in the discovery of a new sense of national unity, China had astonished even those who had always believed in her ultimate renaissance. The success with which, last year, the attempted revolt of South China was quelled without bloodshed—its leaders are now fighting under Nanking's standard in the common cause—and the complete failure of the grotesque kidnapping of General Chiang Kai-shek were sure evidence of the new China that was coming to life, for the conspicuous feature of both incidents was that national oneness had triumphed over sectional rebellion.

Even in North China, the semi-autonomous government of Hopei and Chahar—the compromise accepted by Japan in the previous autumn when Nanking had managed to foil her original plan for having the five northern provinces converted into a separate state under her control—had begun to slip away from Japanese dictation; while Nanking was adopting a more and more independent tone, countering demands by Japan with demands of her own, and abruptly breaking off the negotiations which were to settle all outstanding questions between the two nations, when the Kuantung army instigated an invasion of Suiyuan by Mongol and Manchukuoan troops. When last February an important industrial mission from Japan visited Nanking and Shanghai, it was plainly told that no co-operation was possible until Japan's behaviour towards China had been radically reformed for the better, and was sent home empty-handed.

These changes made a deep impression in Japan. Many speeches and articles in influential papers preached the need of a new policy of conciliation and friendship towards China. The economic mission just mentioned played strongly on the same theme. So, it is to be believed, did Mr. Kawagoe, the Ambassador in Nanking, recalled in April to Tokyo to go over the whole ground with the Government. What his instructions were on his return to China has already been noted. It is also by no means impossible that the conspicuous success of Dr. H. H. Kung, the Finance Minister's visit to London as Chinese delegate to the Coronation, and the practical certainty that if he wanted a loan he could get it—in fact, an agreement was reached in principle with the London financiers for a loan, besides two railway loans—was well remarked by the military men in Japan and Kuantung.

Is it surprising, with the plain record before us of all they had done and the equally unmistakable signs of what they hoped to do, if they decided that it was a case of now or never? That if they delayed to act, not only might their ascendancy at home be seriously endangered, but China would grow too strong for them,

and all the glittering fabric of their dreams for which they had so long laboured would melt like streaks of morning cloud under the rays of the rising sun, not Japan's, but China's?

But may it not be that China has even now grown too strong for Japan? It is hardly possible that she can stand up to her adversary indefinitely in pitched battle. In the long run the superior weight of the Japanese metal, hampered as China is by want of sea power and by the blockade, and much inferior in aeroplanes, seems bound to overcome even the stubborn resistance of the Chinese army at Shanghai. But China has one ally who may well prove disastrous for Japan, "General Geography," her colossal size. It is nothing for her to lose towns and territory; the same thing has happened to her repeatedly in her long history; and her faculty for applying historical sense to political *contretemps* is one of her strongest assets. But it is quite another thing for the captor of those towns and territories to make any profitable use of them or even to abide in them undisturbed.

From north-eastern Shansi to Machang on the Tientsin-Pukow railway the battle-line is now nearly 250 miles long. The four northern provinces, Hopei, Shansi, Chahar, and Suiyuan (without reckoning that Japan may aspire to add also Shensi and part of Shantung to her kingdom), are nearly seven times as big as England. What a mass to hold even with the 350,000 troops which Japan is expected to have in the field before winter! And most of it country ideally adapted to the guerrilla tactics in which the Chinese excel, and imbued with hatred for the invader.

A curious piece of news arrives from Japan on the day on which these lines are being written, namely that the Japanese troops have dispersed the 50,000 Chinese "irregulars" who were attacking between Peking and Tientsin. But weeks ago this area was supposed to have been entirely cleared of Chinese troops, regular or irregular. Where did these impertinent assailants come from? And in such considerable numbers? It is a symptom, by no means the only one, of the thorny path which Japan has chosen to mark out for herself.

If China has resolutely made up her mind for a war of attrition, there can be no doubt that Japan will live to repent bitterly the passion to which she has allowed her military men to inflame her. With her enormous territory, able to live upon herself as Japan cannot attempt to do, and with the uncanny ability of her people to work and do business under the most impossible conditions, the question for China is not one of material but of moral resources. And on that score one ventures to believe that there will be no going back.

In all this heart-breaking story there is one streak of silver light. Supposing three months ago China had again allowed herself to

be cowed into surrender? Not improbably the Government would have been overthrown, chaos have come again, the whole country have been plunged in a despair and disorder from which it might have taken decades to recover. Instead, China has undauntedly faced the foe, she has already dealt the Japanese such a shock as they had rarely felt before, she is thrilled with the knowledge that the world's eyes are upon her and that she has won its praise as well as its sympathy, and her soldiers have wholly lost their former, almost superstitious, paralysing dread of the Japanese. In the heat and crash of the conflict the Chinese people are being welded together as never before. It seems not too much to believe that a new China is being born; and that alone is victory even if Japan should for a while score some transient successes.

And for Japan? Moral reprobation is scarcely in place in these pages, and anyway, international morality seems to have disappeared completely from the ways of the world. It is nevertheless a very real grief to Japan's friends to see her engaged in her present course. But what perhaps most astonishes the onlooker is her short-sightedness.

Nations seem able to carry on war for a very long time without money. But it cannot be without effect on Japan's future that the Diet has already had to vote an additional £149,000,000 for the war, nearly doubling the year's expenditure and increasing the internal debt to 3,000,000,000 yen: and Prince Konoye has frankly warned the nation that it will have to face another war budget next year. Meanwhile, all Japan's trade with China, representing some thirty per cent. of her industry, has vanished into the blue; wherever there are Chinese throughout the East and even in New Zealand, Japan is being boycotted; already Chinese crews of British ships are refusing to sail in them if they go to Japan; the next step will be that the Chinese wharf coolies in the Straits and Hong Kong will refuse to load cargo in any ship without a pledge that it shall not go to Japan; and meanwhile the Japanese armies are doing their utmost so to break up China's towns and industries that she will not have the means even if she had the wish to buy Japanese goods.

The incredible madness of it all!

Liberty

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO*

CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT

By PHILIP MORRELL

IF the seven months which Jacquemont spent in the Punjab and Kashmir were the most picturesque of his journey, the three months which he now spent on his first return to British territory were certainly the happiest. He had at least learnt to understand the English and their ways, and his appreciation of them was strengthened by the experience he had had of native rule. How much more humane the English administration seemed; how much juster, more orderly, more civilized! In the letters he wrote at this time there is a note almost of enthusiasm, as if he could hardly speak highly enough of some of the Englishmen he met.

At Simla he was the guest of Captain Charles Kennedy of the Bengal Artillery, the Political Agent in the Hill States, of whom he had written eighteen months before when he first stayed with him that it was impossible to be more of a good fellow (*bon enfant*) than he was. Once more he is overwhelmed by his kindness and astonished at the ease with which he administers a large and populous district.

"My host at the moment," he writes, "is a charming fellow (*un aimable garçon*), the most highly paid artillery captain in the sublunary world, a king of kings even more than Agamemnon was, with no Achilles to resist him among all the little hill rajahs, his vassals. One regiment of Gurkhas maintains his absolute sovereignty from the Jumna to the Sutlej."

Then there was Mr. Maddock, "one of the most distinguished men in this country," who was on his way from the Residency at Lucknow, "the biggest job in India," to be Resident at the Court of Katmandu in Nepal, and was also sharing Kennedy's hospitality; and with a brother-gunner to complete the party they spent some delightful evenings full of talk and laughter.

"Those of the English," he writes, "who remain bachelors . . . have a way of living that is not the same as our *bonhomie*, but from thirty to fifty they are far more of 'good fellows' than we are." (November 28, 1831.)

* *Letters from India, 1829-32, of Victor Jacquemont.* Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips. (Macmillan.) 21s. net. The previous instalment appeared in the April issue.

A few weeks later he reached Delhi. On his way there he spent two days with the Bentincks in the Governor-General's camp outside the town, and was "even more charmed" with them than he had been two years before, when he stayed with them at Calcutta and Barrackpore. There was, he said, no possible mark of kindness or of friendship that they did not show him. With Lord William he has a very long talk about the regions from which he has come; with Lady William he talks of Paris and of their own Indian tour.

At Delhi he was the guest of William Fraser, the "Viceroy" of the district, the man whom he loved best of all the Englishmen he met in India—"almost as if he were an elder brother"—and in the evenings when Fraser was attending the Governor-General Jacquemont used often to dine with the Resident, Mr. Martin, "a man with a subtle, well-stocked mind . . . who talks better than most Englishmen." There he again found his friend Mr. Mad-dock, who had come on to Delhi from Simla on his way to his new "kingdom" of Katmandu, and also a new friend, Mr. Bell, "a budding young diplomatist sparkling with wit," who never missed his chief's dinners; and at ten o'clock, after saying good-night to Mr. Martin, the three of them would retire to Bell's apartments, "sitting close together round a good fire we talk till mid-night." How different it all was from the impressions he had formed of the English on his first arrival!

"What good fellows and pleasant people there are among these Englishmen in the north of India! In Bengal, I do not know why, it is not quite the same thing. There is less cordiality and less wit."

And then what a contrast there was between their methods of government and those he had found in native States. Writing from Delhi on December 24, 1831, he recalls the Christmas he had spent a year ago at Meerut, when he had been taken by his host, Colonel Arnold, to visit the Begum Sumru at Sirdhana and had had breakfast and dinner with "that old witch," and had kissed her hand gallantly and clicked glasses with her like a regular John Bull, and they had dined with her on Christmas Day.

"She is an old hussy," he wrote, "quite a hundred years old, bent double and as shrivelled as a dried raisin, a sort of walking mummy who still conducted all her own business, listening to two or three secretaries at a time, while dictating to three more. Not four years ago she had some of her wretched ministers and courtiers who had fallen into disgrace blown from the mouth of her cannon; they were simply fired off like bullets. There is a story (a true one) that at the age of sixty or eighty she had a young slave-girl of whom she was jealous buried alive, and held a nautch (ball) for her husband upon this horrible grave."

Clearly the government of the perfidious islanders, though still far from perfect, was better than that.

At last, on February 6, 1832, he set out again on the final stage of his great journey, "steering towards Bombay." For six weeks he had been the guest of his friend William Fraser, best beloved of all the Englishmen he knew, and in order to lessen the pain of parting it had been agreed between them that when the time came for Jacquemont to go, he was to steal away like a thief in the night without so much as saying good-bye. This strange agreement he had faithfully fulfilled; but a few days later, as he was walking alone rather dejectedly in the half dark in the great deserted plain where he had pitched his camp, he saw a tall white figure approaching. It was William Fraser, who had in fact already sent a messenger to tell Jacquemont to expect him, for he was following him to spend a few more days in his company. That night they dined together "like kings" on a bowl of milk and griddle-cakes in Jacquemont's little sleeping tent, and for two more days they travelled on foot side by side; for Fraser, wrote Jacquemont, "though the ruler of a great district, is as simple in his tastes as I am." But now it was Fraser's turn to go, and early next morning before it was light he slipped away, leaving no trace of his tent on the spot where they had dined and spent the evening together. "One day," wrote Jacquemont, "he is coming to Paris." But that was a promise that would never be fulfilled. Before the end of the year Jacquemont himself died in Bombay, and some three years later—in 1835—Fraser was assassinated by a fanatical Mussalman at Delhi.

A day or two later a summons came to Jacquemont from the Governor-General to join him in his camp at Kalakòh, with relays of saddle horses and horsemen waiting along the road to conduct him there. So leaving his little caravan to make its way at the pace of an ox to Jaipur, he galloped off to Bentinck's camp, and stayed with him for two days—it was the last time they ever spent together—"receiving more courtesies than ever before." "Lord William," he says, "spent the best part of Sunday talking politics with me. . . . We parted great friends" (*nous nous quittons bons amis*). How gladly would we have known more of the subjects of their talk; for Bentinck was a reserved and rather lonely man, and it was rare for him to take anyone so much into his confidence as he had evidently taken this young French traveller. But a few weeks later, writing to another friend, Jacquemont again refers to this conversation.

"No, indeed, my friend, Lord William was not cold to me the last time I saw him. On the contrary, I think as he does about the incapacity and laziness of the average run of his government officials, and their enormous salaries, and I told him so. We understand one another perfectly. But I did not attempt any sort of eulogies or humbug with him. I told him the pros and cons of everything as I saw it. In short, I was charmed with him."

On March 1 he rejoins his caravan at Jaipur, which Jacquemont declares—anticipating the judgment of many another traveller—to be beyond all comparison the most beautiful city in India, and from there goes on to Ajmeer, which he also finds very attractive; “the prettiest place I have seen outside the Himalayas.” But much as he enjoyed the beauty of the Indian landscape and of some of the cities and buildings he saw he was always, one feels, chiefly occupied in observing the ways of the people, and the problems of government and politics. It is the strong human interest pervading his letters that makes them so vivid and fresh. From Ajmeer he makes an excursion to a place called Beawur, the capital town of Merwara, a hilly district inhabited by the Bhils, one of the indigenous races of the country; and there finds fresh evidence of the work which the new administration was doing to improve the conditions of Indian life. For centuries past these people, he says, had lived almost entirely by brigandage. No Rajput chief, no Moghul Emperor, had ever been able to subdue them. But in the last fourteen years they had been converted from their life of brigandage into a quiet, industrious, happy people of shepherds and cultivators. A single man, Major Henry Hall, the son-in-law of Jacquemont’s friend, Colonel Fagan, had worked “that wonderful miracle of civilization,” and had done it by gentle means without the taking of a single life.

“The more I know,” writes Jacquemont, “of this fabric—the fabric of British Government—the more extraordinary it appears to me. No conjecture can be made of its durability. It may last for centuries, and may be swept away in a few months. This prophecy, however, I will make: the British power in India will not perish by foreign aggression.”

There were indeed few Major Halls “to work the miracles he has done,” and in some of the smaller independent States a good deal of brigandage still went on.

“Disbanded soldiers turn out robbers. There are many well organized gangs of highway men in these independent States, and without a strong escort I should be plundered to a certainty.”

But taking it as a whole he still has no doubt of the excellence of the English administration. In a letter to a French friend at Chandernagore, dated May 15, 1832, he writes:

“The Bhils, so famous for their brigandage, have become the most worthy people in the world thanks to the English administration, which is good, though it might be much better still; but, after all, it is good as it stands.”

Here, then, you might suppose, is his final verdict on the English government of India—that it was an “extraordinary fabric,” which might perhaps last for centuries, and which, though it might be much better, was already good—but about six weeks later he reverts to an aspect of it that had surprised him on

his first arrival at Calcutta three years ago—namely, the contrast between the wit and intelligence of a few of the higher officials and the stupidity and vulgarity of the rest.

He is writing from Poona—which he describes as “the old capital of the Marathas before Lord Hastings put an end to those ruffians”—but already converted into the hill station to which Europeans came from Bombay during the three months of the rainy season. Poona, he says, in itself is a delightful place. The climate is excellent, the days are temperate, the nights fresh, and it is “comfortable,” as the English say, after the fatigues of his journey to be living again in a house, to be eating beef and bread and drinking bad Bordeaux. But how shall he describe the English people he finds there? They ride, drive, breakfast, dine, dress, shave and undress; they meet in committee to manage the affairs of a public library in which he has never seen anyone but himself; they sleep soundly and snore loudly; they digest their food as well as they can, sin, no doubt, as much as they can, read their Bombay newspapers; and that is all their life! The stupid, stupid people. The only man of sense among them is the General, who learnt his job “fighting against us,” and, moreover, is a good fellow. The others perhaps are good-natured too; but what nonentities they are! Without any preliminary of false modesty he will give, he says, an instance to prove it:

“A traveller who has wandered far arrives among them, a traveller who speaks their language and has seen a great deal in this country of India; that traveller is myself. Well, not one of these imbeciles has yet made up his mind to ask me a single question on any of the many things of which they know nothing, and of which I learnt something during my travels. . . . You who are rather an Anglomaniac will say that this comes from their discretion and reserve. . . . No, my dear Hezeta, it is torpor, it is stupidity. . . .”

Poona, in fact, was as dull and stupid as a little provincial town. A few weeks later, writing to his friend Captain Cordier, he says:

“You have no idea how the English character is changed, and changed for the better, in the Northern Provinces of Hindustan. Here (at Poona) I find them ‘*au naturel*,’ which is not, I think, a compliment to them, any more than to their green peas and potatoes when cooked in this way. A little sauce, when it is good, is not amiss.”

But how was this contrast to be accounted for? Why were the Englishmen he had known in the North, at Simla and at Delhi, so different from those he found at Poona?

“For heaven’s sake,” he appeals to Hezeta, “invent me a theory, an explanation, to enable me to understand why there is something decidedly more distinguished, better bred and more amiable in the ways and manners of the English to the north of Benares than to the south of it.”

The fact, as he said, was generally recognized and in his opinion incontestable, but it was not easy to explain it. His own little

theory was that in the North the Europeans were great lords, enjoying immense power, with little or no control, and thus had the easy manners which naturally belong to princes. In the South they had less power, and were therefore less agreeable. It is a beautifully simple theory, but so obviously inconsistent with the teaching of history and the common experience of mankind that it is perhaps unfair to Jacquemont, who as a rule was a sensible and acute observer, to take his suggestion very seriously.

In what country of the world, one might ask, in what age of its long history, has the possession of immense power with little or no control been calculated to make a ruler virtuous and amiable and his subjects happy? And in India least of all does Jacquemont's theory hold good. In no other part of the world has despotism been more generally tolerated or produced more deplorable results. There have been exceptions, no doubt, even in India. For thirty years (1765-95) that sainted lady with the romantic name, Ahalya Bai, is said to have governed the State of Indore with exemplary wisdom and humanity. And Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, was, as we have seen, extremely generous to Jacquemont, which is probably the one instance on which his theory is based. But even Ranjit Singh was not always amiable or well-bred, and what can be said in favour of such notorious ruffians as Suraj-ud-Dowlah in Bengal or of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan in Mysore? And yet all these in their various districts were the possessors of immense power with little or no control.

Are we then to suppose that the English have been different from all the other races of the world and that among them alone the existence of uncontrolled power has led not to corruption and cruelty but to distinction and amiability in the ways and manners of its possessors? On the contrary, it is well known to every serious student of history that there was grave misuse of the immense power, which followed the victories of Plassey and Wandiwash and Buxar in the early years of the Company's administration. What defence can be made of Clive's successors in Bengal, who oppressed the inhabitants in so cruel a manner that Clive was sent back to stop the scandal. It may be said that these men were untrained and unaccustomed to the duties of government; and they had gone out merely as traders, for the purpose of making money; and that when they suddenly acquired political power it was natural to them to use it for the same object. But can that justify their gross misconduct? They were not even faithful to the Company which they professed to serve, and their manners as a rule were as insolent as their morals were bad.

And yet within a period of less than twenty years during which British supremacy was gradually established, first by the capture

of Seringapatam in 1799 and finally by the victory over the Marathas eighteen years later, the old abuses and corruptions, which had made the rule of the Company a public scandal, were so far brought to an end that both Dubois and Jacquemont barely refer to them. Consider only Jacquemont's evidence on the subject of corruption.

"English officials," wrote Jacquemont, "do not abuse their power when far from the master's eye. On the contrary, it is my conviction that the more confidence their Government repose in them . . . the better they serve it. . . . The golden age, which was no more nor less than the age of corruption, is over."

What a change from the time when corruption among the Company's servants was almost universal!

What, then, is the explanation of this extraordinary improvement in the Company's government and also of the discrepancy which Jacquemont found between the various classes of its officials; between the men at Delhi, for instance, and the men at Poona?

The improvement, no doubt, was very largely due to the greater control which the Home Government obtained after 1787 over the affairs of the Company. Under the new India Act the Home Government superseded the Court of Directors in appointing the Governors of the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and the men whom they sent out—men of character and good position, like Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley and Lord William Bentinck—brought new standards of efficiency and honesty into the Company's administration. Lord William Bentinck, in particular, when Governor of Madras (1803-7) was indefatigable in putting down the abuses he found there, and in carrying out the principle on which he insisted throughout his career that the object of government is the benefit of the governed. But the exertions of a few leading men would not have had so great an effect if it had not been for the new spirit of humanity, which, in the early years of the new century, had such a powerful influence on British politics. At home it had already led to the abolition of the slave trade and was soon to bring about the emancipation of the slaves; it had led also to the reform of some of the worst abuses of the criminal law. In India it was inspiring men like Munro and Metcalfe and Sleeman and Henry Arthur Cole to devote long years of disinterested work to the service of the Indian people.

Hitherto, indeed, though internal peace had been established and the method of government improved, very little had been done to improve the social conditions of the population. But lately in this respect also a great advance had been made so that

the seven years of Bentinck's Governor-Generalship (1827-35), during which Jacquemont made his journey, may be regarded as a kind of turning-point in the history of British India. Within the last few years human sacrifices had been entirely stopped; the hideous practice of the burning and burying alive of widows, which had continued unchecked for centuries, had been declared illegal, and was brought before long almost entirely to an end; and a new organization had been set up for putting down the cruel system of Thuggee, through which hundreds of travellers were strangled every year upon the Indian roads. Besides this important constructive work was being done. New schools were being established, and a system of European education was soon to be set up; a hospital and school of medicine, the first ever known in India, was founded at Calcutta; the system of justice, though still complicated and expensive, was being gradually improved. It was not surprising that Jacquemont, after spending eight months under the despotic government of Ranjit Singh, felt a joy which he could hardly express on his return to British India.

But such a transformation was not easily accomplished. The old traditions died hard. Every reform of the administration, every attempt to stop corruption, was obstinately and even fiercely resisted, most of all in the great Presidency towns, and especially in Calcutta and Bombay, where the old traditions were most firmly rooted. At Bombay only twenty years before the learned and admirable James Mackintosh—a man who seemed to Greville one of the most delightful men he had ever met, of prodigious memory and extraordinary ability but “amiable, modest and unassuming”—had been subjected as Recorder and afterwards as Chief Judge of the High Court to the most virulent and indignant attacks on account of his determination to put a stop to the corruption which he found there. “I was treated,” he wrote, “in the grossest manner. There was no liberal public opinion to support me . . . no advice in difficulty, no encouragement against clamour, no protector and witness against calumny. . . .” Of the social atmosphere prevailing among the English in Bombay he had, indeed, the worst possible opinion. “There is languor and lethargy here to which I never elsewhere saw any approach. . . . Every Englishman who resides here long has . . . his mind either emaciated by submission or corrupted by despotic power. He would rather, he said, be the Governor and Chief Justice of Botany Bay than Bombay, “for then I could at least rescue the children from brutality.”

Ten years afterwards, in 1822, when Sir Edward West went out to fill the same post, he found corruption diminished no doubt but still persisting, even among the officers of the High Court; and

discovered other gross abuses, including a monstrous and illegal system of flogging native servants; and when he set himself to put down these practices was attacked with almost equal fury and boycotted for a time by most of the Europeans in the place. “What a horrid place India is,” wrote poor Lady West in her diary in 1826, “for health, morals, good feeling and everything, especially among the old residents.”

And in Calcutta in 1834—a few years after Jacquemont's visit—there was a similar agitation of the kind, directed against Macaulay—then a comparatively unknown man—at any rate in India. He had come out as a member of the Supreme Council, and was responsible for an Act known as the Black Act, by which British-born subjects in the Provinces were deprived of the special privileges they had hitherto had of bringing civil appeals before the Supreme Court at Calcutta. In future they would have to appeal to the Sudder Court—the Court “which we have provided to administer justice to the great body of the people.” For this simple reform he was attacked, in the words of his biographer, “with a breadth and ferocity of calumny such as few public men in any age or country have ever endured.” He was denounced as a cheat and a charlatan and was said to be defying public opinion and the love of liberty. But Macaulay, fortunately for himself and for us, was not to be moved by such criticism. The public opinion, he replied, of which this spoke, was the opinion of about five hundred people, and the liberty they desired was the liberty of acting as they chose towards the fifty millions among whom they lived.

It was only in the North, in the newly occupied territories and in parts of the Presidency of Madras that the new spirit was able to make itself felt, and it was to these parts that the new type of Company's servant who cared more for his job than for his personal advantage would inevitably go. In the trading towns the spirit that had survived from the days when the Company was merely a commercial body was still strong, and this was no doubt responsible for the discrepancy in the manners and ways of the English officials that seemed to Jacquemont so difficult to understand.

His journey was now nearly over. After the adventures and labours of the last three years he was longing to get home.

“Oh, how charming it will be,” he had written to his brother on May 10, “to find ourselves all together again after so many years of absence, and for me of loneliness! What a delight to dine all three—or better still all four of us—at our little round table when the lamps are lit; to eat a French *potage* and drink the red wine of France . . . and sitting round the fire to tell one another of all that has happened during our time of separation. . . . My eyes fill with tears as I think of these joys. . . . When we are old we will take our walk and play backgammon together, and together will go now and then to hear good music.”

But the fates were cruel and relentless. In July, while he was still at Poona, his servant fell ill of dysentery, and in spite of all Jacquemont's efforts to save him, died within two days. A month later he was himself struck down with the same appalling disease, the first serious illness he had had since he came to India. His pains, he said, were agonizing, but his head was quite clear and his mind so active that it nearly killed him. There was no one to whom he could talk, and he was just sending for a good violinist to play some of Mozart's airs to him, "so as to die to music," when his medicine worked and brought him to convalescence.

In the middle of September he left Poona for Bombay, but on his way stopped at the island of Salsette, where he again fell ill, suffering apparently from some inflammation of the liver, of which during the last six months he had had several attacks, though he had never before mentioned them. At the end of October he arrived at Bombay in a very weak state of health. He went first to the house of an English merchant, Mr. James Nichol, who was extremely good to him—"no old friend could have lavished more affectionate care upon me"—but was soon removed to the sick officers' quarters in an airy and healthy situation near the sea. Here for more than a month he lingered between life and death. At times he suffered greatly; and then would collapse into a state of weakness which was almost painless; but through it all his mind was perfectly clear, and though at first he had a fair hope of recovery he knew from the first how dangerously ill he was. At last, on December 1, 1832, he writes what he knows to be almost certainly his last letter to his brother, telling him of all the kindnesses he has received.

"The most cruel thing, dear Porphyry, in the thought of those whom we love dying in distant lands is the idea of the isolation and abandonment in which they may have passed the last hours of their existence. Well, my dear, you should find some consolation in the assurance which I give you that since my arrival here I have not ceased to have the most affectionate and touching attentions heaped upon me. . . ."

And he records the names of some of those who had been most kind to him, and especially of the Scottish doctor, who had risked his own health for his sake.

"Be comforted and comfort our Father. Comfort one another, my dears. But I am exhausted by this effort of writing. I must bid you good-bye. Good-bye! Oh, how your poor Victor loves you. Good-bye for the last time!"

A week later, on December 7, he died. He was only thirty-one years old.

(Conclusion)

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION IN PARIS: AN IMPRESSION OF THE INDO-CHINA PAVILION

BY BASABANDRA NATH TAGORE

I ENTERED through the main gateway into the great Exhibition of Paris, which has for once been successful in assembling together the pride, the culture, and the art of nearly all the nations of the world. And the skill and the personality of the French people have been able to prove that France is one of the premier civilized countries in Europe.

Although the first few stalls were not so impressive from the artistic point of view, still the enormous pillars, the long avenues, the decorated bridges, and the wandering visitors of various nationalities in different costumes created such an atmosphere around the gate that I felt completely lost in its splendour. However, giving up all hopes of thoroughly seeing the whole of the Exhibition in one visit, I hurried my steps towards the further end. Crossing and recrossing the river, passing the picturesque bridges, going in and coming out of different stalls, leaving behind the two gigantic pavilions of Russia and Germany that stand face to face as if challenging each other, and passing the pavilions of Great Britain, U.S.A., and others; at last I came to the Colonial part of the Exhibition. Here the surroundings are so different that I am sure anyone would feel surprised at the sudden change. It is like a complete Eastern city that has been transferred into the heart of the modern world of the West as if by a miracle.

Hearing the music of the dark continent, walking below the semi-Gothic and semi-Saracenic arches of the Algerian stalls; in the end I found myself standing in front of the Indo-Chinese Pavilion. Although this little pavilion is furnished with only a small entrance, yet the decorations of its porch, on top of which the four heads of Lord Buddha display the eternal smile of a Chinese god and possess the facial feature of an Ajanta painting, give a peculiar dignity which is lacking elsewhere. In a map of Asia and between the gigantic red patch of British India and that yellow part of the Chinese Republic, the little violet spot of Indo-China appears to be almost hidden. But this small French Colony is a place where many a different culture of Asiatic nations has been intermingled. Being between the two oldest civilized countries, China and India, she had the opportunity of combining both of them in herself and the main characteristics of her art. Thus the life and society is the amazing result of the combination of these two countries.

The straw-thatched roofs of some of the stalls take one's mind thousands of miles away down to an Oriental village. Inside these stalls one may see how the weaving of cloths or the making of wonderful carpets are done in that distant land. These carpets, in my opinion, are in no way inferior to those made elsewhere. In another part the decorated lanterns or the lampshades were being displayed after the popular Chinese fashion. These beautiful lanterns are made of semi-transparent thin papers of different colours, and inside them there generally burns a candle.

The stall-holders in this section are mainly from the country which they represent. These people, who are rather short but graceful, from an anthropological point of view, belong to the Mongolian type. They show a definite Chinese character, but there is something in their ways and manners that make them more Indian. On the whole, in my estimation, the Indo-Chinese Pavilion shows she has more of China in herself than anything else. A wave of Indian culture has, however, entered and has left its influence on Indi-China.

If we go back to history, then, according to authorities who seems to be quite certain on the point, an Indian dynasty called the Pallavas founded their colonies in Indo-China as early as the first century B.C. But sometime in the fifth century B.C. the Pallavas were hard pressed in Southern India by the coming of a large number of northern people. Thus was the Hindu population increased in the colonies to a large extent. Later in the seventeenth century, in the time of the Emperor Asoka, Buddhism began to spread far and wide and permeated into these colonies. It is said that between the converts and the Hindu colonists there began a great religious competition which revealed itself in the construction of many fine buildings and temples that represented a high type of artistic development in Indo-China. And the real pride of Indo-China lies in these sculptural and architectural treasures of which we also get a good but a small display, besides the ivory work and paintings in the Exhibition.

Modern civilization is largely a product of the West, and more or less all the Eastern nations have adopted this, particularly Japan. But India and other lands have not succumbed to this influence. I cannot agree with those who maintain that Indian culture in spite of its long history is dead. I think there is a great deal to be learnt from the past civilizations of the East. This little Pavilion of Indo-China has given something of an international character to the great Exhibition at Paris.

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THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA (ENGLISH DOCUMENTS). Vol. II., Fatesingrao (1771-6). Edited by J. H. Gense, S.J., PH.D., and D. R. Banaji, M.A., LL.B. (Bombay: Taraporevala.) 7 Rs. 8 a.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

We have here the second volume of a laborious piece of research work which I reviewed last January in these columns. Vol. I. covered the years 1720-68 and the careers of Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads. This book is far more bulky, but covers only the years 1771-6 and the struggle between the brothers Gobindrao and Fatesingrao for succession to their father Damaji. But in fact that struggle was swamped in one of far greater importance: a contention between Raghunathrao alias Raghoba and the Brahman ministers at Poona who constituted themselves guardians of the claim of the infant posthumous son of Peshwa Narainrao to succeed his father. In this struggle the rival Gaikwads and the Bombay Government became involved. In August, 1773, Narainrao was murdered and was succeeded by his uncle Raghunathrao alias Raghoba who was suspected of having authorized the murder. But while Raghoba was campaigning in the distant Karnatik the ministers at Poona announced that the widow of Narainrao had borne a posthumous son and that this son Madhavrao Narain was the rightful Peshwa. Raghoba returned and denying that Madhavrao Narain was the son of Narainrao, took arms to assert his claim and secured the support of Gobindrao, while Fatesingrao adhered to the party of the ministers.

Baroda lies between Cambay and Broach, then petty principalities ruled by Nawabs with capitals situate on the coast of the Gulf of Cambay. Southward of Broach lies Surat where the "Chief" of the Company's factory carried on business, supervising work in Broach which was an important centre of trade. There was a Nawab of Surat, but the castle there was in British hands, having been taken over from the Sidi by request of the people of Surat. Each of the three Nawabs of Cambay, Broach, and Surat paid "chaut" to the Peshwa or the Gaikwad or both. The "chaut" or tribute consisted of annual dividends from customs and territorial revenue. At Surat the larger portion of the whole income of the principality went to the two Maratha powers and 60,000 Rs. to the "grassias," professional robbers under petty Rajas. At Broach the Nawab and the Gaikwad shared the dividends. The Maratha powers posted "chauthias," accountants of their own, to the capitals of the Nawabs. But payments of "chaut" by no means exempted a Nawab from seeing his outlying villages devastated by Maratha raids if for any reason he had displeased a Peshwa or Gaikwad. All three Nawabs were derelicts left bare to the winds by the receding tide of Mughal empire. Their only hope lay in the possibility of British intervention.

his was uncertain, as although the Bombay Government wished for general peace and the promotion of commerce, their resources for enforcing peace were extremely limited. Even at headquarters their position was cramped and precarious. Their army was small. Bassein, Salsette, and adjacent islets had years before been taken from the Portuguese by the Peshwa of the time. British possessions along the coast and inland consisted of a few trading stations. It was naturally the Bombay policy to strengthen so slight a hold and to take such precautions as seemed necessary to avoid serious trouble. They could not afford to watch the tide of aggression rise with indifference or to accept insults "with silent respect,"* to see their trade ruined by struggles between aggressive Marathas and rickety Nawabs. Hence their dethronement of the Nawab of Broach, which originated in the resolution that his principality should not be entirely appropriated by Fatesingrao. On hearing, too, that the Portuguese were preparing to take advantage of the quarrels at Poona to send ships to recapture Salsette and Bassein, the Bombay Government, regardless of their own military weakness, without waiting for sanction from higher authority which might well arrive too late, forcibly wrested Thana and Salsette from the Peshwa's troops in spite of Portuguese protests. This was a remarkably bold step taken in disregard of all hazards solely in the Company's interest. It was followed by a bolder. By the treaty of Surat (March, 1775) the Bombay Government allied themselves with Raghoba and undertook to send a military force to assist him to regain the Peshwaship. A considerable victory over the ministerial army was gained at Aras in Guzerat by the new allies. But while they were making their way slowly towards Poona in spite of great climatic obstacles and had won over the support of Fatesingrao, the Governor-General-in-Council at Calcutta, becoming aware of the progress of events, sent peremptory orders to Bombay disallowing the expedition and the treaty of Surat, and stating that they would send Colonel Upton as their envoy to negotiate peace at Poona. Salsette, however, which had been captured before the conclusion of the treaty of Surat, might be retained. Colonel Upton's negotiations ended after some delay in the conclusion of the treaty of Purandhar (1776) which, among other provisions, confirmed the possession of Salsette and Broach to the Company, ignoring the claim of the Gaikwad to dividends from Broach revenues.

These arrangements and the negotiations between Colonel Upton and the Poona ministry were viewed with disgust at Bombay, whose protégé Raghoba was left in the lurch. Their hand had been strengthened by orders from the Directors approving of the taking of Salsette and the treaty of Surat. Moreover, control from Calcutta was then a novelty, and the provisions of the Regulating Act were on that ground obnoxious. Not only, however, was insubordination dangerous, but also it was impracticable as without financial support from Bengal the campaign could not continue. So Bombay submitted, and here the story ends for the present. The struggle between Fatesingrao and Gobindrao remained undecided, but the former held Baroda.

* P. 107.

The preface, I venture to think, might well have given a fuller impression of the whole atmosphere of the time. In two respects also it calls for some comment. The dethronement of the Nawab of Broach is called "a tragedy." The whole circumstances are given in the correspondence. It may fairly be argued that the Nawab was on the whole hardly treated, and that for him the business was a tragedy. But for the people of Broach it was not a tragedy. They obtained far superior security, and when eight years later they were transferred to the régime of Mahadaji Sindia they most strongly objected. James Forbes, who was Resident at Broach in 1783, has recorded that "no prayers, no ceremonies, no sacrifices were left unperformed by the different castes and religious professions, to implore the continuance of British rule." (Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, II., 339.)

In another passage of the preface Warren Hastings is censured for the action of the Supreme Government in calling off the Bombay expedition and cancelling the treaty of Surat. But the authors do not seem to be aware that the letters and orders from Hastings which are quoted in this book merely conveyed the instructions of the Supreme Government at a time when power was in the hands of a majority of the Governor-General's Council who were bent on opposing their head. If our authors had read Hastings' letter to Director Lawrence Sullivan, dated March 21, 1776 (Gleig, II., 33-4), they would have seen the part which Hastings really played in this business and the limits of his power. In fairness, moreover, to the whole Supreme Government, it must be noted that after the passage of the Regulating Act in 1773, they had been instructed by the Board of Directors to fix their attention on "preservation of peace throughout India," and on the security of the possessions and revenues of the country. In these circumstances they can hardly be blamed for declining to support a war rashly undertaken by a subordinate government with slender arms and resources. As it was, however, they consented to the retention of Salsette, which had been seized before the treaty of Surat had been negotiated.

Three hundred and fifty-three pages are taken up by extracts from documents of unquestioned authenticity, drawn from various sources, which afford considerable insight into the circumstances of the time and the motives of the actors in these events. Government servants of all grades faced their difficult responsibilities with courage and loyalty to their employers. The authors have spared no pains to make an illuminating and exhaustive collection of historical materials and deserve our gratitude.

INDIA REVEALS HERSELF. By Basil Mathews, with the collaboration of Winifred Wilson. (Oxford University Press.) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by WILLIAM PATON.)

Those who have read the many books in which Mr. Mathews provides for his large circle of readers sketches of the world problems of today, will have awaited with interest the book in which he gives the impressions that three months in India have made upon him. They will not be disap-

pointed. It would not be easy to point to any other book of like compass in which a truer balance of judgment and a keener insight into current realities are displayed. Previous study, many friendships, and copious introductions enabled Mr. Mathews not only to get into touch with eminent personalities but to assess the importance of different influences and to interpret their meaning.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the book is its emphasis upon the new economic consciousness that has come over India and upon the gravity of the economic problems which all India and the Provinces severally have to solve. Mr. Mathews' pages on Bengal and his tribute to Sir John Anderson are of much interest, and his contention that a wide franchise coinciding with growing literacy and intense rural economic need presents conditions in which revolution may easily grow may be sound. He has noticed the extent to which Marxian ways of thinking are extending among the intelligentsia. At the same time he does not regard the situation as beyond the control of a sympathetic, alert, and informed Government.

Mr. Mathews is always graphic, and his book contains many vivid pen pictures of personalities, including (inevitably) Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but also Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the Punjab poet, and an interesting account of a journey through Mysore in the company of Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of that progressive State. Mr. Mathews seems almost to have been converted to a belief in the superiority of personal autocracy as a system of government. Most of these portraits would have been more effective if they had been less intensely adjectival—each man in turn is so epoch-making that in the total result a slight scepticism is engendered.

The author is impressed, as all who visit India today must be, with the power in Indian life of the ideas and social trends of the modern West, shown in religion and custom as well as in politics and economics. But he is not forgetful of the immense power of the ancient religio-social system of India and does not too easily prophesy its dissolution. He writes as a Christian, convinced of the truth of the Christian Gospel and sceptical of the moral power of Hinduism. His account of missionary work among the incredibly degraded Doms of Benares exhibits more than anywhere else his Christian conviction.

Not the least attractive part of the book is the author's account of his visit to the Ajanta caves.

SOME BEAUTIFUL INDIAN TREES. By E. Blatter, S.J., Ph.D., F.L.S., and Walter S. Millard. (John Bale, Sons, and Curnow, Ltd.) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by ALEXANDER L. HOWARD.)

The Spanish adventurers Cortez and Pizarro, and others of those who first visited Mexico and Peru, all wrote and spoke of the marvellous trees and flowers which they saw—a complete revelation to those who never before had such an experience. Some of us who for the first time looked at

the blaze of colour and beauty which tropical and semi-tropical trees display, have been filled with wonder and delight. The immediate impulse is to visit at the earliest moment the Botanical Gardens in the country in which you are travelling, but although the visitor in such a case is amply rewarded, in most gardens what he sees are the flowers and fruits of every other country rather than the one which he is visiting.

The authors of *Some Beautiful Indian Trees* have adopted the best method possible to overcome this difficulty, because although they are careful to explain that it does not mean that "the trees described and figured" are all indigenous to India, the majority of them have been introduced into India because of their beauty, and the noble trees bearing the exquisite flowers are those which could only be seen during a very extensive visit throughout India.

Only a few of those interested have been able to see even a quarter of the different trees and shrubs which are shown in this book, which contains 110 pages, with 31 beautifully coloured and 37 black and white plates, displaying for us most of the flowers of trees which are particularly noticeable. It is to be hoped that the authors will extend their efforts by contributing a further volume.

The writer is reminded of his first sight of the Flame of the Forest—*Butea frondosa* König—that gorgeous and strange flower so well illustrated against page 15; reminiscent to him of an occasion when, in between a heated discussion high up in the hottest of all hot buildings, a removal to another spot gave the splendid view of the crown of the tree in full bloom. Or on another somewhat similar occasion when the modest beauty of the flower of the Rain tree—*Enterolobium Saman*. Prain. (unfortunately not included in the book) gave equal pleasure. Then again the beautiful and exotic Frangipani, a bloom bringing many recollections to travellers on the Gold Coast of West Africa. "The Brilliant Gardenia," displayed against page 59, well known to many who already have the plant, although they have not been fortunate enough, perhaps, to have seen it growing in mass in India, and interesting to a few of us who know the fine qualities of the wood which this tree can produce. Also the robust bud and leaf of the large-flowered Dillenia against page 44, with its very exquisite and almost sensuous flower.

Among all the beautiful flowers presented it becomes difficult to give the prize to any individual species, but perhaps if it became necessary we might choose the "Noble Amherstia" with its delicate and yet sumptuous colour.

The authors claim—possibly justly—that the Indian Laburnum, while it "suggests the English Laburnum, is infinitely more beautiful," but some of us cannot see how there could be anything more beautiful than our own well-known English Laburnum, although we also recognize the beauty of the Indian.

Part, if not all, of the book appeared previously in articles in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, but the complete book will enable a great many botanists and lovers of trees to have at hand in their library, or on their bedside table, a refreshing opportunity of assisting their memories and looking at the flowers. Just as a picture of a lost friend

brings to mind the pleasure of occasions long since past, so the prints will recall those delightful opportunities which they have had when they saw the tree and the blooms in all their beauty.

THIRTY DAYS IN INDIA. By Commander Stephen King-Hall. (*Herbert Jenkins.*) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

During a very brief visit to India in the spring of 1936, Commander King-Hall managed to collect a great deal of information. Although his itinerary did not take him far off the beaten track, his impressions, which are humorously written, make an entertaining book.

Landing at Bombay, he went on to Viceroy's House at Delhi, and from there he visited both Mahatma Gandhi and the Taj Mahal at Agra. His wish to go to the frontier by air being vetoed by the authorities, he travelled by train to Peshawar, and made a short tour of the Khyber Pass and the Tochi Valley. He gives an admirable description of this turbulent region.

The book also contains an interesting chapter on the problems of radio in India, and concludes with a résumé of the history of the country from prehistoric until modern times.

INDIAN PEEP SHOW. By Henry Newman. (*G. Bell and Co.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

In the concluding lines of his book Mr. Newman describes the contents as small catches dragged up in a hand-net from the great waters. The simile is good, for the author has travelled much during a number of years spent in India, and has many experiences to record. His memories carry him back to the brilliant Durbar held by Lord Curzon on the accession of Edward VII., and he continues amusingly and discursively on such diverse subjects as snakes, superstitions, strange customs, and gipsy tribes. There is a good description of bands and minstrels, who still continue to wander round the country singing of heroic deeds of ancient times.

Mr. Newman's work as a journalist took him far afield into strange places, and he has a sympathetic understanding of the many peoples of India with whom he came in contact.

UP THE COUNTRY. By Emily Eden. (*Oxford University Press.*) 2s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

This reprint of the well-known *Eden Letters* should be welcome, not only to those who wish to refresh their memory of them, but also to those who have never heard of them—for one thing, in these days of rapid trans-

port when India is within a few days' reach of Europe, it is interesting to read of a journey from Calcutta to Simla and back lasting two and a half years.

Emily Eden, in a series of letters to her sister in England, tells of a tour on which she accompanied her brother, Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India. They started from Calcutta in October, 1837, with a camp consisting of 12,000 persons, and did not return there until March, 1840. Transport was slow and ponderous; boats, camels, elephants, and horses all taking their share, with an occasional carriage where the roads allowed. The hardships and discomforts must have been intense, but though Emily Eden complains of the trials of dust, heat, fatigue, and fever, she dwells more on the daily pageant of their lives.

Her lively and ironical pen draws portraits of the many Rajas through whose territories they passed, and she writes of their splendour and their jewels, but at the same time her quick eye notices "boatmen in dirty liveries or no liveries at all . . . so discrepant." Simla delights her, but she wearies of the entertainments arranged by the English in their honour. On almost every page there are examples of her wit and penetration which make these letters delightful reading.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND ITS PRACTICAL WORKING UP TO THE YEAR 1657. By Ibn Hasan. (Oxford University Press.) 18s. net.

As Sir Denison Ross in a short foreword rightly points out, Mr. Ibn Hasan's volume forms a companion volume to the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The great advantage of this work of research is that it is entirely based on original sources, either in MS. form or printed Oriental books, although his bibliography includes a full list of European editions on the subject. Mr. Ibn Hasan describes in these pages the functions and position of the Emperors in the Mughal states; it is interesting to note that even at that time divine right was claimed for their rule. The whole system of administration through the various departments, the duties of the Ministers, as well as the judicial system, are described. The author pays tribute to Akbar and his immediate successors, whose personalities contributed in a large measure to the happiness and prosperity of Hindu and Muslim alike.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARSENALS AND MANUFACTORIES. By Brigadier-General H. A. Young. (Clarendon Press.) 12s. 6d. net.

Brigadier-General Young has provided a most unusual book, for which he has not merely consulted military works, but has studied original MS. records to be found at the India Office and other libraries. We have a fairly detailed account of the Ordnance Factories from the very beginning of the East India Company's rule, which organized, stored and distributed the arms necessary to the army. Of course, this kind of work necessitates a great

deal of intimate knowledge of Anglo-Indian history. Names connected with the Ordnance Survey, largely forgotten, are thus brought back to life. General Young has given a most valuable report on these factories, in which the difficulties of transport in olden times played such a large rôle.

THE EARLY BUDDHIST THEORY OF MAN PERFECTED. A study of the Arahant. By I. B. Horner. (Williams and Norgate.) 12s. 6d. net.

Miss Horner has attracted great attention as a writer on women under primitive conditions, and has now pursued her Buddhist studies into the more philosophical realm. Miss Horner has written a remarkable treatise on the development of the highest Buddhist ideal which early Buddhism preached and demanded of man: Perfection. This is done with the help of texts, Sanskrit and Pali, and translations. A most interesting chapter is the first, in which two phases of early Buddhism are explained, the one originated by the Buddha himself, the second taught by the contemporary monks and followers. The volume is full of erudition, although the intelligent layman will have no difficulty in following the argument. There are two most accurate indexes, one of names and subjects, the other of Pali and Sanskrit words.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

DE GENGHIS KHAN A STALINE. By Admiral Lastox. (Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales.)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

The author's theme is the analogy between the policy of Genghis Khan in the Middle Ages and that of modern Soviet Russia, but the main argument of the book is an examination of Russia's proceedings since the revolution. Genghis Khan, he points out, began by setting himself to the Eastern enterprise, to the conquest of China and Far Eastern Asia; but later on he abandoned this idea for the West, and while to some extent holding the East in check, he advanced with his armies upon the Western countries. Russia, it is argued, has done exactly the same. She endeavoured to "penetrate" China by means of her Communist activities; and for a while she succeeded. China seemed to be becoming the ripe pear which would soon fall into her mouth. But then there was a reaction. What China wanted was really a government of her own; she had no desire to be dominated by any foreigners, whatever their political creed. And so the Russian edifice, so laboriously built up, crashed to ruins. Moreover, she had to reckon with Japan, which is notoriously anti-communist. The last thing which the Japanese wanted was to see China fall into the hands of Russia, not only for the Communist reason, but also on general political grounds and because she regarded China as her own special sphere of interest. Foiled, therefore, in the East, Russia turned to the West, where she began to make non-aggression pacts with her neighbours. France, says the

author, held aloof for some time, but was finally drawn into the Franco-Soviet pact. Even England was somehow pacified, but Germany remained and remains the danger spot for Russia in the West. There is thus a kind of deadlock; Russia is watching events in the East where, however, she dare not make a forward move, and in the West she has only partially succeeded in guarding her frontier—on paper, at any rate. The comparison is ingeniously worked out, if it is not entirely convincing, and the reader gets the notion that the whole theme is somewhat academic, though the study of Russian policy is undoubtedly interesting.

DOCUMENTS D'ÉTUDES ORIENTALES. TOME VI.: UNE PETITE CITÉ CARAVANIÈRE: SUHNÉ. Par A. de Bouchemont. With eleven plates. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.)

The French Institute of Damascus has already issued a number of excellent monographs on the life and arts of the Arabs in Syria which are a most creditable performance, having been written by thoroughly sound scholars. Thanks are certainly due to the French Government for the encouragement given to culture. Monsieur de Bouchemont is not unknown in this field, as one of the volumes in the series has dealt with the life of an Arab tribe. The new volume just issued is the outcome of further research; it is devoted to the locality of Suhné, close to Palmyra, and not so very far distant from Aleppo. Cité Caravanière does not mean a city (and here the learned author follows M. Marçais), but merely a locality living upon the traffic of caravans. This place is now rescued from oblivion by the author. Not only do we learn of its history, though naturally it cannot be of great importance, but the life in all its movements is thoroughly described. However miserable its existence may have been, recent events have modified conditions still further, and it is to be anticipated that the old free life must needs give way to one of mechanism. M. de Bouchemont has taken his task seriously; he has not forgotten to consult other authorities who have touched upon the subject. Every page shows references and annotations enlarging upon the text. The fine plates illustrate the site of the village, types of people, some poor houses, a garden, and a caravan from Aleppo.

AIR OVER EDEN. By "H. W." and Sidney Hay. (Hutchinson.) 18s. net.

The present volume is intended as a "modern air book" about Iraq. It gives a description of the country, and also an outline of its history of five thousand years. The latter is written in a vivid style and spans the period from the first beginnings to the present year, designed to give a bird's-eye view. The book is embellished by magnificent illustrations.

Perhaps the most important chapter for the general reader is the one which concludes the book, and deals with the significance of the air to Iraq, a land which, in the view of the author, may well become an air power, financed by oil, wielding influence in the East, through diplomacy based upon her natural resources and air strength.

THE CRADLE OF MANKIND. Life in Eastern Kurdistan. By W. A. and E. Wigram. Cheap edition. 1936. (A. and C. Black.) 7s. 6d. net.

It is a pleasure to learn that a cheap edition of this fine book—which has been out of print for some years—has been produced. We are not rich in recent literature on Eastern Turkistan. The volume does not merely give an account of adventures, but it describes—and this is by no means the least valuable part—the superstitions and ancient practices. Chapter V. deals with the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers, to which special attention should be drawn again. In 1934 there appeared a work in Arabic, which contained three original texts on the Yezidis. We earnestly recommend this cheap re-issue to readers to whom the acquisition of the original edition was denied.

THE MAKING OF MODERN TURKEY, FROM BYZANTIUM TO ANGORA. By Sir Harry Luke. (Macmillan.) 10s. 6d. net.

Sir Harry Luke does not deal in the 250 pages with the history itself, but merely with a subject allied to history—viz., the nature of the Turkish state under the Sultans. Much direct experience during a long life has enabled him to get a firm hold of the nature of Osmanli rule, diplomacy and life. As the Manchus established themselves in China and became thoroughly Chinese, so did Mehmed the Conqueror feel proud to be on the throne of the Byzantine empire, and it is only quite recently that the Turk has finally broken the bonds that tied him to Byzantium. The whole period between the conquest of Constantinople, as the seat of the Sultan, and the removal of the capital to Angora is pictured in a most fascinating manner, and one wonders whether in his heart the Turk is not happy to have found at last a real home.

HISTORY OF THE ARABS. By Philip K. Hitti. With numerous illustrations and maps. (Macmillan.) 31s. 6d. net.

Professor Hitti of Princeton University has compiled an up-to-date history of the Arabs, from the earliest-known times down to the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century. It is a labour of love and of erudition, intended not merely for the student, but also for a wider reading public. The references show that this large volume is one of original research; most of them quote Arabic authors; however, European writers are not forgotten. It opens with the pre-Islamic age. Not only do we receive an accurate picture of the country, its climatic conditions, fauna and flora, but also the life of the people and their institutions are fully described. The early Arabs were not self-contained; they had their relations with Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, the Persians and the Hebrews.

In the second part we learn of the rise of Islam and its expansion. The third part deals with the Umayyad and Abbasid empires, including the intellectual life, arts and sciences, and the Moslem sects into which Islam had evolved. The next part contains the fascinating story of the spread of the Arab into Spain and Sicily, and finally the conquest of Egypt. The

work is crowded with information on the Arabs, their life and civilization. The illustrations are well chosen, they comprise all phases of life and culture, and the numerous maps serve to guide the reader into a garden of pleasure. An index of sixty pages denotes the completeness of the learned author's study and application. Professor Hitti's history will always rank as one of the leading handbooks of reference.

THE HAREM. An account of the institution as it existed in the palace of the Turkish Sultans, with a history of the Grand Seraglio. By N. M. Penzer. With plans and illustrations. (Harrap.) 21s. net.

This publication on the harem is a most welcome undertaking. Many people are still today under the impression that the harem was a kind of place of ill-fame, containing wives and concubines of the rulers of Turkey. Mr. Penzer does away, once for all, with this foolish notion, and now states definitely that it means a place of sanctuary, and that it is the portion of the house allotted to the wife, her children and servants. The harem here described belonged to the palace built by Muhammad II., the conqueror, between 1459 and 1465. In the introductory chapter Mr. Penzer gives an historical account and mentions all that the early travellers assumed, heard and wrote about it; he then proceeds to give the history of Seraglio Hill, and finally describes the various courts and the harem itself. We learn of its system and details of the various ceremonies and activities. The volume before us is a work of extraordinary research, but it is also one of art, interspersed with accounts and stories which make it valuable and fascinating. The illustrations are of the best, showing us not only the various buildings and their courts, but even the interiors. Some fine pictures of older works have been included, and they help in giving a complete insight into that life which no longer exists. Mr. Penzer has searched far and wide for his monograph; many references are given, but the credit of this handsome volume is all his own.

TAMERLANE, OR TIMUR THE GREAT AMIR. Translated by J. H. Sanders. With map. (Luzac.) 12s. 6d. net.

Ibn Arabshah, a secretary of Sultan Ahmed of Bagdad, is the writer whose biography of the famous conqueror Tamerlane has now been translated into English from the original Arabic for the first time. There is another Oriental text by Sharif ud-Din, entitled *The Zafar-name*, of which a French rendering was issued two hundred years ago, and this is referred to in Mr. Sanders' introduction. Perhaps the translator of Ibn Arabshah might with advantage have pointed out the variance between these two biographers.

It is not only the publication of this English translation which we welcome. It will be noticed with particular pleasure what care has been taken in the rendering from the Arabic. Tamerlane deserves to be known amongst the British public; he is one of the great conquerors in history. He was born in the neighbourhood of Samarkand in 1336 A.D. and died seventy years later, after having conquered Western Asia as far as the Caspian Sea and

the Volga, the whole of Persia, Syria, and even made inroads into India. This is shown in the very clear map drawn by the translator. The notes to the text are few, but sufficient for the interested reader.

ANGLETERRE ET FRANCE: LEURS POLITIQUES ÉTRANGÈRES: Essai d'une définition psychologique. Par Jacques Bardoux. (Clarendon Press.)

(Reviewed by Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams.)

It would be well if M. Bardoux's brilliant Zaharoff Lecture for 1936 were translated into English; for it is sufficiently important to merit a public wider than that which can rise superior to the Curse of Babel. Treating as it does of certain fundamental differences in the bases, as in the methods, of foreign policy as envisaged and as practised in France and in Britain, it provides a clue to many things which the politicians of each country would do well to bear in mind. But it is just to state frankly that in the opinion of the present reviewer, the leaders of French public life understand, even if they may not always adequately allow for, the difference in outlook between their country and ours in matters of external policy. On the other hand, there is in Britain a tendency towards impatience if the French view does not tally closely with our own. This impatience, which is due almost entirely to lack of knowledge of the bases of French foreign policy, is a serious matter at the present juncture, when intimate co-operation between the two great European democracies presents the only solid barrier against the ever-present risk of war. If this co-operation is to be truly effective, it must not only function smoothly in all crises; it must be known to the outside world so to function. To this end, while the politicians and the Press of each nation will naturally expound the point of view traditionally their own, they would be wise to avoid any recrimination on the score that the point of view of the other nation may not in every respect appear identical. And the first essential towards a better understanding is a grasp of the reasons why a different view may make a greater appeal across the Channel.

It is impossible, within the limitations of space available, to comment in detail upon the thesis which M. Bardoux expounds in a fashion as brilliant as it is timely. In sum, he shows that the traditions of British foreign policy are broadly founded upon economics; those of France, upon politics. Without in any way discounting the element of idealism, which he finds strongly marked in the external relations of either nation, he shows that the fundamental differences between the two foreign policies are dictated primarily by differences in geophysical situation. Britain is an island; France is a meeting-place of cross-roads. Britain became early and highly industrialized; France retains her essentially self-supporting peasant economy. For Britain, it is vital to preserve intact her sea-communications; for France, it is her frontiers that count. Thus, while communications with her Empire abroad have always been a matter of life and death to Britain, France, despite her early supremacy and later achievements in the Colonial sphere, has always ranked Colonial questions, as M. Bardoux points out, at a level inferior to her main Continental preoccupations. Time and again, she has sacrificed colonies to avoid sacrificing interests nearer home. Indeed even to-day—and M. Bardoux might perhaps have made mention of this—the principal interest of France in her overseas possessions resides in the material resources which they make available for the strengthening of her European position. From this point of view, therefore, the foreign policies of the two countries, though for very different

reasons, in practice run parallel. As the Nyon Conference has shown, it is just as vital for France as for ourselves to preserve the Mediterranean as a highway; indeed, she also shares our anxiety to safeguard the routes to the East. But, while on a variety of practical issues the foreign policies of the two countries—fortunately for civilization—march together, the fact remains that they are erected on wholly different foundations.

British foreign policy falls into epochs of which the dividing-line is an economic change; in the case of France, the epochs are divided by an alteration in political re-alignment. These fundamentally different stand-points have, moreover, been emphasized by differences in social structure. The aristocracy in England, since it has always identified itself with every phase of national life, even—through the great chartered companies—with trade and commerce, has set its seal far more firmly upon diplomatic traditions than the French aristocracy, with its career confined to the fighting services, has ever been able to do. The English diplomat abroad tends to remain a squire, with the Embassy as his manor; the French diplomat throws himself with such ardour into the life around him that even the cut of his beard may take on the mode of the country where he is temporarily *en poste*. Perhaps that is why French still remains the language of diplomacy!

The differences in outlook which distinguish the two countries are analysed with much perspicuity by M. Bardoux, in whose pages wit and wisdom are nicely balanced. Such a brochure as this is of real service, at the present juncture, to all who realize what Anglo-French co-operation means to the world.

PERIODICALS

"LA QUINZAINÉ COLONIALE"

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDO-CHINA

We learn from *La Quinzaine Coloniale*, No. 741, that a decree of December 30, 1936, regarding the labour conditions for Indo-Chinese natives and other Orientals who are legally placed on equal footing with them has caused considerable disturbance among the French employers of that colony. Apart from altering the conditions of labour between the French and the natives this decree also to a great extent affects the relations between native employers and their employees.

In this connection it should be considered that neither in Cochin China nor in the French towns Hanoi, Haiphong, and Tourane had any written native law existed so far. Labour conditions were, therefore, ruled by custom and practice. These local customs have been codified only in Cambodia, Tonkin, and Laos, which code contains a special chapter dealing with terms of labour.

It is prohibited, for instance, to enter into a contract in which one of the parties agrees to remain in the service of one and the same employer for his lifetime, and to sell somebody else's labour. A term of notice must be duly observed in case of dismissal; if one of the parties fails to do so he will be liable to damages. These stipulations are much in accordance with the regulations dealing with this subject in the French Code Civil.

Apart from these there are other legal provisions as well which lend quite a different character to the Indo-Chinese labour contract than it has in the French law. According to this law servants, apprentices, and labourers are members of the clan of their patron, who holds the position of head of the family and exercises paternal authority over them. The latter has

the right of naming the case of illness and his accident benefit, etc. Furthermore, the servant is entitled to the estate of his employer in case of the latter dying without leaving any relations.

The decree of December, 1936, had to leave this native written and customary law intact so as to avoid social disturbance. In this respect, one of the most usual forms of labour had to be left alone according to which a debtor pledges himself for labour in the service of his creditor in order to pay off his debt. This kind of contract provides some clauses to safeguard the debtor. The contract must be signed before the local authorities. The term must not exceed two years and renewal is impossible, whilst, furthermore, the debtor is entitled to free himself from his pledge by giving notice according to local custom.

The decree of 1936 is especially important as it influences the conditions of collective labour for industrial, commercial, and mining employers. For these the above explained paternal authority of the employer who exercised his rights as head of the family clan will be gradually taken over by the labour inspectors and by the committees which have to draw up new regulations of labour. Furthermore it will be their task as much as possible to avoid labour conflicts.

The decree, however, does not apply to the largest group of labourers—viz., the agricultural labourers. As far as they are concerned the decree of October 25, 1927, remains in force. None the less, the decree of 1936 means a step of considerable consequence in the direction of the modern development of Indo-Chinese labour conditions.

TOKYO GAZETTE

The following is an extract from THE STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT (dated August 15, 1937) which is published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan in No. 2 of the above periodical:

The Imperial Japanese Government, in its desire to secure permanent peace in East Asia, has always striven to promote friendship and co-operation between Japan and China. However, an atmosphere of hostility towards Japan has been created throughout China by anti-Japanese agitations used as an instrument by the Nanking Government to arouse public opinion and to enhance its own political power. The Chinese, over-confident of their national strength, contemptuous of our power, and also in league with the Communists, have assumed toward Japan an increasingly arrogant and insulting attitude. Herein lies the cause of all untoward events which have arisen repeatedly during recent years.

The present Incident is but the inevitable outcome of this situation. Dynamite had been ignited; the inevitable explosion merely happened to occur on the banks of the Yantung. The terrible Tungchow massacre is also traceable to the same cause. In South and Central China, Japanese lives and property have been so jeopardized that our people have been compelled to evacuate, abandoning everything they had acquired after years of incessant toil.

As has been frequently declared since the outbreak of the present Incident, the Japanese Government, exercising utmost patience and restraint, has steadfastly pursued a policy of non-aggravation of the situation, and has endeavoured to reach a settlement locally and in a peaceful manner. In the Peiping and Tientsin area, our Garrison, in the face of countless Chinese provocations and lawless actions, has done no more than was absolutely necessary to secure lines of communications and to protect Japanese nationals there. . . .