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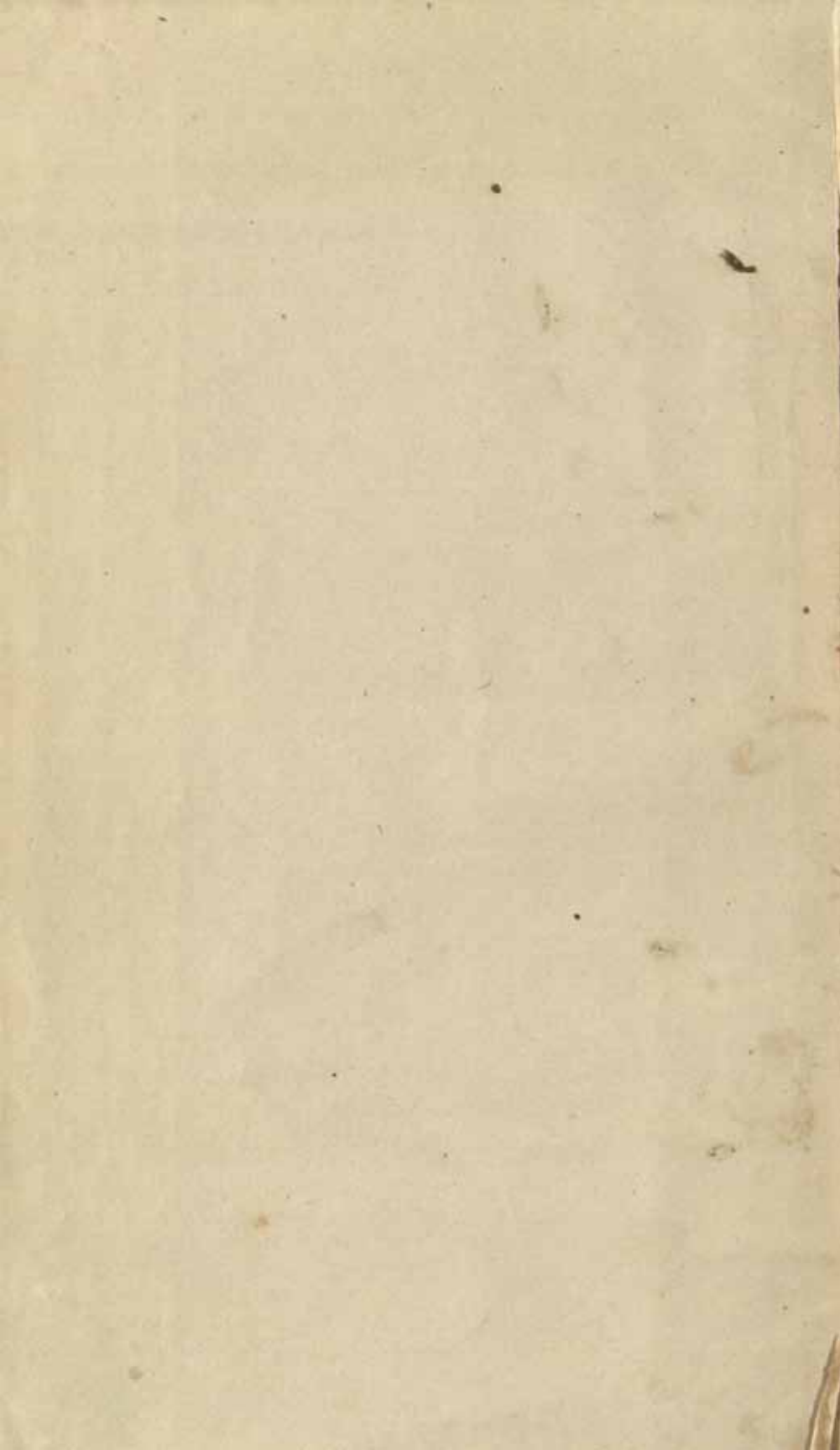
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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### THE ARTS OF NEPAL

BY PERCY BROWN, A.R.C.A.

(Secretary and Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.)



It is a great pleasure to me to preface my short account of the "Arts of Nepal" with an acknowledgment of the decided debt I owe to the Nepalese administration for the facilities given to me some years ago to study the artistic productions of the country under the most ideal conditions. My wife and I were the guests of the late Colonel Manners Smith, V.C., an old friend, who was the then British Resident at Katmandu, and I must add that not only he, but every official, as well as every person with whom I came into contact, made it their sincere pleasure to aid me in investigating the wonderful art treasures of the country.

Such a friendly and helpful attitude is, of course, indicative of those cordial relations which, on a much larger scale, and in the sphere of politics, have marked the whole course of the British Government's associations with the Nepal Durbar. As is well known, on all occasions Nepal has been most assiduous in maintaining a beneficial intercourse with the Empire, and has always been one of the first to offer its services in those times of emergency which have interrupted the peace of the world within recent years. To refer to one outstanding instance, during the Great War the whole resources of the country were unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Allies, and none could do more than that. Some ten thousand men of the Nepalese army served in India and on the frontier, distinguishing themselves in every duty that they were called on to perform. Then, exclusive of H.H. the Maharaja's numerous personal subscriptions towards the support of military



hospitals and the provision of charitable funds, nearly a million pounds sterling was contributed by the Nepalese Government, besides huge supplies of such commodities as blankets, timber, tea, etc. As a consequence of the implicit confidence that the British Government placed in the administration, by the Treaty of 1923 Nepal was recognized as a completely independent kingdom.

To this brief reference dealing with the larger policy of the administration may be added the relatively small but equally appreciated social factor, for, owing to the great kindness of H.E. the Nepalese Minister, we are able this afternoon to enjoy his hospitality and to meet in these spacious apartments; in a word, for the time being, we are honoured by being given "the freedom of the embassy." To those well-known bodies, the East India Association and the India Society, through the interest of their able secretaries, Sir Frank Brown and Mr. F. J. Richter, my most sincere thanks are due for enabling me to address you under such distinguished auspices. It is also an honour to have Lord Zetland, the President of the India Society, in the Chair.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF NEPALESE ART

There are several factors which make the art of Nepal of great significance in any study of Asiatic art. In the first place the art and architecture of this country provide a vivid reflection of the conditions that prevailed in the adjacent country of India during the mediæval period of its history. Moreover, the towns of Nepal illustrate, in the artistic character of the buildings, a state of art culture that remained untouched by Islamic influences, for, owing to its geographical position behind its mountain ramparts, it lay outside that great movement which began to alter the face of India from the twelfth century A.D. Yet to say that this independent country represents a microcosm of India as it was in the Middle Ages is a statement that requires modifications. For Nepal lies between India on the one hand and the influences of China on the other, so that throughout most of its history it has been the recipient of waves of culture, first from one and then from the other of these two powerful civilizations. During the Buddhist period in the early centuries of the Christian era, as with the

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greater part of Asia, it looked to India for inspiration, and it was no doubt at this time that the foundations of its religious art were laid. It should be noted that within its southern borders lay the birthplace of the Buddha, so that its assimilation of the Buddhist creed is readily explained. Then it is recorded that the Mauryan Emperor Asoka, who proclaimed Buddhism as the state religion of India in the third century B.C., made a pilgrimage to Nepal and erected there certain commemorative monuments or stupas, showing the extent of this great religious movement.

At a later date, however, Nepal began to experience the impact of currents from the Far East, and its art plainly shows that there were periods when it drank deeply from the springs of Chinese culture, and its intercourse with that great empire at times must have been close. These currents broke on the northern flanks of the Himalayas, but never really penetrated through them, so that, in contrast with Nepal, none of this sinological influence is visible in the arts of India. Further, at the same time that Buddhism was beginning to decline in India, this religion continued to flourish in Nepal, not, however, in the precise form that prevailed in the country of its origin, but associated with Tantrism and other mystical attributions of indigenous derivation, all of which show themselves plainly in the art productions of the people. The arts of Nepal, therefore, may be epitomized as of Indian foundation, the outcome of Buddhist and Brahmanistic ideals, but containing expressions of original thought, and impregnated with influence from Chinese sources.

#### THE VALLEY OF NEPAL

Of the topographical character of Nepal it will suffice to say that it takes the form of a parallelogram of over 500 miles in length and 150 miles broad, so that it is in area approximately the dimensions of England and Scotland combined. It is almost entirely composed of an aggregation of mountains, but towards the centre of this range upon range of broken country there is one open space, a smiling valley some 20 miles long and 15 miles wide, rather larger than the Isle of Wight, but at an elevation of 4,500 feet. Here lies the heart of the country, the focus of most of its



activities, and known as the Valley of Nepal. Within this relatively small area are situated the principal towns and religious edifices, its temples and shrines, and it is on the buildings comprising these that the artistic resources of the country have been lavished. These buildings, many of which are of a highly decorated order, were the handiwork of the original inhabitants of Nepal and known racially as Newars. The Newars are of mixed Mongolian extraction, but centuries of intermarriage with other races, mainly of an Indian stock, have produced this type. They are the artisans and traders of the country, and by religion Hindu-Buddhist, a fact which shows itself plainly in the character of their art.

Most of this art, as exemplified by the fine architecture of the towns in the valley, appears to have been developed during what may be termed the late mediæval period, the golden age of the Newar supremacy being when the country was under the rule of a dynasty known as the "Malla Rajas," who reigned from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In the middle of the fifteenth century one of these rulers found it expedient, on political and dynastic grounds, to divide up the administration of the country, and out of this were evolved the three royal cities of Katmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan. It is in the buildings forming these three capitals that the most representative art of the country is to be found.

The general style of the architecture of Nepal is similar to that found in most mountainous countries, but specifically in the form that this type of building took in the Himalayas. Timber being readily available, most of the buildings are constructed of wood, and designed to counteract the extremes of climate that prevail in a country of deep valleys and high elevations. The style therefore is noticeable for its wide eaves as a protection against the sun, and sloping roofs to throw off the heavy monsoon rain and occasional snow. The touchstone of its more formal architecture is, however, the design of its temples, of which there are innumerable examples. These take two forms, the majority being wooden structures built on the same principle as what is generally known as the Chinese pagoda. There are, however, a certain number of an entirely different order, as they are built of stone, and are of somewhat the



same type as the Indo-Aryan style of temple common on the plains of India. Those of the pagoda variety are the more ornate, as it was the custom to overlay the wooden foundation of the building with massive decorative additions in wood and metal, to which much of the artistic character of these structures is due. It was by these means that the arts of the metal-worker and wood-carver were encouraged, and few countries can boast of a finer display of productions in these processes than the temples and durbar halls of Nepal.

It was perhaps in the manipulation of metal that the Nepalese craftsman excelled, as on almost every building of note there are great gilt copper tympanums over each doorway and window, besides many other additions in the form of Hindu-Buddhist symbols attached to the walls, with figures and dragons guarding the entrances. On stylistic grounds it seems fairly clear that this metalwork of Nepal was a branch of the famous Hindu-Buddhist school of art which flourished in the neighbouring country of Magadha, now Bihar, in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. There were two famous exponents of this regional style of metalwork in India, whose names have been recorded by the historian Tara Nath, and it was probably pupils of these great masters, Diman and his son Bitpalo, who carried the art into Nepal. Most of the examples of the Magadhan school in India have perished, but the development in Nepal is well represented by the numerous figures, statuettes, and other manifestations of this art which are still *in situ* on the temples and shrines of the valley.

#### CONSERVATION

The arts of Nepal are still part of the life of its people and are a living testimony to their æsthetic nature. Yet the wonderful productions that are in such profusion cannot last for ever. The earthquake that took place a few years ago caused much damage, although the Administration has done its utmost to restore what was destroyed. This catastrophe has called attention to the fragile character of some of its most treasured possessions, and the risk to which these are subjected from a variety of causes. It seems advisable, therefore, that some steps should be taken to preserve these

examples of the arts and the architecture of the country, the former by means of a museum, and the latter by placing the historical buildings under the supervision of an expert, who would report on these from time to time, as to their condition. One other matter might also receive consideration, and that is the propriety of publishing a fully illustrated monograph on the Arts of Nepal. The remarkable significance of the buildings and the beautiful decoration with which they are enriched would fully justify the production of such a publication.



## SPEECHES AT THE FOREGOING LECTURE

HIS EXCELLENCY THE NEPALESE MINISTER gave a reception at the Legation in Kensington Palace Gardens to members of the East India Association and the India Society, on Wednesday, October 6, 1937. Some 450 guests were present, and after refreshment had been served Mr. Percy Brown gave a lantern lecture on the Arts of Nepal, summarized in the foregoing pages.

THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND was in the chair, and in introducing the lecturer said: We are greatly indebted to His Excellency the Nepalese Minister for his hospitality this afternoon and for placing the Legation at the disposal of the East India Association and the India Society. We are indebted to these two Societies for organizing this meeting and for securing the services of Mr. Percy Brown to lecture upon the art of Nepal. And, finally, we are greatly indebted to Mr. Percy Brown for having agreed to do so. (Applause.)

I have been fortunate enough to know Mr. Percy Brown for a great many years, and, casting my mind back, I won't say how many years, to happy days in the Happy Valley, not of Nepal but of Kashmir, I recall the fact that I knew Mrs. Percy Brown even before I knew Mr. Percy Brown, and indeed before she was Mrs. Percy Brown at all. I can therefore bear witness to the fact that Mr. Percy Brown is eminently well qualified to deal with the subject which he has chosen, for he has been associated with the development of art movements in India since the beginning—indeed, I think since before the beginning—of the present century, and he has been personally concerned with the teaching of art both in the Punjab and in Bengal.

However, the particular subject of his lecture this afternoon, "Art in Nepal," is one of peculiar interest, and he will illustrate it with a series of pictures which he was fortunate enough to be able to take during his inspection of the art works of that country.

The lecture was then given by Mr. Percy Brown. At its conclusion the Chairman said: It will be agreed that Mr. Brown has given us an admirable conspectus of Nepal's art through the centuries, showing us the most charming examples of that art and bringing out clearly the two main influences which have been paramount in shaping it—namely, the Buddhist and the Chinese. I think it must have been made clear to all of us, as he told his story and illustrated it with his photographs, that not only are the Nepalese a people with a highly artistic temperament, but that they are also fortunate in having possessed craftsmen expert in the working of metal, wood, and stone, which enabled them to give so admirably expression to their artistic and their religious ideals.

You will wish me on your behalf to express to our lecturer your profound gratitude to him for the instruction and the entertainment which he has

given us, and I have no doubt whatever that you will desire that I should also accord your most grateful thanks to His Excellency the Nepalese Minister. I equally have no doubt that you would be very grateful to him if he would add to the debt of gratitude which we all owe him this afternoon by saying a few words in reply to you.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE NEPALESE MINISTER :** It has been a great pleasure to me to have you all here, and I am deeply indebted to Lord Zetland for having taken the chair. I hope you have all enjoyed the lecture as much as I have done, and I consider myself very fortunate to have a man like Mr. Brown, who knows my country so well, to give this interesting lecture.

## SOUTH INDIA IN PRESENT DAY FICTION

BY HILTON BROWN

("H. B." of *Punch*.)

SINCE the days of Euclid it has been considered suitable to open with definitions, and I may perhaps be allowed this excellent custom here. By "South India," then, I mean the Madras Presidency and its immediately adjoining States—Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore. "Present day" I intend to cover roughly the last twenty years. On the word "fiction" I will attempt no facetiousness or quibbling; I imply by it the narration of that which the narrator knows did not happen. I am not unaware that much has been solemnly written about South India which can scarcely be said to be true; and I have no doubt that if I searched the works of the politician, the pedant and the passenger, I could find you some amusing examples. But that must be for another occasion. I deal here with real fiction, the honest lie.

By defining "present day" as the last twenty years I considerably limit the field and I virtually rule out many revered names in South Indian literature—a great deal of Mrs. Penny, for instance, and practically all B. M. Croker. On the other hand India twenty years ago was so staggeringly unlike India of to-day that it might almost as well be Australia or Peru or Madagascar. I am going to say later that much of South Indian fiction must turn on official life, and the official life even of 1917 is now become a dream. Nor was there, in those days, any considerable body of Indian-written fiction. Let us stick, therefore, to the last twenty years even at the cost of neglecting writers of whom otherwise I should have had much to say.

Now fiction may seem a trifling subject on which to address this august Association. Yet I venture to suggest that while the first aim of fiction must be to amuse—and if it doesn't amuse it fails—it has also a deeper import. A man may be judged from the kind of jokes he laughs at; and he may also be judged by



the kind of lies he tells. Nothing should reveal him more clearly than the kind of story he likes to make up. Again—except in a pure fantasy of the imagination—the writer of fiction must set down what he supposes things to be like, and now and then, with a lucky hit, he even sets down what they *are* like. But sometimes too he will set down what he would wish them to be like, and there he reveals his dreams; and as every good Freudian knows, dreams are not things to be sneezed at. Now this aspect is not perhaps of much interest in the case of our own countrymen writing about India; but it becomes of crucial interest in the case of the Indian himself writing about India. The key to much Indian-written fiction and its defence against the charge of unreality is the knowledge that the Indian is writing about things partly as he sees them and partly as he wishes they were. I shall come back to this later; meantime I would only commend to your attention fiction as an avenue towards a better understanding between the two races.

### THE TWO SCHOOLS

This seems to me a consideration which sets my subject above triviality. In the course of twenty years in South India I spent a good deal of time talking over stories with Indians, reading and criticizing their work; and I feel that if I now know anything about Indians—which, of course, is doubtful—it is due to these hours and not to the much more numerous hours of official contact. I am corroborated on this from the opposite side by Bhupal Singh in the preface to his *Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction*—a most admirable book dealing with an extension of my present field—where he says, “we find (our masters) nearer to us in fiction than in our contact with them in official life.” So you see that in India fiction hath her victories no less renowned than fact.

Before going further I should perhaps issue one caveat. I am afraid I cannot deny that a not inconsiderable proportion of present day South Indian fiction has been written by myself. But if I am obliged to mention or quote from any of my own works,

I beg you to believe that I do so only for the purposes of this lecture and not with any view to advertising them here.

Present day South Indian fiction is written by two schools—the European and the Indian. (You know, of course, that in India an Englishman widens his boundaries and becomes a European; and a Scot, scorning the limitations of “British,” does the same.) So far as volume goes, the Indian school is now outstripping the European. Its quality is not so high in the sense that I do not think any Indian has written as good a book about India as some Europeans have written. But I doubt if many of you realize the extent to which this indigenous school of fiction—written, I mean, in English—actually exists; and I am sure that few of you realize how good some of it is and especially how good it may become. R. K. Narayan, who recently delighted us with his *Bachelor of Arts*, would be, I am sure, the first to agree with me if he heard me say that some of our English reviewers would have been less enthusiastic—or less patronizing—towards his excellent work if they had known it was not an isolated instance of proficiency. Some of them hardly seemed to get beyond the idea, “Isn’t it clever of him to be able to write in English!” I mention this because it seems to indicate a degree of ignorance in high places which may justify this present attempt to dispel it. I will come back to this later; meantime, then, there are the two schools—the European and the Indian.

#### EUROPEAN AUTHORS

Let us consider the European school first, because it is the *less* important. All fiction writers who write for other than their own personal pleasure must be governed by two factors—their public and their theme. The European writer of fiction in India cannot hope to appeal to a very large Indian public; for one thing, his book will be too dear for them to buy. The Indian public still thinks fourpence a good sound price for a book and they can buy Gandhi’s collected speeches for that figure. For another, the English tongue still reaches but a minute fraction of even literate India. But apart from these



drawbacks, what interests the European writer—and therefore what he writes about—will not generally interest the Indian reader. He is thus obliged to aim at the Home or British public and it will be his endeavour to portray life in India in such a way as to interest you over here. In this laudable attempt I am bound to confess—and I speak after twenty years of trying it—the most of us have signally failed. At South India the British public refuses to look. At Mexico, yes; at Equatorial Africa, yes; at South India, no.

Why is this? The easiest solution is to say—because the South Indian writers are bad. But—leaving aside Kipling, of course—they are certainly not worse than those who have written about North India, which has in its day enjoyed a considerable vogue. We must look therefore beyond the writers' shortcomings. One reason that has been suggested to me is the jaw-breaking and eye-dazzling character of the South Indian names; and there is doubtless something in this. The "Love Song of Har Dyal of Lahore" is an assimilable title; the "Love Song of Sankaranarayana Ayyangar of Periyayanakanpalayam" is a bit of a twister.

A wider reason, perhaps, is the definite disservice done to all subsequent Indian story-tellers by the genius of Kipling. Kipling was in India only for a short time as a very young man, and even that was fifty years ago; but he has given the British reader a picture of India so diamond-clear and convincing that the reader views every fresh artist with suspicion. S. K. Ghosh in his *Prince of Destiny* sees—I think rightly—in Kipling a writer who has prevented the Press of England from learning the truth about India: but then, who would have the truth when he could have Kipling? At any rate Kipling told England that South India was a dud place altogether and England believes it still. Perhaps, therefore, Kipling "did" India once and for all: on the plane of serious work I can think of only one book which has broken through the Kipling barrage—E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*—a book itself so blent of exquisitely close observation and appalling caricature as to leave only an impression of bewilderment. In these—South Indian nomen-

clature and the conclusiveness of Kipling—we have perhaps contributory reasons for the failure of South Indian fiction to stand the sea voyage.

#### A PLACID BACKGROUND

But I think they are only contributory; the real reason lies in that other factor which I said governed the fiction writer everywhere—theme. If you lay your scene in outlandish places, you must justify it by violent incidents. In Mexico and in Equatorial Africa these take place; in South India—though this statement may astonish some of you—they don't. If a writer desires to set out a genuine and natural picture of life in South India, his characters must interest themselves—and their readers—in the moves and jealousies of official life, as must C. R. Milton's and some of my own; in mission religion, as must Mrs. Penny's; in business transactions, in the interplay of Anglo-Indian politics, in games and sport (so far as these will go), and in the unsatisfactory half-contact between the races. These themes *can* be made interesting but only at the cost of technicalities which the Home reader is disinclined to face. Wild things, exciting things, do not happen. Worse still, so many of us in India are working as parts of various machines that there is little opportunity for the individual to develop (in fiction, I mean) in either activities or character. You have types doing the same thing day after day—and that makes slow reading.

This, I think, explains the disproportionate frequency of the riot in South Indian fiction. I find that in the first three of my own novels a riot of major or minor magnitude plays part in the dénouement; and the lady who has written under the name of C. R. Milton was reduced to the same expedient in at least one of her books. A riot, political or communal, is about the only thing that *can* happen, so in fiction it *does* happen. Would I be wrong in saying that there is a major riot in 75 per cent. of European-written Indian fiction? Yet in sober truth there are very few major riots; in twenty years' service I myself was never involved in a single one.

Thus the European writer of South Indian fiction is faced



with the dilemma—either to be natural and have no happenings or to have them and distort. Some have chosen the one line and some the other; but the serious work and the valuable work has come, I think, from the school of unexciting truth. In this we seem to have held a sounder balance than our North Indian friends; we have had our sensational writers in South India but not so many as elsewhere; we have escaped E. W. Savi and Maud Diver, and with the exception of Alastair Shannon's *Black Scorpion* we have escaped the cruder cinema school. And we have largely escaped what I call Naulakhitis. I do not know if Kipling ever wrote a bad book; if he did, it was *The Naulakha*, which—doubtless for this reason—has been more slavishly imitated, in India at least, than all his other work put together. *The Naulakha*, I would remind you, was about a blackguard of an American who came to India to steal a temple jewel with which to bribe another blackguard to bring the railway through the first blackguard's home town; his secondary object in essaying the East being the pursuit of one of the most tiresome women who have ever achieved print. I have my own theories as to how Kipling came to write this work, but the immediate point is that it has generated Naulakhitis, from which has come a stream of palace-poisoning, susceptible-Rani, jewel-pilfering absurdities. South India has not wholly escaped from this epidemic; but the North got it much worse.

*Faute de mieux*, the European writer of Indian fiction falls back too often on sex; and even here he is heavily handicapped. Maidens are scarce even in Presidency headquarters, and up-country are almost non-existent; sex interest is therefore obliged to resort to variants upon the eternal triangle. It has so often been said that this has produced an entirely false idea of the frequency of marital infidelity in India that I need hardly repeat it here. As many of my friends were openly unfaithful or driven to divorce in India as in this country—that is to say, none. But if a writer can't have violent happenings and can't again have youths and maidens meeting in love's young dream, what can he do but play upon the triangle? The comical result has been that a reader nurtured on certain schools of Indian fiction



would suppose life in that country to be a series of matrimonial tangles increasing in intensity till a just Providence saw fit to terminate them with the solvent of a good hearty riot.

There have been, of course, stories in which a European is in love with an Indian lady or an Indian lady in love with him—like Sir John Bennville in *The Jewel of Malabar*, one of the oddest and perhaps one of the most terrible repercussions of the Moplah Rebellion. I can only say of these that they affect me with slight nausea—not because I feel strongly about race and colour but because I feel strongly about probability and truth.

#### REACTIONS TO INDIAN LIFE

Apart from the opposing schools of probability-and-no-happenings and sensation-and-blow-the-truth, there is a further way in which our writers may be divided—those who like India and those who do not. They will write accordingly. India must be either loved or loathed; I never heard of anyone with a brain who was bored with India or who tolerated India. Now it is not necessary to love a place in order to write vividly and well about it; hate will serve the purpose equally well. Both viewpoints will distort; the distortions will be different, that is all. South Indian fiction—like all Indian fiction—is coloured by the predilections of its exponents in this respect. A sample of the pro-India attitude may be found in my own *Locust Food*, where

“Once again Martin felt his heart torn with the delight of this India, this entrancing, unstable, capricious, hide-and-seeking mistress of a country.”

For the anti-, hear C. R. Milton in *The Sunset Gun*:

“When India lies fine, unknown, mysterious beyond the skyline, the voyage east is big with beautiful possibility. Only then. Afterwards the promise of the Indian seas is for such as are homeward bound.”

It is evident that my Martin and C. R. Milton's Janey would have written very differently about India. I do not say that one of these viewpoints is necessarily right and the other wrong; but they are both inhibitions which will determine—and distort—both what their victim writes and how he writes it.

The sad thing—and to me it is also an incomprehensible thing—is that the majority of our writers join in a chorus of disillusionment and disappointment. Few perhaps have gone so far as Cherry and Mrs. Atkins in Bruce's *Eurasian* (not a South-Indian story, I am glad to think), for we learn that to both of these ladies "as wholesome Englishwomen natedom as such was indiscriminatingly heathenish and repugnant." One feels that they were indeed indiscriminating so it is a good thing they were wholesome. Yet though few proceed to these extremes there seems to be a general feeling among our writers that India is a sad, bad place. Perhaps they expected too much, perhaps they saw too little; in either case, it seems to me, the maladjustment has seriously prejudiced the value of their work. So between jaundice and poverty of theme, between an indifferent public and a more than indifferent understanding, the European writer of Indian fiction has not the best chance.

#### INDIAN AUTHORS

We should turn, therefore, with the brighter hope, to those who *should* write fiction about India—the Indians themselves. They have material in abundance and an eager public at their doors, they do not falter in fogs of the half-understood or sit weeping by rivers of Babylon. Mrs. Penny as long ago as 1897 said the Indians were the most interesting people in the world; she might have added that they were also the most difficult to know. But if they would reveal themselves to us even in jest, if they would tell us veil-lifting stories about themselves, how doubly interesting they would be! That is what they are beginning to do and that is what I hope they will go on doing—crescendo.

They fall again into two schools—the vernacular and the English. Of the vernacular I can say little for I am sorry to confess I could never learn adequately any of the four principal languages current in the Madras Presidency; but just for the reason that vernacular fiction cannot reach me, so it cannot reach anybody else beyond a chosen few and its importance is thus gravely curtailed. From credible information I gather that



it does not amount to very much. Its exponents are either very new-fashioned or very old-fashioned: in the former case they follow the cinema and detective-story leads of the very West; in the latter they adhere to the well-tried methods of the old drama school, interlarding their narrative with large-type moral maxims—and, let it be fairly admitted, they still find vast audiences delighting in this old tradition. Sometimes they tend to propaganda, as when Mrs. Kothainayaki Ammal concludes her novel *Saramathi* with a spirited plea for the wearing of *khaddar* (that is to say, home-manufactured cloth) and the words, "Wear *khaddar*! Vande mataram! Allah-o-Akbar! Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai!" This is much as if an English writer were to conclude with "Use Pears' Soap; three cheers for England; glory to God; Heil Hitler!" So although good work is being done in the vernacular field, I think we will be justified in placing our hopes rather in those Indian writers who have adopted our own tongue.

Now if I were here in the character of a comedian I could no doubt amuse you for the balance of the time at my disposal with a recital of ineptitudes; but I have never found anything excruciatingly funny in the clumsiness or error of beginners, and in any case I am aiming at something higher than that. I would much rather tell you of the achievements than of the failures; and there *is* already a large measure of achievement. Remember that Indian-written fiction in English is an infant growth; it dates, I think, only from Miss Cornelia Sorabji's *Love and Life behind the Purdah* (which was 1901) or in South India from T. Ramakrishna's historical novel *Padmini* (which was 1903). It will be difficult to convey the volume and quality of the subsequent achievement in the short time I have left; neither a detailed analysis of a single work nor a hurried catalogue of names would do me—or you—much service. But let me try.

Our Indian writers in English have expressed themselves in three forms—the novel, the short story, and what I must, for want of a better name, call the social sketch. (They themselves call this last a "skit," but it is not that, for while it satirizes it

does not strike.) So far the novel is at once their most ambitious and their least successful field and this is hardly to be wondered at. For one thing they are bound to fall between two stools in the matter of public; writing in English, they must aim to attract and please the English reader and at the same time to attract and please the Indian; and this leads inevitably to inconsistencies. Bhupal Singh, criticizing Bal Krishna's incredibly rapid (from the Indian point of view) love-making in *The Love of Kusuma*, says, "The author in his anxiety to please the West has developed his theme in a manner alien to the spirit of Hindu life." How sadly often does this criticism apply! I have always told those Indians who have done me the honour of seeking my advice and help in their writing, "You will never do any good till you drop your horrible habit of forcing Indian pictures into European frames, of distorting a Hindu story into the mould of the *Strand Magazine*. Write well, as an Indian, and Europeans will read you." Again, the Indian novelist suffers from bad models; naturally he follows the lines laid down for him by the European writers, and the most fervid admirer of these could hardly say that they have set his aspirations a uniformly good example. Indeed, nothing that Indians produce can possibly be worse than some of the efforts of our own people. But, bad or good, the Indian is obliged to follow the models he sees before him; so that he suffers from Naulakhitis in a fresh and more terrible form.

His novels fall roughly into three classes. First there is the novel proper, which describes the general doings of men and women over a period of time. Here K. S. Venkataramani's *Murugan the Tiller* has become something of a South Indian classic. It has grave faults—its plot wanders and rambles, its characters are violently black or violently white, and its verisimilitude is hampered by a convention of the author's by which his characters speak rather as they would have wished to have spoken if they could, than as they actually would have spoken in real life. But, after all, Shakespeare used a very similar convention. The solid thing about the book is its descriptive power, the cumulative effect it produces and its essential Indian-ness.



Another good example in this *genre* is K. Nagarajan's *Athawar House*, which is perhaps the nearest thing to a full-dress novel the South Indian has yet produced. It is about the financial, matrimonial, and social ups and downs of a Brahmin family; its characters are sound and real, its episodes coherent and probable, and its essence genuine. If you have no acquaintance with South Indian fiction writing, either of these books would be an eye-opener.

#### POLITICAL NOVELS

A second class of novel is the political; nothing very acceptable has so far appeared in this class—which is odd, for if ever there was a being whose mind ran on politics it is the educated South Indian. He takes them perhaps too seriously for story-making. There is, however, an interesting book called *Indira Devi*, by A. Subrahmanyam—interesting less for its achievement than for its attempt. In one of the most acutely observed instances in that miracle of acute observation *A Passage to India* the Mussulman host “raised his voice suddenly and shouted for dinner. Servants shouted back that it was ready. They meant that they wished it was ready and were so understood, for nobody moved.” This, as understanding, is absolutely profound and it will explain a multitude of incongruities that puzzle the stranger in the East. It will explain *Indira Devi*, which is a prophetic story of 1951 where Indians and Europeans are found living side by side on the most intimate terms and intermarrying quite naturally, and where barriers of all sorts have vanished with the years. Some time ago I said that the writer of fiction sometimes revealed his dreams, sometimes wrote of things as he wished they were—like Mr. Forster's Mohammedan servants with the dinner. Here is a case in point.

The third form of the novel is an extension of the social sketch. It does not contain striking events and it depends on character and atmosphere, which are usually, however, admirably done. I will quote an example of this which will be familiar to many of you—R. K. Narayan's *Bachelor of Arts*, one of the few Indian novels which have forced the ring-fence



of the British publisher. It seems to me a book typical of the best to which Indian fiction-writing has so far advanced. It is light, it is deft, it is vivid, it is true. You cannot but feel that its people are charming people and that its picture of an Indian family is acutely real. But its love interest is decidedly of the Indian brand; the first girl cannot even be spoken to and the final bride only gets the length of casting down her eyes. And indeed little more than that happens at all.

### SHORT STORIES

So much for the novel. A more prolific and at the same time a more generally successful line has been the short story. I am sure you have no idea of the quantity of short stories Indians in Madras are writing to-day; the mass is so large and so diversified that I can hardly attempt to weigh or assess it here. But perhaps I may be allowed to say didactically that Nagarajan, Venkataramani and the late G. K. Chettur have all written a number of short stories you would read with pleasure; and to these I can add individual triumphs by Guruswami Reddiar and M. S. Doraiswami. I am not going to deny that there is a great deal of poor or very poor stuff also—how should it be otherwise?—but the point is not the failures but the successes. The worst fault of these writers is the one I described a little ago as forcing Indian pictures into European frames; to this they are driven by a lack of indigenous ideas. Their plots are often feeble or silly; many of them cannot realize that a court case or a newspaper episode or a quasi-historical legend does *not per se* make a short story. But I should like to repeat my belief that behind all this dross there is a vein of genuine gold; and I prophesy that that vein will be worked—and who shall say how deep or how rich it may run?

How far the social sketch or skit can legitimately be called "fiction" is open to question; how far the Indian writer succeeds with it is not. In this line he is often quite excellent. There is a man in Madras called S. V. Vijayaraghavachari—"S. V. V." for short—who is writing the most delicious stuff—

light as a feather, satirically humorous, not untender, most intimately revealing of Hindu life; splendid spiteful stuff which can bear direct comparison, *mutatis mutandis*, with the work of our own E. M. Delafield. In this field, too, K. Nagarajan has done some delightful things. It is the field of which *The Bachelor of Arts* is a full-length extension; and unless I mistake, it is the field in which South Indian fiction has its best hope.

#### LIMITED RANGE OF SUBJECTS

Why this is so should be apparent after a moment's thought. The Indian fiction writer, like the European but to an almost greater degree, is stuck for subjects. To a greater degree because, in our country, how many stories circle round the love interest in one form or another? Delete the love interest and what have you left? Now, as I have said already—and this is a thing the Indian novelist and short story writer often fatally fails to grasp—the Indian methods of love-making, the Indian régime of courtship and sexual association will *not* lend themselves to treatment on Western lines. But the short story or the novel must be written on established—that is to say, on Western—lines; the only thing to do with sex therefore is to cut it out. Now that is a terrible handicap to lay upon any writer; and upon an Indian writer, you will say, an insupportable handicap. But is it?

Katherine Mayo, R. J. Minney, and others have been at pains to emphasize the Indian's preoccupation with sex affairs. I really do think this arises from a miscomprehension. This is not the time or the place for a dissertation on these grave topics; but I will say this: far from being more taken up with sex than the Englishman, for present purposes the Indian is *less* taken up with it. In this sense—that while an English writer could hardly write interesting or natural descriptions of the activities of men and women without introducing sex, the Indian could. The thing is, in India, subservient; and in any case—here is the present point—it doesn't make stories. So long as the Indian writer tries to compose love stories on Western lines he is



doomed to failure, because he is at once introducing an unnatural and jarring element—much as if he set out to execute Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* on the *veena*. If he is to succeed, he must contrive—as R. K. Narayan and K. Nagarajan and a few others have contrived—to handle his love interest in the delicate, elusive, unsubstantial Indian form. And if he cannot so contrive, he must leave it out.

But if sex, if the love interest is barred to him, it can easily be seen why the Indian writer must turn back upon just those components which make up the social sketch or skit—family and social humours, life's daily businesses and mischiefs, the difficulties of polite intercourse, the hopes and renunciations of youth, the clash of modernity on old-established tradition. You will say he is thus debarred at once from the heights and the depths of life, from its ecstasies and its tragedies, its peaks and its pits. Perhaps to some extent he is, but the heights and the depths of fictitious characters are, after all, mainly an affair of the writing. You or I or anybody else could transcribe *Hamlet* or *Lear* in such a way that these grim masterpieces would become tedious, comic, or unreadable; an Indian with the gift could write of the arrangements for a marriage or the election to a municipal council or a deal in tamarinds in such a way as to elevate these commonplaces into literature. With fiction of all things it is not the matter but the manner; it is the way you tell a lie that counts—as the confidence tricksters long since discovered. And so I think that this amplification and development of the social sketch is what the South Indian fiction-writers—and all Indian fiction-writers—must set themselves to do, and I think it is what they will do. And if they remain true to themselves and their own national necessities, they will succeed; and then what a curtain will be rent away and what a scene of interest and delight will be laid bare to Western eyes!

But that day is still some distance off; South Indian fiction is still an infant growth. I hope there may be better European writers of it yet, but I place a deeper trust in the possibility of better Indians. And I remain convinced of one thing: the

peoples of the two races may never understand one another through the medium of those who are deliberately telling them the truth; but they have a very good chance of understanding one another through the medium of those who are deliberately telling them lies.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 19, 1937, when a paper entitled "South India in Present Day Fiction" was read by Mr. Hilton Brown, I.C.S. (ret'd.). The Most Hon. the Marchioness of Willingdon, G.B.E., C.I., K.I.H., was in the Chair.

In opening the meeting LORD LAMINGTON, the President, said: I am very sorry that at the opening meeting of the session I cannot stop for the reading of the paper. I especially regret it because the meeting has the honour of having in the Chair Lady Willingdon, who has done such wonderful service for India. The Association is very grateful to Mr. Hilton Brown, who spent twenty years in the I.C.S. in Madras. He has now come home and is connected with the journal *Punch*, which brings unfailing amusement to a vast number of people.

The MARCHIONESS OF WILLINGDON then took the chair and said: I am very glad to have been invited to preside at this meeting today, for in the first place I shall have the pleasure of having recalled to my mind the happy five years I spent in South India when my husband was Governor of Madras, and in the second place it is a still greater pleasure to have the privilege of introducing our lecturer, Mr. Hilton Brown, who, as a member of the Indian Civil Service, was associated with my husband while he was Governor in the administration of the Madras Presidency. His help to me at that time in matters connected with publicity in regard to fêtes and other charitable organizations, which I was called upon to preside over, I shall always be grateful for. It is true that in recent years we have seen little of each other, but I hope he may feel some satisfaction when I say that I have continued to take an interest in his career by the fact that when I read my *Punch* week by week I look out for the writings of "H. B."

I must confess to being much intrigued at the title of Mr. Hilton Brown's lecture today, "South India in Present Day Fiction," for my recollection of South India must be always one of past day facts, a recollection of those years spent in the Madras Presidency which will always remain to me as some of the happiest I spent in India. To us Britishers South India will always have a tremendous appeal from the fact that it was at Madras that the great East India Company first laid the foundations of their trading operations in India. I found there two homes, one in Madras city, and the other in that lovely hill station of Ootacamund, which for charm and comfort, for scenery and associations, were among the most delightful of my homes during the sixteen years of my life in India.

But I must not detain you any longer with my *facts*, for I know we are all anxious to hear about *fiction*, and I therefore shall now call upon Mr. Hilton Brown to address you.

The paper was then read.

Mr. CHARTRES MOLONEY: As the time is very short, I shall only thank Mr. Hilton Brown most sincerely for his very interesting paper. Then I shall venture to give you some of my ideas about Indian fiction. I am afraid that I must go a little further than Southern India, because I think that the principles underlying fiction everywhere are very much the same. I think that the fault of almost all fiction dealing with India is a certain lack of truthfulness.

A great deal of Indian fiction was written in bygone days by English ladies, rather dear old ladies, who lived in India for untold years, never troubled to learn a word of an Indian tongue, never met an Indian *naturally*. When I read their works I think that they took all their ideas of Indians from their domestic servants. That is ridiculous. I am a foreigner, an Irishman, living in Berkshire; but I do not judge Berkshire society by my cook or by the boy who works in my garden.

Then there is the school of horrors: Miss Katherine Mayo may serve as an example. I do not doubt that her facts are true; but they are not fairly representative. I can find you horrors as bad in England. Here is one from a letter written long ago by a lady who visited a jail. A woman had committed a theft, which by the savage law of the time was punishable by death. She was sentenced to death. She was a married woman; and when she was sentenced she was expecting a child. The jail authorities waited for the child to be born; then they were waiting until the woman was sufficiently recovered to be hanged! Can India equal that horror?

I come to Kipling. He was a genius; but as I grow older I find less satisfaction in his Indian work. I dislike the constant glorification of the strong silent Englishman who saves India every morning before breakfast from pestilence and famine, from battle, murder, and sudden death. And I dislike the implicit depreciation of the Indian. And here is another point.

I lived once for five years entirely among Indians: it was in a small Indian State. The language of the State was Urdu: I learned something of it—not very much. I was talking to a Hadji about Burton's journey to Mecca, and I remarked that it was a wonderful linguistic feat. The Hadji said: "No; so far as language is concerned you could do it yourself. You speak Urdu quite easily and naturally. But you would give yourself away. You have not an Oriental mind; you are constantly expressing thoughts which do not occur to an Oriental; twisting the language to express thoughts which really it does not hold." It seems to me that much of the thought and speech which Kipling attributes to Indians is not really to be found in an Indian mind or Indian language.

Take one of Kipling's most famous characters, Strickland Sahib. He is very much a puppet worked by wires; there is no psychology in him. Strickland is at one moment the conventional Anglo-Indian of the Club; the next moment he is a "loathly fakir." That is impossible. For a man so purely Indian can never be purely English.

The most interesting story on this theme that I have read is *Quinlan*, by A. S. M. Westwood. Quinlan is the son of European parents. His father



and mother died of cholera in camp when Quinlan was a baby. A border chief picked up the baby and brought him up as his own son. At about seventeen Quinlan was retrieved; educated in England. He came back to India as a police officer. He is not wholly English, nor yet wholly Indian; the interest of the story is the conflict in him of two different races, two different civilizations.

There is a sequel to *Quinlan*; it tells of a party cut off from the world by the breakdown of a train. In the party are Quinlan and a Bengali whom Quinlan knows to be a terrorist seeking to murder him. On Strickland lines Quinlan would have lawfully foiled the Bengali, or, perhaps, have been himself tragically murdered. Here the breakdown has put the party metaphorically across the frontier, and there the Pathan strikes quicker than the Bengali. In plain words Quinlan murdered the man: on his Pathan side Quinlan does not worry overmuch about murder! The snobbery of Anglo-India-dom is cleverly depicted. The English of his station murmur, "What a pity that Mr. Quinlan should have all these bazaar relations." They cannot understand that these are Quinlan's people, the people whom he loves, of whom he is proud. The Anglo-Indians say, "Of course, he can't introduce his wife to his old Pathan mother." The tragedy of Quinlan's soul is that his fierce old Pathan mother refuses to receive her son's Faringi wife.

I quite agree with Mr. Brown's estimate of *Bachelor of Arts*. Almost better is *Grass under my Feet*, by a Tamil of Ceylon. It is the autobiography of a boy: it is written in beautiful English, but it is purely Indian. It tells of an uncle who was a stone-mason carrying on a sideline in sorcery; of another uncle who was a devil-dancer. It makes one understand that the human boy is everywhere very much the same.

I should like to mention two books. These are *The Autobiography of Thillai Govindan* and *The Child's Story of the Ramayana*. Both are by the late P. A. Madhaviah. He was a lifelong friend of mine: we were such friends that now and then we quarrelled violently. *Thillai Govindan* is especially interesting to me. Madhaviah wrote it when he was about 26; he was then, like many young Brahmins, in revolt against everything. He was an atheist, he trampled caste under his feet. What he wrote up to his then age (26) is pure fact. But an autobiography cannot end at 26, and Madhaviah continued the story imaginatively until Thillai Govindan was old. By some astonishing artistic foresight or by some call of the blood he foretold exactly what his own life would be. Madhaviah, as he grew older, grew much milder, much more religious, much more orthodox.

In *The Child's Story of the Ramayana* Madhaviah took a bird's-eye view of the huge epic. Then he told this in a book of some 400 pages, interspersing in the story witty reflections, asides, comments. It is very much in the style of Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*. Madhaviah wrote this to amuse his children, and he gave me the typescript. I suggested that he should publish it in England. Macmillan and Co. published it, but unluckily the publication coincided with the outbreak of the Great War. And so the book was lost.

There is a peculiar difficulty for us English people in the Tamil South:

this is language. There are faults on both sides, Tamil and English. Tamil has an old literary style, full of archaic words and complicated constructions. It also has a peculiar system of lettering. Words are not divided as we divide them: a whole string of words are jumbled together, then a break occurs in the lettering where there is no break in the words. There are other difficulties too technical to mention here. Really no Tamil now uses this style of language or system of lettering. But when a Tamil sits down to write a literary work he uses this old style, which is not his real style. Consequently his work in Tamil is artificial, and, when he writes English, he brings from his own language to a foreign language no definite standard of literary propriety. So his work is artificial. Compare the Bengalis: they have kept their language alive. Perhaps Tagore writes so well in English because he writes perfectly in Bengali.

The Europeans in the South—or most of them—simply will not learn the language. I was always hammering at this point with Government. Government should insist that its servants learn the language adequately: without that an official cannot do his work properly, a writer cannot write anything true about the people. I do not know much about Indians, but the little that I do know I learned wandering about and talking to them.

If the Tamils would modernize their language, write it today as they really speak it today, their literature need not be a closed book to us as is the old and terribly difficult literary Tamil. If Europeans would apply themselves reasonably to the language, they would learn much more about the people, they would write much more truly about them.

MR. C. A. KINCAID: I did not know the lecturer would confine the course of his lecture within such a narrow channel as he has done. I was hoping he would give us something about vernacular novels in Southern India. He has, however, explained that he was never able to learn any of the vernacular languages. I can assure Mr. Brown that I have many times met Madras civilians and enjoyed the greatest pleasure from their society. But I only once met a Madras man who had ever known any Tamil. He said, "I once knew Tamil." I nearly fell on his neck and wept aloud.

We have in the Bombay Presidency novelists of great merit both in Marathi and Gujarati. In Marathi we have Mr. Apte, who gave us in the vernacular some of the most charming novels, showing the customs of the people. Then in Gujarati we have had people like Mr. Narmadashankar, who has given us novels of the peak period of Rajput history. Of course, we have the great advantage in our part of India, both in Rajputana and in the Bombay Presidency, of having legends of ancient Rajput chiefs, which are the most fascinating things in the world and which in Southern India you do not possess.

To show how little understanding of Rajputs there is in Madras: in a series of articles I wrote not long ago for the *Weekly Illustrated*, I described Rajputs as drinking opium and water before going into battle, and a Madras gentleman wrote and said I was perfectly wrong, and that opium was never drunk. All I could do was to write back that with Rajput gentlemen I had constantly drunk opium and water mixed, and very good it



was. If you are out hunting and have had no food for a long time, a glass of opium and water is one of the finest things I know. I can give you my assurance that I have not since become an addict.

Mr. Hilton Brown referred to his own novels, and very eminent they are. I hope you will excuse me if I make a reference to my son's novels. I think you will find there is little or no reference to sex in them. His first book was written about Southern India, and was the result of his being very intimate with some old Brahman friends of mine down there who showed him the greatest attention. But Indian administrators, although they issue circulars to their juniors telling them to mix with Indians as much as possible, do not really like their doing so. My son was transferred from the Deccan to Upper Sind, but, I am glad to say, he put his transfer to such use that he was able to write *Cactus Land* and give an extraordinary account of the various techniques of Sind dancing. I think that book will probably live. He also wrote a book about Goa—viz., *Tropic Rome*—and also *Their Ways Divide*, which I think is probably the most extraordinary study of a young Indian's mind that has ever been written. I trust you will forgive me for this personal reference.

Colonel D. S. MACKAY: One reason I want to speak is because I have known Mr. Hilton Brown since he was Captain Hilton Brown of the war-time.

First of all, I am a little disappointed that Mr. Brown has made his geographical boundaries so very narrow, because, as everybody in India knows, I believe, on the North-West Frontier they regard the Central Provinces, Calcutta, and Bombay as in Southern India. Secondly, I hoped we should get back as far as *Little Henry and His Bearer*, which I think is the first fiction written about India. I was rather sorry to hear him criticize Kipling in modern idiom, such as the "old school tie" and that sort of thing. Kipling's Indian work was written many years ago, and I think it ought to be judged according to the manner of those times rather than the present times. So I would like to put in a word for him.

Lady PENTLAND: Just a word of thanks to Mr. Brown for his lecture. We must all agree with what he has said about artistic matters being such a good ground for getting to know each other. And we hope with him that more and more novelists will succeed in putting across the vivid characters of South India. In Madras one was often struck by the keen literary interest, and Lady Willingdon will remember all over India the extraordinary imagination and dramatic talent shown by Indians from the age of one year or whenever they can stand and talk and give those charming and delightful performances that we so often see.

In Madras last year we spent a very pleasant hour having an orthodox lunch with our old friends Sir Sivaswami and Lady S. Aiyar. He always has been a great student, and his desks were heaped with all kinds of learned treatises. But what he gave us for our journey away from Madras, and which very much entertained us, were some books by S. V. V., *Soap Bubbles* and other amusing sketches. As Mr. Hilton Brown has said, they are first class.

It is curious that I associate Madras literary talent very much with humour, as in *Madras Occasional Verse*. Perhaps that is why Mr. Hilton Brown flourished in that atmosphere. We are also grateful to Mr. Hilton Brown for the verses in which he has expressed for many of us the nostalgia of those who have loved India and particularly the blue Nilgiri Hills.

MR. HILTON BROWN: I seem to be in the happy position of having nothing to reply to except kindness. In the first place, it is my duty to thank Lady Willingdon for the very pleasant things she had said about me. I do so very gladly and also a little shamefacedly when I think that at one time I came within an ace of killing her.

Shortly after Lord Willingdon took office in Madras, when our Chairman was not so well known as she afterwards became, I was playing golf at Ooty and had the impertinence to imagine myself rather held up by a mixed foursome in front. The fourteenth hole is a blind hole, and with a very good tee shot you just reach the green. I smote, and, the devil no doubt inspiring me, I hit a very good shot and it landed right in the middle of that green where Lady Willingdon was. I was just saying, in my pride, "That will shift them on a bit," when another man came up and said, "You silly fool, that's Her Ex." I do not think Lady Willingdon knew anything about that incident before tonight, because I ran away and hid. I recall it now in order that I may say how very thankful we all are—and this is something on which everybody in the room must agree with me—that my shot did not get any nearer.

I find nothing to disagree with Mr. Moloney; indeed, I specially endorse what he said as regards the fact of fiction writers in India not writing what they know or believe to be true. I think that is what I said myself about Indians when I said they were forcing their Indian stories into Western frames, and that if they would come down and write about their own lives as they are instead of as they think they might be in a *Strand* story we should be very much better off.

Also I am in sympathy with what he said about the pernicious habit some European writers have of basing their Indian characters on their servants and clerks, these being all they know. As regards Miss Mayo and her school of horrors, it is a fact that her statements are indisputably true. It is equally a fact that they are an entirely one-sided record.

Mr. Kincaid told us he did not know that the lecture was to confine itself to such narrow channels. I did not know this myself until I started to write it. I had intended to make it much wider and cover a much larger field, but I found myself up against the old difficulty of getting a quart into a pint bottle. I should also like to say how glad and proud I would have been if I could have included Mr. Dennis Kincaid's novels under South Indian fiction, and how much the richer that fiction would have been had these books been written about South India.

As to Kipling, though I share Colonel Mackay's admiration for his genius, I think perhaps we have heard enough of him for one evening. In that case I have nothing more to do except to thank Lady Pentland and again Lady Willingdon for the generous things they have said and you all



for the very great kindness you have shown me and your very kind attention to this lecture.

Sir FRANK NOYCE : It is perhaps in the fitness of things that, on what for various reasons has been my first appearance in public since I arrived in England at the end of April, it should be my privilege to propose a vote of thanks on your behalf to Lady Willingdon for so charmingly presiding over our discussions this evening, and to Mr. Hilton Brown for a lecture of unusual interest. In the first place, it is like old times to be proposing a vote of thanks to Lady Willingdon (it is very difficult to refrain from calling her "Her Excellency"). I have done so at sundry times and on divers occasions in India, and I hope this will not be my last opportunity of doing so.

In the second place, Lady Willingdon, Mr. Hilton Brown, and I all come from the same part of India, the Madras Presidency, and, although for the greater part of Lady Willingdon's time in India and my own our lot was cast in other parts of India, I think it is correct to say that Madras holds the warmest place in our affections. Lady Willingdon may not admit that, but she has confided in me in the past how fond she is of Madras, and I can assure you and her that there is no part of India in which she is remembered with greater affection and gratitude.

Mr. Brown is an old friend and colleague of mine. We once served in the same district as magistrates, and there we dealt with a form of South Indian fiction that was outside the scope of his lecture this afternoon; and if I recollect correctly, he did not deal with that kind of Indian fiction as tenderly as he has with what has been the subject of his lecture.

The Indian Civil Servant is called upon to play many parts, but I think Mr. Hilton Brown is the first member of it to be closely associated with the greatest humorist weekly in the world. We all shine in the reflection of his glory.

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

## LUNCHEON TO LORD AND LADY BRABOURNE

A LUNCHEON to the Right Hon. Lord Brabourne, late Governor of Bombay and now Governor of Bengal, and Lady Brabourne, was given by the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society at the Rooms of the Society on November 4, when some 230 members and guests were present. The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, presided, and in proposing the toast of "Our Guests" said:

It is very fitting that we should do honour to Lord and Lady Brabourne, for they have, during the past four years, played with great distinction and with marked success an intimate part in an enterprise in the domain of state-craft unparalleled in the annals of the human race. Our motives in establishing in India, with its wide spaces and its varied and polyglot population, a system of representative government upon a democratic basis has been, in spite of the accusations to the contrary, a single-minded desire to meet their very natural aspirations, and to foster relations so cordial between our respective countries, as to enable us together—we of the West and they of the East—to face with increasing confidence and hope the strains and stresses of a world whose growing pains give cause for grave anxiety, even if they presage, as all men of faith must believe, the birth of a new and happier future.

What of the great enterprise of which I have spoken? We in this country believe that the system of government which we have available upon the soil of these islands is the best which mankind has so far achieved, and we do so largely because Parliamentary government, while it vests ultimate sovereignty in the people as a whole, at the same time secures to the individual the greatest measure of liberty compatible with the interests of the State. At the same time, experience seems to suggest that it is not an easy system to work in practice, for it is in truth only English-speaking peoples who have so far made a conspicuous success of it. Hence we see what is undoubtedly the outstanding movement in world politics today—namely, a movement away from the middle power of Parliamentary government in the direction of one of those more extreme political ideologies—Fascism on the one hand, Communism on the other hand—in each case involving a degree of control over the individual which to us, with our innate love of liberty, is repugnant.

It is no doubt the fact that there are special difficulties in the way of establishing a system of this kind in India, difficulties arising largely out of the lack of homogeneity on the part of the population with its multitudinous tongues, warring creeds, and, last but not least, the wide gulf which exists between the level of civilization of its most advanced and



most backward community, and there are many other difficulties of a similar character upon which it would be easy to enlarge; but it is not my purpose today to enlarge upon these difficulties, rather would I dwell for a moment or two upon another aspect of the problem—viz., the attitude of mind of a large part of Nationalist India towards the perfectly sincere attempts which we are making to meet their very legitimate political aspirations. The nature of the Constitution is still a plank in the platform of the National Congress, and the very Parliaments which are functioning under the Constitution—at any rate in those Provinces in which the Congress has a majority in the Legislature—have been passing resolutions, in spite of the fact that they are functioning successfully under the Constitution, declaring it to be wholly unacceptable to them. Indeed, the strange idea seems to be prevalent that in framing the Constitution we have been actuated by some sinister ulterior motive. Ladies and gentlemen, I wish that I could disabuse the minds of all those who harbour it of any such idea, for it is wholly devoid of foundation.

I am not for a moment attempting to apportion responsibility for the existence of this unhappy state of affairs. It may well be that we have misunderstood at times the Indian point of view as greatly as they have misunderstood ours. Let me, if I may, try to give point to this aspect of the situation as I see it. There is in the philosophical literature of India a metaphysical conception termed "*Maya*"—a form of cosmic hallucination, which causes men to see things as other than in fact they are—and just as—to make use of an illustration which is to be found frequently in Sanskrit—*Maya* causes a man to mistake a rope for a snake, so in the main of our relations with India does it cause men to mistake good intentions for sinister designs. And just as it is the constant endeavour of the students of this form of philosophy to rend aside the veil of *Maya* in order that they may see things as they are, so should it be the supreme endeavour of all those who are conscious of the vital importance of the relations between East and West to dispel the dark cloud which seems to have settled upon the relations between the British and the Indian people.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may say that all this is rather far-fetched, that it is little relative to the toast which I am proposing. Believe me that that is not so. The process of attacking the cause of hallucination—the "*avidya*," to make use of the Sanskrit term—has been well begun, and I have no hesitation in affirming that as a result of the working of the Constitution there is not a minister in any Province in India, be he a member of Congress or not, who has not already qualified profoundly the view of the attitude of the Governor of his Province towards his aspirations, nor is there a Governor of a Province who is not acquiring a new orientation of his outlook and a fresh inspiration in working with his Ministers. To no one is greater gratitude due for the improvement which is noticeable in this direction than to Lord and Lady Brabourne for their service in Bombay during the past four years.

They are about to take up the torch and to carry it forward in another part of India. I myself have an abiding affection for the people of Bengal, and it is because that is so that I have persuaded Lord Brabourne to take

up the reins of office when they are laid down there by Sir John Anderson. The people of Bengal will bid farewell to Sir John Anderson with feelings of profound regret, for he has rendered devoted service to them and with unerring instinct has placed his finger upon one of the root causes of their present discontent and has striven unceasingly to better their economic lot, and we may be certain that his labours for them will long live enshrined in the memories of the people. But with equal warm-heartedness they will welcome his successor, happy in the knowledge based upon his record in the sister Presidency that Lord and Lady Brabourne will identify themselves with them in all their interests in life—political, economic, and, since in India as elsewhere men do not live by bread alone, æsthetic—that they will share with them their pride in their achievement during the long ages of a venerable past, and share with them their ambition to lay hold of those opportunities which are now opening up before them, to lift their eyes and cast their gaze in high expectancy along the ever-expanding vista of the future.

Your Highness, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, I offer to Lord and Lady Brabourne our warmest good wishes for success in the task to which they are about to lay their hands. We wish them *bon voyage* and a happy and successful time in Bengal.

LORD BRABOURNE, who was warmly cheered on rising, said: My wife and I are more than grateful to you, sir, for your much too kind remarks about us this afternoon, to the members of the East India Association and of the Royal Empire Society for the signal honour they are doing us at this great luncheon today, and most grateful also for the good wishes so charmingly expressed by Lord Zetland, and so very nicely accepted by you, ladies and gentlemen. Those good wishes will go with us and we will remember them with gratitude when we sail one week from today.

I would also like to thank each individual member of the Associations who have gathered here, and, if I may digress for one moment, I would like to say how very delighted both my wife and I are to see here this afternoon several of our old friends from East Kent, ex-constituents; whether they voted for me in the past, or not, I do not know, but it is a very nice feeling to us to see them round these tables. And finally in our thanks I want to express my real appreciation to Sir Frank Brown for all the trouble he has taken in organizing this luncheon.

I hope you will forgive me if I use an Army term and say how extraordinarily fortunate I have been during my four years in India in my commanding officers. When I first went out in 1933 I had here, as Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, and in India, Lord Willingdon—Sir Samuel Hoare, whose Parliamentary Private Secretary I had been, and to whom I feel eternally grateful for having given me an early opportunity for making many contacts and friendships at the Third Round Table Conference which have been of inestimable help to both of us during our time in Bombay. To Lord Willingdon we owe so much for his guidance, tolerance, and his many kindnesses to us during the early days—and to turn to today, we have Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow. Although it



would not be right for me to make any remarks about Lord Zetland, he knows pretty well what they would be if I could make them, for he knows how grateful I am for the help he is giving to all of us Governors in India at present. It is going to make my task doubly difficult when I realize that he knows the Province of Bengal extraordinarily well, and is in such very close contact with it, as no doubt he is all the time.

If I may come for one moment to Lord Linlithgow, I would like to say how very much—looking back over the last months—I feel that the successful introduction of this great experiment which is being carried out in India at the present moment is due to the wise guidance and great political flair which Lord Linlithgow has shown and the great help which he has given only too readily to us Governors and to the great political leaders of India whenever that guidance and help has been asked for. I look forward with the greatest of pleasure to going back to India today week to serve once again under my two commanding officers, Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow.

Both of us look back upon our four years in Bombay with the greatest of pleasure. It was a wonderfully happy time, we made many friendships which will last for the rest of our lives, and we found many new interests in that great country.

Particularly I would like to mention the great debt which I acknowledge to the Services of India in the Bombay Presidency, for all they have done for me during my four years. I will not go into details, or mention any particular Service, but I do want to say here in public that the last few months, which have been somewhat trying at times for the Services, have added very greatly to the long list of laurels which those Services have so rightly earned.

I would also like to express my thanks to the various Ministries with which I have had the pleasure of working—pre-April 1, under the old Constitution, particularly my debt to Sir Robert Bell, whom I hoped to find here today, but who is at the present moment in Nyasaland on a mission for the Government. Then, when April 1 came, and Congress did not accept office at the beginning, I particularly want to put on record my thanks to Sir D. B. Cooper, who came forward and formed a Government at very short notice on that day. Sir D. B. Cooper stepped into the breach knowing full well what it meant. He laid himself open to great attack by political parties; he knew his task would only be a temporary one, but he took it in hand and carried it out in a way that really deserves the gratitude of everyone interested in the success of the new Constitution.

When I come to the Congress Ministry, with whom I worked for the last three months I was in India, I would like to say that I thoroughly enjoyed working with them. My late Prime Minister, Mr. Kher, and his colleagues were most charming to work with, and I look back upon that period with gratitude to them for their consideration and help, for their readiness, at all times, to see my point of view on the rare occasions when we did not completely coincide. I will not weary you in looking back over the last four years, but I would like to mention the great mill strike in Bombay in 1934 which led to further legislation from the labour point of



view and to the appointment of a Government Labour Officer. I would mention my gratitude to Lord Willingdon for the way he encouraged me. Most people with whom I discussed it said, "That is all very well, but what can one man do among 120,000 mill hands?" Lord Willingdon said, "Never you mind about that: you go ahead with it, and good luck to you." That legislation, passed in 1934, has made Bombay comparatively peaceful in the labour world from then to now, and it is of particular interest for me to realize that the present Government in Bengal is beginning to turn its attention to something of the same sort.

From there I would like to skip straightaway to last winter, when we had those most regrettable and unfortunate communal riots in Bombay, so that I may express my gratitude to the Army for the assistance they so readily gave to any of us who called for assistance. During that unfortunate period on not one single occasion was any single man called upon to take active action, but the Army did a great deal of patrolling and much to restore confidence.

When the riots first broke out, as is the case with most Governors, we were bombarded by letters and telegrams from all over the place telling us how to run our job, and one of the first telegrams I received after the riots began was one which said, "Please call out the troops at once." It came from a gentleman who has taken a most active part in attacking the British Army in India for the last few years, and who takes every opportunity to try to get the British troops in India reduced. I have kept the telegram and hope to show it to him on some future occasion.

Let me now come to the negotiations which took place at the end of March on the question of forming a Government, and the negotiations I had with the Congress Leader, Mr. Kher, of Bombay. You know how certain demands were made of us Governors which could not be agreed to under the Constitution, but nevertheless I have a very strong conviction that that delay from the middle of March to the middle of July was not wasted, because it did enable the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and some Governors, in the course of speeches, to clear up a little of the doubts which were very genuinely in the minds of Congress leaders in India. There was a great feeling of uncertainty at the time, as Lord Zetland has said, as to our intentions, and when we came to the middle of July when the negotiations started again, in my interviews then I at once found that a large number of those doubts had already disappeared. One thing which is even more striking is that actual experience of the working of the Act is clearing up those doubts and difficulties at a remarkable speed. I remember so well both in March and July, in my discussions with Mr. Kher, telling him, "Don't worry about the attitude of the Services." I kept on hearing from him and other friends of mine acting as go-betweens between me and Congress leaders, that Congress was worried about the attitude of the I.C.S. and the Police. I assured him that he would find the Services of India only too prepared to help him as loyally as they had helped me in the past provided they realized that he meant well by them. It was an extraordinary encouragement for me to find, as time went on towards the time of my departure, signs that this was beginning to be realized, and often



Mr. Kher has said to me that the words I spoke to him earlier in the year had been only too correct, and he was glad to acknowledge it. The same might be said the other way round, that there was at that time some uncertainty in the minds of the Services of what the change would mean to them, and I would pay a tribute to the Services for the broadminded way in which they accepted the change, and for the loyal way in which they are giving their services today as in the past.

I am so certain that the one hope for India and for the new Constitution is more and more close co-operation between the Ministers of today and the Services, and to get that it is so essential that what has started so well should be continued—namely, that we should have a clean slate. I should like to appeal today, in case these words of mine should come to the eyes of my friends in India, to forget possible antagonisms of days gone by, very likely purely personal differences; do forget them; let us have a clean slate and go ahead together in the great work that lies ahead of the Ministers and the Services in India. That the problems are great, it does not need me to stand up and tell you. As a Governor under the new Constitution one is very much in the position of sitting there and hearing and seeing both sides, and there is one point I would like to emphasize, and I hope that if this at any time comes to the eyes or ears of my friends in Congress that they will not misunderstand me. I hope that they will realize that I am only saying it because of my intense anxiety to see that the experiment works well. I appeal to the Congress leaders of today in India not to make their task even more difficult than it is already by trying to administer the whole of India as one province. Each Province has its own particular problems, and if an attempt is made to pass legislation and to take administrative action, treating them all as one, it is going to make their task much harder than it is. For example, the question of prohibition is the order of the day in India and has already started on a small scale in certain Provinces, but whereas in Bombay the excise revenue is one-quarter of the revenue of the whole Province, in Bengal it is only about 10 per cent., which shows the difficulty which lies ahead if it is attempted to speed up prohibition on exactly the same programme in Provinces where it is on the one hand 25 per cent. and on the other much less.

With regard to the labour situation, I know practically nothing of the situation in Calcutta, but I do know it in Bombay. If an attempt is made to run the labour side of India as if it were all one province, great difficulties and dangers lie ahead. For the past four years Bombay has had comparative peace. The present Congress Ministry is anxious to do everything possible for labour. Owing to the help of Gulzarilal Nandar, who ran the Labour Union of Ahmedabad and who worked under Mahatma Gandhi for many years, and who is now working for the Government, the outlook, provided they carry on wisely, is good.

I would like to say how very grateful we are to our friends in Bombay, and the best thing we can wish our successors is that they should have as happy a time there during their term of office as we have had.

I have just said how happy we were in Bombay; that we will ever have a happier time I doubt, but I can assure you that both of us are going out

with the absolute determination to have just as happy a time in Bengal as in Bombay. We have already many good friends in Calcutta, and we look forward enormously to increasing their number very largely.

I realize only too well the magnitude of the task which has been entrusted to me in Bengal; I realize only too well the differences in the problems that lie ahead of us from those of Bombay. I have been doing my best during the five weeks I have been at home to get in touch with people here who have been more than helpful in explaining problems political, economic—and jute—but the fact remains that we are going out fully conscious of what lies ahead of us, and above all I realize what it means to succeed a man like Sir John Anderson. I should like to underline what Lord Zetland has said. One hears most things in India in Bombay: it is not called "The Gateway to India" for nothing; most of the gossip comes there sooner or later. I have yet to meet one single person coming from Bengal who has not had the highest praise which it is possible to use about an individual for the present Governor.

Once again, may I thank you very much indeed for the honour which you have done us this afternoon. I have spent the last five weeks here in England and it has given me a fleeting opportunity of seeing our two boys for a few days. That is one of the drawbacks of living out of England: one does not see one's family—but with perfect truth can I say that both of us are looking forward immensely to sailing today week to play once more a small part in that great experiment which is being carried out in India, in the hope that in playing that part we may possibly be of some slight service to that great country of which we have become so fond during the last four years.

Sir ARCHIBALD WEIGALL, Chairman of the Royal Empire Society, proposed the toast of "The Chairman," to which Lord Zetland briefly replied.



## EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND ĪRĀN

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THE subject on which I have the privilege to address you today may well seem large and out of proportion to the allowance of time which regard for your patience and pressing tasks on my part prescribe. So I may at once refer to the personal considerations which determined my choice of it. The invitation from your Honorary Secretary, my old and valued friend, reached me towards the close of the latest of a succession of archæological journeys which have taken me for the last five years through the whole length of Southern Īrān. But of this journey I have had already occasion quite recently to give an account in a lecture before the Royal Asiatic and Royal Central Asian Societies. On the other hand, my thoughts can never be far away from that North-West Frontier, the Panjāb and Kashmir, the region in which I have spent so many happy years of my semi-nomadic life. It is indeed that border region which attracted me in my early boyhood, which led to the Sanskrit studies of my youth, and in which I was fortunate enough in due course to find what I may call my cherished Indian homeland.

The work which I was able to carry on there for close on fifty years, and I may say with a sense of deep gratitude, for the most part under the generous auspices of the Indian Government, has been mainly archæological. Its aim was, as it must be of all antiquarian labours, to help to throw light on the historical past of that region. Our written records of that past are, alas, very scanty and in inverse proportion to the interest of the ground. But to quote the just words of a great strategist and student of history: "The locality is the surviving portion of reality of an event that has long passed by. . . . It often restores to clearness the picture which history has preserved in half-effaced outlines." So before presenting to you briefly what scattered records and ancient remains allow us to restore of the early relations between

India and Īrān in the broadest outlines, I may ask you to take a bird's-eye view, as it were, of the borderlands which witnessed those relations. We may thus see more clearly how geographical factors have here, as elsewhere also, played a determinant part in historical developments and the interchange of cultural influences.

#### THE BORDERLANDS

It has been my good fortune to gain personal acquaintance with these Indo-Iranian borderlands as far as they lie within the political boundaries of India and Persia, from the Pamirs right down to the shores of the Arabian Sea. The ground on the Afghān side has, indeed, remained closed to me for scholarly enterprise, in spite of the kind interest which three enlightened Viceroys were pleased to show in my endeavours. But the gap thus left in my range of direct observation need not affect the summary sketch here presented of the region comprising those borderlands.

It may briefly be described as stretching from the Hindukush range in its widest sense in the north down to the Arabian Sea. In the east it extends to the Indus, the great river which has given to India its foreign name, significantly enough Iranian in its derivation. From Classical times to the present day its western limit is roughly defined by a line which approximately coincides in the north with the present frontier between Afghānistān and Persia, and in the south with that between British and Persian Makrān. The vast region thus defined includes the North-West Frontier Province and British Balūchistān as well as the whole of Afghānistān, with the exception of Afghān Turkistān, the ancient Bactria. But even this territory, though it does not adjoin proper Indian ground, has yet at certain times in the past played its part in the historical and cultural relations between India and Īrān.

In the region which has been the scene of these relations we have on geographical grounds to distinguish three well-defined zones. The northernmost may be roughly described as comprising mainly the high mountain spurs and great valleys which descend from the Hindukush range to the south and discharge their drainage by the Kābul river into the Indus. None of these



valleys, with the exception of that of the Kābul river itself, could ever have served for any great ethnic movement between east and west or for any important interchange of cultural influences. High mountains divide them, and beyond, to the east, the gorges of the Indus, together with the Himalayan ranges girding and defending Kashmir, provide an effective barrier. Difficult of access and containing but very limited areas of cultivable land, those valleys seem to have been destined by nature to serve as retreats for tribes which stronger ones have dispossessed of more fertile lands.

There is an ethnological and quasi-historical interest attaching to these tribes in Kafiristān, Chitrāl, Darēl, etc. The Dardic dialects spoken by them belong to that Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family which comprises both the Indo-Aryan or Sanskritic tongues of India and the Iranian languages spoken in Persia and in valleys on both sides of the Oxus. To the so-called Galcha tribes in the latter hill tracts they are closely related also by their *Homo Alpinus* type of race. There is strong reason to believe that this population of Dardic speech once extended much farther south than it does now. The process of withdrawal is still observed at the present day; for everywhere to the north of the Kābul river and of Swāt the Dardic dialects are steadily giving way before the Pashtu of the virile Pathāns, the latest invaders from the side of Irān of the region to the west of the Indus.

#### THE "GATE OF INDIA"

A different rôle has been assigned by geography to the valley of the Kābul river. With its fertile tracts at its head around Kābul, lower down about Jalālābād, and where it finally expands into the wide plain of the Peshawar district, this great valley has been destined by nature to serve as a main highway into Northern India. Not without good reason has the famous pass of the Khyber, through which the great caravan route from Kābul descends to Peshawar, been called the "Gate of India." All through historical times it has seen successful invasions pass down here to the conquest, whether temporary or lasting, of the plains

of the Panjāb and Hindustān. Since Alexander's main force proceeded from the side of Kābul to the Peshawar valley and the Indus, none of the great military enterprises following this natural highway has ever failed before the guarding of this gate passed to the British. But it is by no means the only gate, and where large ethnic movements of the past are concerned its importance may be greatly over-estimated.

Certain, however, it is that in the opposite direction it was mainly through the Peshawar valley, the ancient Gandhāra, and its continuation westward that Indian culture, as conveyed in Buddhist doctrine, literature, and art, extended its influence into Afghānistān and beyond it into Central Asia. This was particularly the case during the centuries immediately before and after the commencement of the Christian era. And here passing reference must be made to the valley of the Swāt river, the last great tributary of the Kābul river. This rich and climatically favoured valley, well deserving the ancient name of *Udyāna* ("the garden"), as an old "learned etymology" called it, was since early times famous as a *terra sacra* for Buddhist cult. As such the old Chinese pilgrims knew it, and its abundant Buddhist ruins still attest this nowadays. Here, too, the original Dardic population has been pushed back far into the mountains by the advance of Pathān tribes, the latest of Iranian invasions in these parts.

#### THE WAY BY KANDAHĀR

We must now turn in our rapid sketch to the second great zone of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. On physical grounds and in view of the cultural and political conditions governed by them it may be roughly described as extending on the east from the Safid-kōh range, overlooking the Kābul river valley, as far south as the old highway which leads from Kandahār across the Khōjak and Bolān passes down to Sind on the lower Indus. Here, for a direct distance of close on 400 miles, we find a comparatively narrow strip of cultivable plain along the right bank of the Indus adjoined on the west by the hill chains of Wazīristān and by the Takht-i-Sulaimān range. Beyond these lie wide uplands stretching from south of Kābul past Ghazna as far as Kandahār.



Occupation of this great belt must all through the ages have been confined for the most part to hardy semi-nomadic peoples like the present Wazirs, Ghilzais, and other Pashtu-speaking tribes along the Indo-Afghān border. For climatic conditions greatly restrict irrigation such as sustained agriculture here needs; but for pastoral pursuits they provide adequate scope.

The very limited economic resources of this ground must always have bred predatory habits in a sturdy semi-nomadic race such as the tribes of Iranian speech which occupy it at present. Raids such as used to threaten the settled population along the right bank of the Indus from Wazirs and others down to our own days are bound to have been known to earlier periods also. Spasmodic incursions of this kind are likely to have varied in frequency and extent according to the strength or otherwise of the régime prevailing in the settled riverine tracts. But apart from them there is good reason to believe that the convenient access which the Kurram, Tōchi, Gumal, and other valleys provide from those uplands to the fertile plains by the Indus, must have always facilitated successful invasions or gradual penetration. The span of recorded history is too short to permit us adequately to gauge the changes thus brought about in the population of the Panjāb by migrations from that trans-border region.

A very different picture is presented to us by the western portion of the zone with which we are concerned. By its chief geographical feature it may be described as comprising the drainage area of the Helmand river and its great terminal basin, Sistān. Kandahār, the city from which the above-mentioned ancient highway into India starts, lies in a fertile tract between the Arghandāb and Tarnak rivers, tributaries of the Helmand. It probably marks the site of the capital of ancient *Harahvaiti* or *Arachosia*, as the territory on the upper Helmand was known in Classical times to Persians and Greeks respectively. That it was since an early historical period a border province between Īrān and India can safely be concluded, on the one hand, from its mention in the Avestic list of Iranian lands and, on the other, from the designation of "White India" under which it figures in late Classical accounts.

## THE HELMAND RIVER

The great expanse of high mountain spurs and narrow valleys which stretches to the north and north-west of Kandahār as far as the head-waters of the Helmand and the Hari-rūd, the river of Herāt, has never played an important part in the political and cultural relations of India and Īrān. Its character as a kind of economic and ethnic backwater is illustrated by the fact that ever since Timūr's great invasion it has remained mainly a resort of the semi-nomadic Mongolian tribes of Hazāra. Where the Helmand river below Kandahār flows in a huge bend to the south-west towards the Sistān basin, both its banks are adjoined by vast areas of sandy or bare clayey desert. It is the waterless nature of the great deserts here traversed by the Helmand which accounts for the importance which the narrow riverine belt along it has claimed as a safe passage for large tribal or military movements.

But before the Helmand terminates in the great marshes or Hāmūns of Sistān its abundant waters carry fertility to a wide belt of ground. This, owing to its considerable agricultural resources, must always have very closely affected migrations or campaigns directed towards India from Īrān. Sistān, or Drangiana, as it was known in Alexander's time, from the Old Persian designation of its population (the "Lake-dwellers," *Zarankā*), has always, as far as our historical records reach back, formed an integral part of Īrān. Here tradition located the homeland of those Kayanian kings and that great hero Rustam around whom cluster the chief epic legends of Īrān. Yet the very name of Sistān, derived from *Sakastanē*, the later Classical designation of the province, must remind us that the Iranian tribe of the Sakas, who established themselves here after leaving Turkistān about the second century B.C., were destined to provide rulers for centuries over wide territories of Western India.

The briefest reference will suffice here to the tracts, partly oases partly desert, which stretch north from Sistān to the Hari-rūd and Herāt, the chief place along it. They form the province which the Greeks called *Archia*, from the name *Haraiva* it bears in the Avesta and the Old-Persian inscriptions of Darius. This territory



was far removed from any direct contact with the Indian marches. But through it passed the most practicable line of advance towards the latter—just as it would now—from the north-east of Persia or the great plains of Turkistān beyond it. We know that Alexander followed this line on his way to Arachosia and the Paropanisus, or Hindukush, above Kābul before his invasion of the Panjāb. Considering the desert nature of most of the ground in that portion of Khorāsān which lies west of Sistān, it may be safely assumed that the route passing through Arcia or Herāt served also as the chief artery for whatever trade or other peaceful traffic linked the Panjāb with the great centres of Persia.

#### THE MAKRĀN AREA

It is time now for us to cast a rapid glance at the third and southernmost zone of the Indo-Iranian border region with which we are concerned. It lies to the south of the old highway which links Kandahār, the ancient Arachosia, with Sind on the lower Indus. Apart from the comparatively narrow belt of plain along the right bank of the Indus it corresponds to ancient Gedrosia, the poorest and least known of the provinces of the Achæmenian Empire. Politically it coincides in the east with the present Kalāt State, including British Makrān, and in the west with Persian Makrān. Within an area extending close on 500 miles from east to west and some 270 miles across, we find here a succession of barren mountain ranges. They extend in parallel curves with a general direction from north-east to south-west and gradually decrease in height as they approach the Arabian sea-coast. In the north there adjoins the sandy desert of the Helmand basin, and within there lie the equally barren if smaller drainageless basins of Khārān and Bampūr. The valleys intervening between the utterly sterile hill ranges are almost equally arid and hold rare scattered oases only where irrigation over small stretches of ground is possible. The extreme dryness of the climate permits only of the scantiest population, scarcely two souls per square mile within British territory and beyond it probably even less. The consequent want of local resources accounts for the sufferings and losses which attended the disastrous march of the force taken

by Alexander through Gedrosia. It equally beset also the voyage of his fleet along the forbidding coast of the Ikththyophagoi, or "fish-eaters."

### THE VEDIC HYMNS

However sketchy the acquaintance may be which we have gained in the course of this rapid survey of the border region between India and Īrān, it will make it easier for us to try and understand what information can be gleaned from our, alas, scanty materials as to the earliest developments and events which it witnessed. History in the true sense does not dawn upon the relations between India and Īrān until the middle of the sixth century B.C., when Cyrus, the founder of the great Persian Empire, extended his vast dominion to Gandhāra, including the whole Kābul valley.

For earlier periods, which must be counted prehistoric, we had until recent years to rely mainly upon what indications could be gathered from the hymns of the Rīgveda, the earliest literary product of Indian civilization and the oldest textual record to be found in the whole range of Indo-European languages. They have been preserved by tradition, entirely oral for centuries, with a care and formal precision which has no equal among the world's literatures. Since the study of that great collection of sacred hymns on critical lines was started more than a hundred years ago by great Sanskrit scholars in the West, it has yielded abundant information on the religious beliefs, cults, customs, social conditions, etc., prevailing among the earliest Aryan people settled in India.

I enjoyed the good fortune of becoming familiar with those ancient hymns at the very beginning of my philological training under the guidance of that great pioneer of Vedic studies, Professor Rudolf von Roth, fifty-six years ago. So there would be a distinct temptation for me here to review in retrospect the widely varying views held as to the period to which the composition of the older Rīgveda hymns may be assigned. To leave aside more speculative estimates, they have varied from the fifteenth to the eighth century B.C. But if in the absence of any definite chronological evidence no consensus on this question can be expected at



present, anyhow, there can be no doubt as to the Indo-Aryans of the Vedic period having been closely related in language and ethnic origin to those Aryans who gave their name to Īrān.

The language of the Vedic hymns shows nearest affinity with that of the Avesta, the sacred code of the Zoroastrian creed of Īrān. This applies particularly to its oldest portion, the Gāthās, which contain the utterances of Zoroaster, its founder. This justifies the inference that those who spoke that eastern Iranian language in its oldest accessible form, and to whom Zoroaster's teaching was directly addressed, had been in near contact at one time with those Aryans among whom the hymns of the Rigveda were composed. Zoroaster's date cannot as yet be considered as definitely determined, nor do his own Gāthās furnish any distinct indication of where he was born or preached. But other Avestic texts clearly prove early acquaintance with localities which belong to the region of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Thus the list of Iranian territories given in the first chapter of the Vendidad includes not merely *Haraēva*, Herāt, and the "*Haētumant* country," or Sistān, but also the Hapta-hindava, corresponding to the *Sapta sindhavah*, or "Seven Rivers," of the Rigveda. More significant still it is that in the Yashts, metric texts embodying much popular lore of Īrān, largely pre-Zoroastrian, we find mention made of *Pisinah*, the present Pishīn valley near Quetta, of localities which betoken familiarity with mountain tracts about Kābul and Peshawar as well as close acquaintance with smaller rivers of the Helmand basin.

There is no need to discuss here these interesting geographical indications, especially as I had occasion to deal with them in some detail when treating of the sacred Soma plant which has played an important part from very early times both in the Vedic ritual and in Zoroastrian cult. Instead I may turn at once to the definite geographical evidence which can be gathered from the hymns of the Rigveda as to the Aryan invaders of Northern India having been familiar with a considerable portion of the borderland along the present North-West Frontier long before they settled in the Panjāb, the "Land of the Five Rivers," where the bulk of those hymns was composed.

In a famous hymn of the Rigveda (x. 75) all the rivers of the Panjāb are mentioned in correct sequence from east to west from the Sutlej (Śutudru) right up to the *Kubhā*, the Kābul river. Together with them we find named the *Krumu* and *Gomati*, corresponding to the present Kurram and Gumal. Now these are both comparatively small rivers, except when sudden spates fill their beds, and their mention suggests such acquaintance with Waziristān and the adjacent valleys drained by them as only a recollection of their prolonged occupation by Aryan tribes in an early period is likely to account for. To the same conclusion points also the incidental mention in the Rigveda of two other small rivers of this border tract, the *Hariyūpā* and *Yavyāvati*. It has long ago been recognized that phonetic derivatives of their names are borne by the present Hariōb and Zhōb, the one a tributary of the Kurram and the other an affluent of the Gumal.

We have an indication further to west of the line which the Aryan invaders of India are likely to have followed. I refer to the Avestic name of the river *Harahvaiti*, the present Arghandāb, the Arachōtos of the Greeks. This tributary of the Helmand has given its Old-Persian name to the fertile tract of Kandahār through which it flows, and the Greeks accordingly called it Arachosia. *Harahvaiti* is the exact equivalent of the Vedic river name *Sarasvatī*, which prominently figures in the Rigveda hymns, with that regular phonetic change of *s* into *h* which distinguishes the Avestic language from Vedic Sanskrit. Whether any of the passages of the Rigveda, naming the *Sarasvatī*, actually refers to the *Harahvaiti*-Arghandāb, as has been supposed by some scholars, is doubtful. But the relation of the Avestic and Vedic river names is so close as to make it appear very probable that we have here a case of that transfer of river names which has been very common in the *topographia sacra* of India all through the ages.

#### THE ARYAN INVADERS

The ground we have touched here quite apart from its ancient designation has a distinct interest for the question concerning the migration which brought the Vedic Aryans into India. If we examine geographical conditions over the whole of the wide



region previously surveyed we must realize that there is no portion of it offering greater facilities for a great ethnic movement towards the Indian north-west than the valley of the Helmand and its northern affluents taken as a whole. From the old highway across the Khōjak and Bolān passes right up to the Kābul-Khyber line it gives access to a wide stretch of ground with quite a series of routes which would conveniently serve for a gradual advance of semi-nomadic tribes to the fertile plains on and beyond the Indus.

We may never know for certain from which side the Indo-Iranian border region was first entered by the then perhaps still undivided Aryan people. But whether their migration brought them from the open plains of what is now Russian Turkistān in the north or through Persia in the west, it is clear that the wide belt of open ground along Herāt, Sistān, and the Helmand valley on account of its physical conditions would have provided the easiest passage for expansion. Migration from the north-west is what the prevailing theory assumes for the move which separated the Aryan branch from the rest of the peoples speaking Indo-European languages. The fact that in a later period also Iranian tribes like the Sakas are still found in the region of the Oxus seems to support this assumption. But another line of migration, that from the west, cannot be ruled out altogether, since the discovery made in Hittite inscriptions of the fourteenth century B.C. has shown that divinities prominent in the hymns of the Rigveda were worshipped and certain Vedic words used by people settled in the Mitanni country adjacent to Northern Mesopotamia.

When so much as regards the period which saw the first arrival of Aryan tribes in the Indo-Aryan border region must remain conjectural, we must feel all the more grateful for the light which archaeological discoveries of recent years have thrown upon a far earlier prehistoric civilization in those parts. These discoveries have been made mainly in the last, and at first sight perhaps least promising, of the zones distinguished in our preceding survey.

They were due in the first place and chiefly to the extensive and most fruitful excavations which were conducted since 1922 under Sir John Marshall's direction at the great site of Mohenjo-daro

near the right bank of the Indus in Sind. The abundant remains brought to light from the ruins of a great prehistoric settlement revealed a highly advanced culture having flourished there in chalcolithic times. Ceramic wares and other relics of Mohenjo-daro from the start showed unmistakable affinity to corresponding antiquities of the earliest strata at Susa and other chalcolithic sites of ancient Elam. Through the discovery at Susa and at a few Mesopotamian sites of some seals engraved with characters of the as yet undeciphered "Indus Valley" script, as well as by other collateral evidence, it became possible for Sir John Marshall to determine that the ruins unearthed at Mohenjo-daro, and subsequently also at the similar site of Harappa far up in the Western Panjāb, date from a period comprising approximately the first and second quarters of the third millennium B.C. Through Sir John Marshall's and his collaborators' monumental publication the characteristics of the early "Indus civilization" have become widely known. It will hence suffice here to touch only in the briefest way upon a few essential points.

The comparatively high standard of material civilization attained there is attested by the solid construction of the houses, provided with baths, hypocausts, drains, etc., and the lay-out of paved streets. Metal crafts were fully developed and artistic skill displayed in small sculptures and engraved seals. Painted pottery of a superior kind is common. But perhaps the most striking discovery is the proof of the great antiquity of religious notions quite different from those of the earliest Vedic texts. They are manifestly pre-Aryan, but still predominant in the popular cults of India. Evidence of this is furnished by numerous objects, peculiar to Indian forms of worship, such as the Linga and Yoni and representations of the sacred bull; a Sivaitic god; the Śakti or mother goddess.

#### EXPEDITIONS OF 1927 AND 1928

It became obviously an important archæological task to trace the connection between this "Indus civilization" and the chalcolithic culture of those early sites in the Near East to which it was manifestly related. The systematic excavation of a small but very



interesting chalcolithic cemetery carried out by Mr. Hargreaves in 1925 at Nāl, in the Kalāt State, showed what reward might await a more extensive search to the west of the Indus. Already, in 1916, at the close of my third Central Asian expedition, I had come at wind-eroded sites of the Sistān desert upon painted pottery showing unmistakable relationship to chalcolithic ware both of Susa and of Anau in Transcaspiā. Thus the task of searching for other links between those earliest known cultures of India and Īrān, using the latter term in its widest sense, across the vast and as yet archæologically unexplored region intervening between the Indus valley and the head of the Persian Gulf, made a special quasi-personal appeal to me.

I was fortunately enabled to carry out this task as far as the westernmost border of British territory by two long expeditions undertaken in the years 1927 and 1928 on behalf of the Indian Archæological Survey. Their results have been fully recorded in my reports: "*An Archæological Tour in Waziristān and Northern Balūchistān*" and "*An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia*," and only briefest reference to them need be made here.

The first of those two journeys allowed me to trace and test by trial excavations a considerable number of prehistoric sites, first along the foot of the Waziristān hills overlooking the Indus and then in the valleys of Zhōb and Pishīn within Northern Balūchistān. On the second journey, covering a still more extensive area in British Makrān, I was able to discover and survey remains of chalcolithic settlements at close on four score sites right up to the Persian frontier on the shore of the Arabian Sea. Trial excavations at the most important of all the sites scattered over an area of roughly 650 miles from north-east to south-west and some 250 miles across where widest in the south, proved the essential unity of the civilization which existed during chalcolithic times in this great portion of the border region between India and Īrān. At a number of sites the great height of the mounds, together with the uniform character of the finds in their debris layers, proved prolonged occupation during this period. At some sites the abundance of terra-cotta figurines of the Brahmani bull and the mother goddess seemed to indicate the extension of a cult

similar to that proved for Mohenjo-daro and essentially Indian as far west as the present Perso-Indian frontier.

But of still greater interest perhaps in its general and geographical bearing is the fact that many of those sites are found on ground where the great aridity of the climate coupled with the inadequacy or total absence of surface water would nowadays preclude regular cultivation and the existence of considerable settled communities. Yet such are definitely indicated at a number of sites by ruins marking small towns with stone-built houses, etc.

Plentiful evidence is thus afforded of Makrān and probably most of Balūchistān having in chalcolithic times, say, in the fourth and third millennia B.C., been less arid than it now is. This observation has its special interest in connection with the much-discussed question of "desiccation." If this has been local, as I am inclined to believe in parts of Central Asia also, it may here well be accounted for by some change in the direction and extent of the south-west monsoon. This question can be touched here only in passing. But mention must be made of the plain fact that the great hardships and losses suffered by Alexander's troops on their disastrous march from the mouth of the Indus clearly prove the wastes of Gedrosia having been then already as arid as they now are.

#### LATER EXPEDITIONS

Since my retirement from the Indian Archæological Survey in 1929 I have been able by four successive expeditions, the first two effected with the help of Harvard University and the British Museum and the third with that of the British School in Iraq, to continue my archæological reconnaissances from the south-western extremity of British Makrān right through the length of Southern Persia to Kurdistān. The first of these journeys took me across Persian Makrān, the western portion of the zone with which I have been dealing. The observations and finds made here at chalcolithic sites fully bore out the significance of those on the British side of the frontier. But curiously enough the terra-cotta figurines pointing to notions of Indian cult were nowhere to be found at such sites. The evidence secured by the



explorations of all these journeys in the great provinces of Kermān, Fārs, Khūzistān, Kermānshāh, right up to Kurdistān, left no doubt about an essentially uniform chalcolithic civilization having prevailed wherever physical conditions permitted of settled life.

The possibility of peaceful traffic and trade between India and the Near East across Īrān may therefore be assumed even in those early times. But this leaves us still far from any definite clue as to where that prehistoric civilization originally developed; whether Īrān saw its first growth or whether it served then as it so often did in historical times as a kind of clearing-house for cultural influences. Where my travels took me along the shore of the Arabian Sea and the desolate coast of the Persian Gulf, I searched in vain for any relics of a maritime trade in prehistoric times between the Indus valley and Mesopotamia. Yet proofs of maritime intercourse from the early Islamic period onwards were found in abundance. But the subsidence of this coast, as proved by my observations at certain points, deprives this negative evidence of such value as might be attached to it otherwise.

Of all the ethnic movements across the Indo-Iranian border region, the one which brought the Aryan tribes speaking Vedic Sanskrit to the Indus and the Panjāb is bound to have the greatest claim upon our interest owing to the far-reaching and lasting character of its results. It belongs, as we have seen, wholly to prehistory, and unfortunately archæology has up to the present failed to throw light on this period. Nowhere has the ground visited on my journeys yielded remains filling the wide chronological gap between the chalcolithic mounds traced in such abundance and the burial sites found in numerous places of Balūchistān and Makrān which date at the earliest from the last centuries before our era. Not until sites abandoned much later than Mohenjodaro have been explored can we hope to learn of the actual state of civilization prevailing in the Indus valley and beyond at the time of the Aryan invasion. Meanwhile we may be content with what observations as to the physical character of the ground adjoining those fertile plains on the west and historical parallels can teach us.

## CHANGING CIVILIZATIONS

Even though that ground may have been less arid about the time of the Aryan conquest than it now is, the limited area capable of cultivation must have caused the invaders while they held it to lead a health-giving semi-nomadic life in the hills. Hardened by it, they are likely to have been tempted to supplement their scanty resources, mainly pastoral, by raids on the settled agricultural people of the plains, just as are their Pathān successors on the present north-west border. That settled population are not likely to have been their equals in virility and physical strength, though probably superior in most things that make up culture. Civilization in the Indus valley by that time may well have sunk below the level which the remains of Mohenjo-daro have disclosed. Civilizations, as we know, are apt to have their ups and downs. But however that may have been, we must in view of subsequent developments credit the race which succumbed to the Aryan invasion with having possessed the same remarkable capacity for absorbing and digesting foreign conquerors as Hinduism has displayed through most historical phases.

This process had, no doubt, far advanced when historical light breaks upon the extreme north-west of India with the conquest by Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) of Gandhāra as recorded by Classical authors. This province forming the eastern limit of the vast empire created by the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty must on geographical grounds be assumed to have included not merely the Peshawar district, to which the term was restricted in later times, but the whole Kābul valley and the territories to the south of it. This conquest was further expanded when Darius, probably after 516 B.C., added the "Indian" province to Gandhāra. This latter is referred to in his inscriptions at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam also under a name corresponding to the Paropanisus of the Greeks—*i.e.*, the Hindukush. As the "Indian" province is named by Herodotus as the most populous division of the empire paying the highest annual tribute, it is safe to assume that it included territories on both sides of the Indus down to Sind.



Both Gandharians and "Indians" are named by Herodotus in the list of contingents provided by subject nations for the Persian army which accompanied Xerxes, Darius' successor, on the ill-fated expedition against Greece in 480 B.C. The dress and armaments of Gandharians and "Indians" are described by Herodotus much as these can still be seen among the tribute-bearing figures shown in the fine relievo panels flanking the stairs of the huge terrace which bears the palaces of the Kings of Kings at Persepolis and now, thanks to Professor Herzfeld's excavations, has been completely cleared. As justly stated by the late Professor Rapson, "At no period in early history probably were the means of communication by land more open, or the conditions more favourable for the interchange of ideas between India and the West."

#### THE PERSIAN SATRAPS

Unfortunately no definite archæological testimony has so far come to light of the influence which this Persian domination lasting for fully two centuries had exercised in these provinces. Here as elsewhere in the vast dominion of the Achæmenian dynasty direct control must be assumed to have been exercised by Persian Satraps. Their administrative staffs and troops are likely to have been largely recruited from the western portions of the Empire. But there is no reason to believe that the indigenous civilization prevailing in those two provinces was materially affected thereby. From the analogy of what little can be gathered from scattered references to them in the next succeeding period it may be safely concluded that their civilization remained essentially Indian.

We know that Greeks found frequent employment at the imperial court and at the courts of the Persian Satraps. But apart from fragments of the writings of Ktesias, which mainly reproduce folklore stories about India gathered through such channels, nothing has survived of contemporary Greek information relating to this portion of the Achæmenian Empire. On the Indian side we must be content with the fact that Gandhāra is named in very early Sanskrit literature and in Buddhist texts among the countries of India, and that Śālātūra, the traditional birthplace of Pāṇini,

the earliest of the great Sanskrit grammarians, can be safely located at Lāhōr in the Peshawar district.

The hold of the later Achæmenian Kings of Kings over these outlying provinces in the east is likely to have gradually slackened. But when Alexander started on his Indian campaign, the most celebrated of all invasions of India and the oldest of which we possess detailed accounts, he found them still forming, nominally at least, a part of the great Persian Empire to which he laid claim as his heritage by the right of conquest. He first approached them on his march towards Bactria through Areia-Herāt, Drangiana-Sistān, and Arachosia-Kandahār, those territories of the Indo-Iranian border region to which I have referred before as providing the natural highway and base for any great ethnic or military move into India. When Alexander's march brought him from Arachosia or Kandahār across snow-covered uplands to the foot of the "Indian Caucasus"—*i.e.*, the Hindukush—we find that the inhabitants of that territory, also spoken of as people of the Paropanisus, are significantly described by Arrian (*Anabasis*, III., 28) as "the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians."

It was in this territory, corresponding to the present Kābul, that Alexander on his return from the arduous campaigns in Bactria and Sogdiana prepared for the invasion which was to carry him across the Western Panjāb as far as the Beās. To follow the great conqueror there would take us far beyond the region with which we are concerned here. Nor need I deal here with Alexander's hard-fought advance across the mountains to the north of the Kābul river. I have shown elsewhere how it led through the Kūnar valley, Bajaur, and Swāt and, after the memorable capture of the great mountain stronghold of Aornos, ultimately brought him to the Indus. It will be enough to state that the valiant hill tribes with whom the Macedonians had so hard a struggle on this difficult ground are always described by Alexander's historians as Indians. They may well have been Dardic-speaking predecessors of those trans-border Pathāns who have figured so often on the same ground in modern North-West Frontier campaigns.

It has been my good fortune to have been able on this ground



to trace much of Alexander's track to the Indus. Beyond it, too, I could visit scenes both on Indian and Iranian soil which once had witnessed great events of Alexander's wonderful story. But by the Indus we have now reached the limits set for this discourse and interesting as it would be to scan later phases in the history of those marches I must leave it as "another story."

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 16, 1937, when a paper entitled "Early Relations between India and Irān" (illustrated by lantern slides) was read by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are indeed exceptionally fortunate to have persuaded Sir Aurel Stein to come and deliver a lecture this afternoon upon the "Early Relations between India and Irān."

I think it is just over a quarter of a century since I had the pleasure of being conducted over the Museum at Peshawar by Sir Aurel Stein and shown round the stupa of King Kanishka somewhere about the year 1911. Before that time Sir Aurel Stein had carried out great journeys of exploration in Central Asia, covering the Takla Makan Desert and surrounding districts. Subsequent to that time he had opportunities of carrying out similar journeys of exploration practically throughout the whole of the country which runs from the Pamirs to the Persian Gulf, with the single exception perhaps of Afghānistān. That great block of territory is one of extraordinary interest, partly because until sea power opened up the broad highway of the ocean, the gateway into India was situated in the rugged defiles of that country. We generally think of the Kābul river valley as the actual gateway into India, but, as Sir Aurel Stein will probably make clear this afternoon, that was not necessarily by any means the only gateway into North-West India. There is, for example, the valley of the Helmand river.

And he will also probably tell us that the geographical features of what is today, I am bound to say (for I have crossed it myself and I know something of it), a very desert tract of country—namely, Balūchistān and British and Persian Makrān—was at one time a very different country, much more fertile, with a much greater rainfall than it has today. In those circumstances it may well be, and discoveries have shown that it probably was the case, that there was a great passage of cultural communication between the peoples of Irān and the peoples of India along that great tract of territory.

But I must not forestall what the lecturer proposes to say to us. Let me therefore with great pleasure call on Sir Aurel Stein to give us his address.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a most interesting lecture on a most interesting part of the world. Happily it does not give rise to controversy in the sense in which we are accustomed to using the word controversy—namely, political controversy. But it is possible it may give rise to some controversy in so far as the conclusions which have been derived by the lecturer from his excavations and his studies are concerned.

I think we have present Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum, and if



so I dare say he might be willing to make some observations on the subject-matter of the lecture.

MR. SIDNEY SMITH: As you will fully appreciate, it is a little difficult to speak on a paper like that of Sir Aurel Stein. It deals with the subject which he has studied during a long lifetime of travel and research, and nobody could be expected to controvert his statements. I have only the right to speak in that in my department are now stored the relics that he has brought back to stay in this country from the journeys of which he has spoken.

The relics, so far as I am concerned, are of that chalcolithic civilization, which he described very rightly as uniform over this enormous tract of country which is Iranian territory. That civilization dates back to a very remote antiquity. He referred to it as being connected with the earliest civilization we know in Susiana. Recent researches both in Mesopotamia and in Western Persia have given us some inkling of the historic relations of the earliest civilization of Susa with actual history, and it seems extremely probable—though the estimation of age must always be a matter of guess-work—that a great deal of pottery which is related to what we call Susa I., the earliest civilization at Susa, goes back to a remote date in the fifth millennium.

You are then dealing with a time which for all practical purposes goes far beyond any kind of history we can ever hope to recover. But Sir Aurel Stein has recovered the tangible proofs of a connection right across Persia from west to east. He has shown you some of the terra-cotta figurines and some of the pottery that he has brought back, and which, owing to the generosity of the Iranian Government, we can keep as examples in this country for the use of European scholars. We owe a debt to the Iranian Government that I should like to underline for this generosity, at a time when other Governments in the Near East are betraying a more curmudgeonous attitude.

It is a remarkable thing that this civilization should be so uniform over so large an area. We must expect from further excavations that we shall find differences. We hope that excavations now being conducted in Western Persia by the French and by the Americans may serve to throw light both on the differences and the uniformity.

But the point where I may perhaps be allowed to introduce a note of controversy—not with Sir Aurel Stein naturally, and also not political—is here: there is nothing being done on the eastern side. Sir Aurel Stein has not mentioned the fact that since Sir John Marshall's excavations there has been one more attempt to throw light on this matter from the side of the Indus valley. Dr. Mackay, who was engaged at Mohenjo-daro, was enabled by American enterprise to go out to India again to dig another site at Chanha-daro, containing valuable archæological evidence of a period later than that represented at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. And there is no doubt in his opinion, and I believe in Sir John Marshall's, that money spent on other sites in the Indus valley would enable us to trace this civilization down to a much later period than we can at present hope to understand from the remains we have.

That is a very serious call, and it is a call that must primarily rest on the Government, central or local or whichever may be responsible, in India. This is not a time when research should be held up for the lack of spending a few hundred pounds in excavation. You may say perhaps, "What right have you to expect that at a time when money is needed for other purposes, more urgent, it should be spent on mere digging, which may not produce results?" My answer would be that we know results must come, because we have an astonishing fact about the seals of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, another queer puzzle which we cannot resolve without further remains dug out by the spade. You have there the amazing fact of a writing found in the Indus valley being found also on seals from sites in Mesopotamia. When Professor Sayce, who first pointed out this resemblance, published it, he was laughed at. It was considered an impossibility that there should be this connection. That deduction has been proved to the hilt by seals that Sir Leonard Woolley and Dr. Frankfort have found since that time. But the seals found in Mesopotamia are not the same seals that are found in India. They are different in form. They have the general form of the Mesopotamian seals, not of the seals of the Indus valley. We can date those seals. They belong to the period between 3000 and 2500 B.C.

Somewhere or other there must be a third centre. Excavation in the Indus valley may yet reveal where that third centre was, and I would urge as strongly as may be that we should all take from Sir Aurel Stein's lecture this one message, that his work entails, requires, necessitates excavation, and especially excavation on the Indus side of the border.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: It is a great pleasure to all his old friends who are assembled here to see Sir Aurel Stein among us again, and it is a still greater pleasure to find he has come back so hale and hearty from his forty years in the wilderness. I think I can claim to be one of his oldest friends. It is about fifty years since we first met at Lahore, and looking at him today I feel inclined to ask, "How do you keep that school-girl complexion?"

I next met him at Peshawar when he was equipping himself for that famous and memorable expedition into Chinese Turkistān. I helped towards that equipment. I sold him a horse. Thereby hangs a tale. I had bought that horse from a fellow-Irishman—a very foolish thing to do. He was a beautiful Arab to look at, but could neither gallop nor leap, and I wanted him to do both. What was I to do? I sold him to Sir Aurel Stein. I have no doubt, I hope at all events, that he carried Sir Aurel from Peshawar over the roof of the world into Turkistān—but I have never ventured to enquire.

That is thirty-five years ago, and in those thirty-five years of almost unbroken travel, think what Sir Aurel has accomplished, all under the most dreary, dismal conditions in the darkest corners of the world. He has surveyed the world, if not from China to Peru, at least from China to the borders of Arabia. He has thrown fresh light on some of the most difficult problems of history, ethnology, and archaeology: he has made the past live again. He has gained a world-wide reputation, not only for the extent and the thoroughness of his investigations, but for their scientific accuracy.



We have had ample proof of it here this afternoon, when the representative of the British Museum has told us he could not challenge anything Sir Aurel Stein has put forward.

Therefore Sir Aurel might boast *Guae regio in Asia nostri non plena laboris*, but he is too modest to say that. As an explorer he stands on the same plane as Marco Polo, whose footsteps he has so often retraced.

Now, having accomplished so much, perhaps like his hero Alexander, he is pining for fresh worlds to conquer. In that connection I would like to quote what was said the other day at the conclusion of a leader in *The Times*, a very appreciative leader. It ends with this sentence: "What will be the next voyage of discovery of this veteran scholar, explorer and archæologist, who will keep his seventy-fifth birthday a fortnight from today?"

My answer to that would be, "Call a halt. Do not listen again to the call of the wilds. You have left no fresh worlds to be conquered. Remember the advice of the poet and crown 'a life of labour with an age of ease.'" Sir Aurel has had a life of labour. Surely it is time now for him to seek an age at least of comparative ease.

I have no doubt that is foreign to his indomitable energy, but I venture to appeal to you, my lord, who can speak in the twofold capacity of an explorer yourself and as the head of the Government of India which has done so much to forward Sir Aurel's achievements and of which he was so distinguished a servant, to use your influence to dissuade him from going back again to the wilderness. We want him here at home.

Sir FIRŌZ KHAN NOON (High Commissioner for India): The only excuse that I have in offering a few remarks is my desire to acknowledge the great service that Sir Aurel has rendered to the East, and particularly to my country. His writings, and the results of the discoveries of Sir John Marshall, have infused a new spirit of pride of race in the peoples of Northern India. Before these discoveries we ourselves did not realize what a grand past the Panjāb and North-Western India had. They have shown us that our civilization is one of the oldest that can be found anywhere in the world, and that is a feeling which is likely to help any people to make further struggles to live up to their reputation. To you it may be a case of reading an attractive novel or an interesting book from the literary point of view, but to us who have come from the Panjāb every line that Sir Aurel has written about his travels and discoveries has a special appeal. I assure you that when I received his book I did not want to stop till I had finished the whole of it from beginning to end. That just shows the kind of interest that we from the north take in his discoveries.

I am certain that his work not only will go down in history as a great achievement, but also will prove an incentive to our people to carry forward the torch which he has lit and shown to us.

My friend Mr. Sidney Smith was pleased to remark that he was dissatisfied with things at the other end, referring probably to my Government. Let me mention for his information that the Government of India takes the deepest interest in these archæological discoveries made by Sir John Marshall

and Sir Aurel Stein. He knows as well as I do that all the discoveries made at Taxilla near Rawalpindi, at Harappa in Montgomery district, and at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have been financed by the Government of India, and they still continue to take the deepest interest in these discoveries.

Only recently I met one of our young Indians, a member of the Indian Archaeological Department, who has come over here to make further studies and no doubt learn wisdom from Mr. Sidney Smith and the Museum with which he is identified, and who will go back all the better fitted to continue his work. I can assure Mr. Smith that as far as the people and the Government of India are concerned, they will not be lacking in generosity to this great work begun by Sir Aurel Stein and Sir John Marshall.

Apart from these discoveries that Sir Aurel has made, there are certain other things which are of very great importance to us in the Panjāb. We know that certain parts of the Panjāb and Sind are very arid and full of deserts, and from his writings we discover that probably the course of the monsoon has changed.

He also hints that the fact that some of these flourishing towns along the south coast of Persia and Makrān have become desert is because of the change in climate. It may be that climate has a great deal to do with it, but we also know in the Panjāb that there were certain very flourishing towns along the banks of the rivers which are now more or less derelict, towns like Leah in Muzaffargarh district and Pind Dadan Khan in the Jhelum district, because of the advent of railway and motor traffic.

These towns flourished because all the trade was carried by means of rivers, although they are situated practically in the heart of desert and very rocky lands where there is no cultivation at all. It may be that the route to India along the sea coast was the cause of the flourishing condition of those towns. Sometimes it is the change in the course of rivers which brings desolation to a country. In the Panjāb we know that the River Saraswātī comes out from the Simla Hills and gradually disappears in the desert. It used to be a very fast river; it is now a small stream. Also the State of Bahawalpur used to have a river flowing through it, and the bones of some of the animals that live in marshes have been discovered there. Now it is all desert.

In the Panjāb there have been canals previously. Along the routes of the canals which are being built now we have discovered the ruins of ancient canals and towns.

I wish I had been in my village when Sir Aurel passed through it. I was pleased to read that he inspected a mound near my home. But there are many mounds like it which show there was a civilization in the Panjāb centuries ago, and there were canals and irrigations, and yet they have gone into desolation.

His discoveries and researches have given us in the Panjāb food for thought as to whether the new canals we have constructed may not have the same fate some day unless we take measures to prevent waterlogging. It is a very interesting subject, and we all want to study Sir Aurel's books line by line. I only wish to say that we are deeply indebted to him for all that he has done. He went out for archaeological studies, for the love of literature



and art, and did not go to discover a gold mine in South Africa or a copper mine in Mexico and so enrich himself.

I am sure his pleasure and pride in his work is no less than that of people like Columbus and other great discoverers. I offer him a very hearty vote of thanks on behalf of the East, and particularly on behalf of my country, which is so interested in his work. One of the most important things he has mentioned in his book is his new theory about the spot on the Jhelum river from whence Alexander crossed in order to fight the famous battle with the King of Northern India. The well-acknowledged historical fact that Alexander was defeated by the Panjābis and turned his back on the Panjāb fills us with a very great sense of pride. That will partly explain why the Panjāb is called the sword arm of India and why our soldiers gave such good account of themselves on the European battlefields during the Great War.

The CHAIRMAN: There is only a word or two which I would like to add. As I listened to Mr. Sidney Smith it began to dawn upon my mind that it might have to be my task to defend the Government of India against a charge of parsimony in the matter of excavation at the eastern end of the great tract of country which has been described to us this afternoon. But I have been largely relieved of that task by Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who has reminded you of all that the Government of India have, in fact, done in the interest of archaeological exploration.

It is quite true that during recent years it has been difficult in India, as in many other countries, to find money for many purposes which we should all like to see financed. If Mr. Sidney Smith had the daily experience which falls to my lot, of considering all the projects for which money is required in India, he would appreciate rather better, I think, the difficulties with which the Governments in India at the present time are faced in the matter of providing money for matters of this kind.

But let me assure him that I take note of what he has said, and that in so far as I am in these days able to exercise influence upon the distribution of the revenues of India, I shall bear very closely in mind what he has said. (Applause.)

But there is one comment which I should like to make upon the subject-matter of Sir Aurel Stein's lecture, because it has always seemed to me to be a matter of extraordinary interest.

We all remember, I suppose, the sensation which was created by the discovery some fifteen years ago of the remains of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. It is quite clear, I think, from the finds which have been made there, that much of the symbolism of the Hindu religions of the present day is derived from this much earlier civilization which preceded by many, many centuries the incursion of the Aryans into India. Sir Aurel Stein, as a result of his researches during recent years, has been able to show that the probability is that a great expanse of chalcolithic civilization extended the whole way from Susa in Persia to the Panjāb in India. Perhaps some of his most fascinating discoveries have been the outcome of the excavations which he has been able to make in Makrān, both British and Persian Makrān, indicating the probability that that was so.

I hope that research on those lines will be continued, for I have always myself found that after the question, "Why am I here at all?" one of the most interesting questions is, "Who was here before me?" And I have always experienced a feeling of fascination in the discoveries which are made by the archaeologists, showing what sort of races and what sort of cultures and civilizations were actually in existence on this planet four or five thousand years ago.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, may I call upon Sir Malcolm Seton to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for the extraordinarily interesting lecture which he has given us.

SIR MALCOLM SETON, K.C.B.: It is a very great pleasure to be allowed to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for his fascinating paper.

Most of us, I think, know something of his books, and, like the High Commissioner for India, have been enthralled by the accounts that he has given of the results of his explorations. He has had a wonderful career, and we are delighted to see him so hale and hearty at the end of such a splendid record of achievement.

For myself I have no views, controversial or otherwise, about the chalcolithic civilization, but when one thinks of the amount that Sir Aurel Stein has been able to discover of the civilization and the culture that existed towards 3000 B.C., the ordinary layman feels rather like the legendary lady who, on being taken round an observatory by a distinguished astronomer and told some figures about the stars and their distances, said, "But if they are such distances away, how can you see to read their names?"

Sir Aurel Stein's vision has penetrated to a good deal of the past, and we are greatly indebted to him for spending a day of his leisure in coming to speak to us, and I wish to echo what the High Commissioner said, that we are really grateful to him.

May I at the same time include in the vote of thanks the name of the Secretary of State for India, who so kindly presided over our meeting. The Association owes a great deal to Lord Zetland for his unfailing interest, and I am sure it needs no eloquence from me to persuade you to pass the double vote of thanks. (Applause.)

SIR AUREL STEIN said: I have to thank Lord Zetland and those who very kindly spoke after my lecture from the depth of my heart for the encouraging words I have heard.

I confess I have enjoyed all these travels, and in spite of the warning of my much admired and cherished friend, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, I cannot altogether promise to live in retirement. But I can promise him that I shall try to keep away from distant "true" deserts and restrict myself to a narrower zone perhaps not so far away to keep me half-way between England and the Panjāb which I love. That sort of oscillation will perhaps allow me to continue for a few years more to do the work to which I have been attached all my life.

It has been a very great pleasure to me to hear the words of the High Commissioner for India, and to realize that I have been moving rather near



to his own home. If I had been aware of it, I should not have failed to pay a visit to that village.

It is a fascinating country, and it is in the Panjāb that I have made my earliest and perhaps some of my very best friends.

Thank you very much for the encouragement you have given me by listening to a long paper.

## SOME IMPRESSIONS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY S. H. WOOD

(Director of the Department of Intelligence and Public Relations,  
Board of Education, England.)

I NEED not assure you—and yet I do assure you—that I have no intention of posing as an authority on India in virtue of having spent rather less than four months in Delhi, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. It was through no design on my part either that I went to India or that I am addressing you today. Indeed, when I was invited to visit that country I had very grave doubts whether my qualifications and experience were relevant to Indian educational problems; and as for addressing members of this Association, I realized when I accepted the invitation that the majority, if not the whole, of my audience would be more familiar with India than I am.

But having disavowed any claim to a profound knowledge of India, I ought also to confess that my short experience of that country does not lead me to believe in the existence of a vast unbridgeable gulf separating East from West. I think some nonsense is talked on that subject, more particularly by Englishmen. At first I was impressed by the remark, "Ah, my friend, the longer I live in India, the less I understand the country." But presently I began to wonder whether it might not be a mere *cliché*, and, in some cases, evidence of a shallow mind. Social inheritance, religious convictions and customs, climatic conditions and geographical structure, and a host of other factors have a profound influence on mankind; but even so, men are men, women are women, and, what is more important from the point of view of my remarks today, children are children the world over. If the stomach of the Indian peasant is to be distinguished from that of the English agricultural labourer, it is chiefly by



the fact that the former more often than the latter lacks sufficient food for its satisfaction. And Indian children, like children elsewhere, are potentially full of fun and are intellectually curious; and, moreover, they have a daily need of physical activity and play. If they too often appear otherwise it is because malnutrition, disease, or customs weigh heavily upon them and subdue those interests and activities which are characteristic of the young in every human society.

In case some of my remarks are regarded as provocative, let me say, in good civil service fashion, that they commit no one but myself. In particular they must not be taken as representing the views either of my colleague, Mr. Abbott, or of the Board of Education, whose servant I am. I was not sent by the Board of Education to report on Indian education, and I made no report to them. I was recommended by the Board to the Government of India as a person suitable to accompany Mr. Abbott—and to look after him—on his mission to study and report upon the problem of vocational education in that country. My contribution to the joint Report which we submitted to the Government of India was very short, and might even be regarded as a sort of impertinence, because it dealt with general education and administration, upon which we were not specifically asked to comment. This present occasion, which I regard as a great honour, gives me an opportunity of making some observations which limitations of space and other considerations prevented my incorporating in the Report.

#### A MULTITUDE OF PROBLEMS

I begin by recording a list of the problems which make education in India a very complicated affair. I divide the list into two parts: first, problems of a kind which to a greater or lesser degree face all countries that are attempting to establish a national system of education; and second, those which are peculiar to India, or at any rate do not complicate the issues in England.

In the first list I put poverty with its inevitable consequences: malnutrition and disease, which in their turn result in poor physique, intellectual apathy and a sluggish response to educational influences. If I could call down two, and only two, bless-

ings on India, like manna from heaven, they would be more food and a school medical service. There are also the number, the isolation, and the smallness of village communities which make rural education troublesome to organize and costly to provide. Difficulties also inevitably arise from a policy of decentralization of power to local authorities—bodies consisting largely of inexperienced people who must go through the stage of learning, and learning by mistakes, how to perform their duties. There are also the problems inherent in any system which must articulate the work of statutory authorities with that of voluntary associations. Finally, in this first list, I put the tendency of administrators and teachers alike to regard education as so much instruction to be conveyed to children as though it were a species of food or clothing. In reality education consists largely of experience, activity, the acquisition of knowledge and reflection upon it, which children must themselves achieve in co-operation with one another, though, of course, under the stimulus and guidance of their teachers.

I could dwell on these more or less universal difficulties, but it would probably be more useful if I were to explore some of those which arise from circumstances, conventions, or traditions which are peculiar to India. I will limit myself to two or three of them. The multiplicity of vernaculars and communal differences, amounting sometimes to communal antagonisms, account for many troubles. There is the fact that government from the centre is promulgated, and business to a large extent is conducted, in a language which is not the language of the people. Finally there are the disastrous consequences arising from the twin problems—for they are inseparable—of illiteracy and the position of women, which brood over India like a vast cloud whose ominous shadow falls everywhere and obscures everything.

#### ILLITERACY

I will take these twin problems first. I do so not only because of their supreme importance, but because they enable me to begin at the foundation of education—namely, the care and training of infants. If any of you have read the Report, to which I have



already referred, you may charge me with not having taken illiteracy seriously enough. Let me quote part of that paragraph which is headed "Concentration on Literacy a Mistake":

"It has been impressed on us from many quarters that the main purpose of primary education is to secure permanent literacy. We regard this as an unbalanced view of the purpose of education at any stage; and even if we accepted it we could not subscribe to the present method of attempting to secure literacy. Literacy, like happiness, is not achieved by pursuing it as a narrow objective. It is a bye-product of satisfying activities."

I do not withdraw a word of that; but I will elaborate it in relation to that other problem—the position of women in India.

How, in fact, can literacy be achieved? And by literacy I do not mean a child's ability at any particular stage of the school course to read and write, but his actual use of reading, writing, speaking and listening, for purposes which are significant to him, to his family, or to his fellows. Such literacy can be achieved only by the co-operation of school and home; and, if the school is a day-school, the home must be the major partner if the result is to be something of permanent value. But what sort of a partner can the home be if the woman in it is herself illiterate and unresponsive to educational influences? The schools may attack illiteracy with persistent zeal, but they will make little impression on it until the women of India have that minimum of emancipation which comes from a measure of education. The present fight against illiteracy is heartbreaking, but not only because of the lack of responsive mothers in the home.

#### THE TEACHING OF LITTLE CHILDREN

Broadly speaking, the education of young children from five to seven years of age in Northern India (I am speaking of boys only) is wholly entrusted to men. I was arrogant enough to say in India, and I say here, that I think I should make quite a good infant teacher—but only for a fortnight. The education of the very young is concerned not only with formal instruction in reading, writing, and reckoning, but with physical care and the formation of good habits, and with widening experience through activities which, however vigorous, are childish in their simplicity. It is a woman's job. It demands her patience and her under-

standing; and it involves her willingness sometimes, in Rousseau's phrase, to lose and not to gain time. I say this while being fully aware of a modern tendency, in some quarters, to favour a kind of he-man education of little boys. If a society entrusts the education of its infants to men, and at the same time impresses on those men that the objective of primary schools is to achieve literacy, the result should not surprise anyone; and that result is, in a great many schools, long, tedious hours of arid study unrelieved by the play, the fun and the activity which, to put it no higher, are a biological necessity for young children. And literacy does not result, because literacy springs from interest and not from boredom.

There are about 50,000 women teachers, many of them trained, at work in educational institutions of all grades in India. Mainly, of course, they are in girls' schools, many of which admit boys to the infant classes; and some are in mixed primary schools. I saw enough of women teachers in charge of little children of both sexes to know that, like their sisters in other countries, the young women of India are potentially capable of discharging, and with training would in fact successfully discharge, a task which is not now and never will be adequately performed by men. I believe that with ingenuity and determination the number of trained women teachers could be fairly rapidly multiplied, and something could thus be done to substitute liveliness for the joylessness which so generally pervades the education of little boys. I know there are immense difficulties, not the least of which is that it is not always safe for women, without protection, to work in the villages. This difficulty only serves to emphasize the paramount importance of the education of women. For, as I said in the Report,

"Educated women are one of the most powerful factors in civilizing men; and it is sometimes the manners of men which make the employment of women in schools and elsewhere so hazardous an undertaking, particularly in rural areas."

In short, there must be more women teachers in the schools, and more women with at least a minimum of education in the homes of India before there can be any hope either of dispersing



this menacing cloud of illiteracy or of giving children what is their due.

Someone may, with fairness, say that I have overlooked one crucial consideration. In Northern India, at any rate, men very largely outnumber women; and as marriage, and early marriage at that, is in India more than in other countries the objective of women, so is it also an achievable objective. How, then, are infant schools generally to be staffed with women if so many of them marry and have family responsibilities at a comparatively early age? If this be a true estimate, not only of the present position, but of the future also—as to which I am not competent to judge—I confess that I see no solution of the problem of the suitable care and training of young children so long as infant schools continue so consistently to take a shape imported from other countries.

But when I picture a village infant school as what it ideally ought to be—namely, an institution which the community itself evolves because of its concern for the care of the young, and which it insists on managing on a co-operative basis because the school touches each family at a vulnerable point—then can I just see the possibility, in the distant future, of Indian village communities, here and there, trying out experiments which might set an educational example to the world. In plain words, if in some substantial village community the education of girls became widespread and more of the young women, both before and after marriage, were trained in the rudiments of the care of young children, it might be possible for a school for the infants of the village to be conducted under the control of one directing full-time teacher—possibly even a man—with the aid of some of the girls as yet unmarried, and, on a part-time basis, of some of the mothers for the benefit and delight of whose children it was brought into being. This would be a contribution indeed, and a specifically Indian contribution, to educational thought and practice. A fantastic proposition? So is it fantastic to entrust the education of countless children between five and seven years of age to institutions where never a woman is to be found on the premises from dawn to dusk.

I am not suggesting that the moment you get women into the boys' infant schools all will be well. I know that many women who take up teaching are bad teachers, and that some few men have a positive genius for dealing with babies. Nor would I wish to give you the impression that I am arrogant enough to think that I appreciate the full significance, either on the debit or the credit side, of the position of women in India and particularly of their position in the home. I can only say that my limited experience leads me to the conviction that a good future for India is inextricably bound up with what I can only call the emancipation of her women.

Before I leave the question of illiteracy let me emphasize again that education is concerned with more than mere intellectual attainments. If there be such a thing as literacy of the mind, there is also a "literacy" of the body, the hand, the eye, and the ear; and supremely important, elusive though it be, a "literacy" of the spirit. I know that man is a unity, but I stress his threefold nature because, to judge from many of the schools of India, one might almost be led to believe that he was a disembodied mind, or, more anæmic still, a disembodied memory.

#### THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

I come now to the complications which arise from communal differences and the variety of vernaculars. I do not possess a knowledge sufficient to enable me to deal with some aspects of the vernacular problem with any conviction; and I shall not therefore attempt any brave excursions. I can only say, first, that the interests of the individual child will be submerged if the problem be treated as though it were capable of some mass solution which would impose this or that vernacular in a particular school or district on a basis of counting noses and disregarding the needs of minorities; and second, that any attempt to get round, or over, the educational difficulties which a multiplicity of vernaculars presents, by substituting English for the mother tongue of young children, is doomed to failure. I will, later on, deal more in detail with this question of the place of English in the educational system.

The magnitude of the educational problems set by differing



vernaculars must not, however, be exaggerated. They must be viewed in the right perspective if distortion is to be avoided. A school day which is to satisfy boys and girls in primary and middle schools must not be wholly or even mainly devoted to learning dependent upon language. Gardens and games, chisels and rulers, clay and coloured chalks, and many other tools of experience and experiment, are fortunately free from vernacularization.

On the other hand it would be difficult to exaggerate the serious consequences for education when communal differences are inflamed to the point of becoming antagonisms. It may be inevitable that there should be Moslem schools, Sikh schools, and Hindu schools, and that, at present, at any rate in some areas, adherence to defined communal quotas should govern certain appointments. But many a school in India suffers, and many a teacher or inspector is hampered in his work, because those with some measure of authority in this or that racial or religious community use education as a pawn in the struggle for power or ascendancy. Such conflicts strike at the root of integrity in local administration and they subject schools, teachers and inspectors to the play of forces which are not educational because they arise from animosity or acquisitiveness. If the schools are to cultivate in their pupils that literacy of the spirit of which I have already spoken, they must be societies in which the art of good human relationships is engendered and in which it is treasured as the supreme art. Teachers ought, therefore, by precept and by example, to train their pupils in the practice of tolerance and generosity. But why should teachers be expected to put before themselves a standard of social behaviour higher than that set for them by those set over them?

#### THE ENGLISH MEDIUM

Now for the third consideration: the fact that in the main the language of government and of large-scale business in India is an alien language—English. I have no time, and have not indeed the knowledge, to treat the matter historically. I will not even play with the magic name of Macaulay. The present-day facts are sufficient for my purpose. Because government service offers

status, salary, security, and pension, it is the ambition of countless parents that their sons, or at least one of them, should enter that service; and as that service, and the world of business, demand a knowledge of English there is a widespread desire for instruction in a language which is not the language of the people. The result is that English finds its place in the upper classes of the high schools not merely as a language to be studied and mastered for its own sake, but as the actual medium through which mere boys, in their thousands, are expected to achieve an education in other subjects. This is a denial of sound educational practice. Until English is dethroned in the high schools as the medium of instruction and takes its proper and extremely important place as a compulsory language I see no possibility of the secondary schools of India meeting the real educational needs of ordinary boys of 14, 15, and 16 years of age.

A journalist ran me to earth one evening in India and asked me what I thought about the place of English in the schools. I replied rather curtly that "No child can be educated through the medium of a language other than that in which his mother spanked him." I went to bed fearing that in the morning I might find a headline "Educational Expert" (for so, much to my embarrassment, I was labelled) "advocates corporal punishment in the home." But no. What I read next morning was "Educational Expert says that no boy or girl should be educated through the medium of a language other than that in which his or her mother spanked him or her." I feel inclined to let it go at that. Of course, there are boys and girls, here and there, with distinctive talents who can stand the strain of giving and receiving information, formulating ideas, recording experiences and expressing their sense of values in an alien language. But for the average boy the present system is disastrous, and it leads directly to that curse of Indian education—mere learning, and memorized learning at that. As I said in the Report:

"As a whole the boys in the high schools are responsive and educable, but they are hampered at every turn by having to handle an instrument which comes between them and spontaneity."

I know the difficulties of substituting the vernaculars for English



as the medium for instruction in the high schools; and I wished when I was in India, and I wish now, that it was not necessary to urge a policy involving such a patient and prolonged attack (with the possibility of periods of comparative disorganization) before it is triumphantly brought to fruition. But I could not hold up my head again if I did not make this protest against what appears to me to result in the educational frustration of numberless boys of quite reasonable capacity. If you must have English as the medium of instruction in the high schools you must begin the teaching of that language in the infant classes, as is rightly done in those few schools which draw their children from homes where English is normally spoken. But who could contemplate such a policy for the primary schools as a whole which already are devoting more time to linguistic exercises than is good for any child; and which are filled with children from homes where not a word of English is spoken or understood?

I would not have you think, because of these drastic criticisms, that I failed to find schools in India which have set before themselves, and are reaching, a high standard of educational achievement. If you were to follow my itinerary and were to study the strange things that I recorded in school log-books you would find that many times in Delhi, in the Punjab, and in the United Provinces, I wrote lyrical words of appreciation because they were forced from me by the excitement of taking part in a genuine and rich educational experience. I will not mention names or places, but I recall, in particular, one small primary school, in the hands, of course, of a male teacher, which makes me feel almost ashamed of the hard things I have said about men teachers and infant education.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE DEFECTS

I hope that what I have said has sketched in the background against which I can now outline a final consideration. The educational problems of India, I think you will admit, are greater in number and more subtle in character than those of most countries. As elsewhere, the schools are not suspended in mid-air; they are borne on an administrative machine. And it must be clear that only a long-range policy, patiently and persistently executed by

skilled administrators and qualified inspectors, can be expected to help schools and teachers to maintain intact all that is good, while steadily reforming what is discredited or out of date and drastically eradicating what is glaringly evil. But the education departments of the various Provinces are not, in my view, constructed so as to secure such desirable results. It is not that skilled personnel is not available, or could not be made available if the need arose. It is that the formulation of policy in education and the direction of its administration are not regarded as meriting the whole-time services of a head of department whose tenure of office shall be permanent and who shall reach his position by virtue of previous knowledge and experience, not of administration in general, but of educational administration in particular.

The Secretary of the education department of a Province—that is, the person who is the controlling head, subject to the Minister, of the educational service—is, as a rule, an officer of the I.C.S., who may not only be Secretary of some other department as well (law, industries, etc.), but is also a temporary officer in the education department since he will, after a few years, be moved on to some other administrative or executive post. It is true that the Director of Public Instruction is permanent and may be Under-Secretary of Education. But think of the weariness which must overtake the stoutest D.P.I. who in the course of, say, a dozen years has to coach, advise, and understudy three or four successive Secretaries. (I scarcely dare to mention it for fear that I shall be charged with romancing, but I was credibly informed that in one Province there had been 18 Secretaries in 21 years.) How difficult it must be, in these circumstances, for the Secretary to discharge his duties to the Minister properly; and what chance is there for a D.P.I., cluttered up with files, to find the time personally to control and direct a large inspectorate as well as to keep himself abreast of modern educational practice. And yet without these things the formulation and the execution of policy related to the real needs of the country must be so hampered as to be almost impossible to achieve.

I am not suggesting that the administrative head of the education department should not be an I.C.S. man, but only that the



educational needs of India demand that he should normally, if I may use a slang expression, "be in the job for keeps." You will not perhaps agree with this view unless you are, like myself, romantic enough (or, as I prefer to say, realist enough) to see in education the instrument which is to guide India towards its legitimate goal.

In conclusion, let me take you back to what I said at the beginning about East and West. If your criticism is that this address is but the application of a Western mind to an Eastern problem, I can but reply that I have yet to discover the potion which, in the interval which elapses between leaving Marseilles and arriving at Bombay, will perform the miracle of converting a Western into an Eastern mind.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, December 8, 1937, when a paper entitled "Some Impressions of Indian Education" was read by Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of Intelligence and Public Relations, Board of Education, London. Sir Firoz-khan Noon, K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for India, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: The lecturer this afternoon needs very little introduction from me, particularly to an audience in London. My only excuse is that perhaps you do not know how much we in India esteem Mr. Wood and his work for India. With Mr. Abbott he visited our country last cold weather and they wrote an excellent report on Vocational Education in Northern India, which has been very well received, and on merits, all over my country.

Mr. Wood then spoke on the lines of his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: The subject-matter of the lecture is now open to discussion. I have before me several names of ladies and gentlemen who are willing to take part in the discussion. The time at our disposal is very short, and perhaps they will kindly restrict their remarks to five minutes each. As it is not possible for any lady or gentleman to say much about the whole lecture in five minutes, perhaps they will confine themselves to the particular points which they consider most important.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON: I am in general agreement with Mr. Wood's first contention that human nature is much the same all the world over, and that, therefore, educational problems of different countries are very similar. I was glad, therefore, that Mr. Wood, with his wealth of English experience, found it possible to visit India; I was more glad to read his admirable report; and still more glad to have listened to his stimulating address. May I express the hope that he will revisit India—if only to look after Mr. Abbott—and, after his return, give us another of these excellent addresses?

Mr. Wood seems to have been embarrassed by being termed an "expert" in India; but India is a sensible place and realized at once that Mr. Wood is an expert. May I suggest also that it is less embarrassing to be called an expert than a Director of Intelligence, which betokens an expert of experts?

Mr. Wood has spoken only briefly on educational problems which are common to India and other countries, possibly because they are merely administrative problems, but he has made some pertinent remarks on the subject of educational administration.

He has first discussed the vexed question of the position of Secretary to



Government. I agree with Mr. Wood's comments, but feel that he might have gone further. The main difficulty is the paucity of educational administrators in India. As a Punjab inspector remarked in another connection, the administrator is "top-light."

Mr. Wood also dealt with the position of local bodies and with the fact that Indian Governments have surrendered much of their control to these inexperienced authorities. But I am unable to agree with Mr. Wood that local bodies should be permitted to "learn by their own mistakes"; errors of judgment possibly, but not irregularities.

Mr. Wood has spoken at greater length on the two problems which are largely peculiar to India: the attitude towards women and the use of a foreign medium in the schools.

With his remarks on the position of girls' education there will be general agreement. The importance of the home in education and the influence of the mother in the home are already realized. In consequence of the backwardness of girls' education, people in India tend to lead dull lives; half of each day is spent in the school and in school studies and activities, but the other half is spent in the home, where influence is often antagonistic to those studies and activities. The advisability of little sisters accompanying their little brothers to school is also felt, but co-education should not be limited to the pupils; it should also be extended to the staff. Mr. Wood, however, has carried us further, and has urged that the education of little boys is penalized by their being taught by men instead of by women. But we are confronted by the difficulty of finding women teachers who will face the uncongenial atmosphere of an Indian village. I shall not trespass on Lady Hartog's preserve and shall be content with observing that the support of girls' education has been very difficult in the past. There should be at every provincial headquarters a woman officer who will protect the interests of girls' education.

I also feel that more might have been done in utilizing the vernacular medium. The universities are bureaucratic in the belief that the mere pronouncement that the vernacular medium shall be used will be sufficient. The vernaculars should be given the status of other subjects in the degree courses, and the training colleges should be placed on a vernacular basis. But I am disappointed that Mr. Wood has not referred to the vernacular system and to the importance of vernacular middle schools. In this system the way is clear towards the development of education on a vernacular footing.

In conclusion, I cannot but feel this, though I agree very largely with Mr. Wood's impressions, there is yet a point of difference between us. In my feeble battlings against the difficulties of education in India, I was often comforted by the words of Newman's hymn, "One step enough for me." What is the next step? In my opinion, the next step is to improve the administration, to render the position of local bodies more

satisfactory by ensuring suitable control, to reduce the domination of matriculation, to control biennial examinations, and to reconstruct the system of secondary education on the lines suggested by the Central Advisory Board. My submission, therefore, is that if many of the admirable suggestions made by Mr. Wood are attempted within the existing framework, they will be doomed to failure.

Lady HARTOG: Mr. Wood's most interesting paper has brought back very vividly to our minds the problems which have faced educationists in India for many years. It is very chivalrous of Sir George Anderson to have left the girls' case to me, and I forgive him today for doing so because of the exigencies of time. But we want his help, we want everybody's help in hammering away at this question of vital importance—the education of women. It stood in the forefront of the recommendations of the Committee whose Report bears my husband's name, but that does not mean that enough has been done about it. If girls are to be educated in far greater numbers than they are at present, two things are absolutely essential.

One is that Governments must give more money, a larger proportion of their available money, to girls' education than they have been doing up till now. The second is that there must be more women teachers. Mr. Wood was shocked and pained to find that in India little boys were being taught by men teachers. But if his enquiry had taken him to the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and also to Bombay and the Central Provinces, what would he have said when he found that thousands of little girls in *girls'* schools were being taught entirely by men teachers, to say nothing of the thousands more of little girls who were going to the schools for boys?

I should like to put in a plea that for a good many years girls have the first claim on women teachers, however sorry we may feel for the little boys. In my own opinion the new methods, the "satisfying activities" which have been so well described by Mr. Wood, are even more essential for the reform of primary education than the sex of the teacher. I do not know what others present think, but I have the feeling that, taking India as a whole, the lowest classes of primary schools for girls are not very much happier, brighter and more alive places than the corresponding classes in the boys' schools, unless they are in charge of teachers who have been trained in modern methods. Certainly the parents in India do not seem to think so, judging from the enormous numbers in which they have been sending their little girls into the schools for boys during the last few years.

But I must get back to the question of the education of the girls, and the point I want to make is that I do not think you are going to get much further with girls' education by just sending the girls into the boys' schools without any women teachers there. I take as example the



Province of Madras. Madras has more girls at school than any other province. It is free from purdah, and there are now more girls in the boys' schools than in the girls' schools, 300,000 odd in girls' schools, and 400,000 odd in boys' schools.

But do you find that those girls in the boys' schools stay on till Class IV., the class at present necessary to reach for permanent literacy? No, because there are no special provisions for the girls in the boys' schools, either physical or intellectual; no special girls' subjects; no women teachers; and so the parents take them away, and actually the percentage of girls in Madras who reach Class IV. is very much smaller than the percentage in Bombay, or even than the percentage in the Punjab, our Chairman's Province, which has made great progress with girls' education in recent years. Only 16 per cent. in Madras get to Class IV., in Bombay 26 per cent., in the Punjab 19 per cent.

I have no time now to go into the question of how to get more women teachers, but Sir George was talking about the "next step," and I think some reference should be made this afternoon to what the new Ministries are doing. I do not know how far those here have followed the discussion on Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that primary education should be made not only vocational but self-supporting. At the end of October he held a conference at Wardha with the Ministers of Education in the Congress Provinces, and I think that you may be interested to hear the resolutions passed at that conference:

"(1) That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

"(2) That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.

"(3) That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

"(4) That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers."

It will be very interesting to see what the "next step" actually is.

Professor GORDON MATTHEWS (Madras Christian College): Despite the very wide range of Indian experience represented in this meeting, I think it is just possible that my contact with Indian education is unique. Before I joined the staff of the Madras Christian College, I actually taught for many years in an Indian high school. It is in the light of that experience that I wish to support Mr. Wood's contention very heartily that the vernacular should be substituted for English as the medium of instruction right through the high-school course.

In South India the general practice—not the universal practice because we are moving in a tentative way in the right direction—is to use the vernacular as the medium of instruction in the first three forms of the high school—that is to say, until the average age of the pupil will be about fourteen—then in the three final years to switch over to English as the medium of instruction. My experience is this. Many pupils are completely thrown out of their stride by that change over in the medium of instruction. Promise of early years fails of fulfilment, and the failure can be definitely traced to the handicap which is imposed upon the pupil by instruction in a very imperfectly understood medium, by his own lack of skill in the use of English as an instrument of expression.

My own analogous experience perhaps quickened my understanding of the situation and deepened my sympathies with these unfortunate boys. In my own reading of Tamil treatises I found that the mental effort required to grasp the meaning sentence by sentence very often seemed to distract the mind so much that I was unable to follow the logical cogency of a protracted argument. It requires a very exceptional command of a foreign tongue to be able to avoid that mental distraction, a far higher command of a foreign tongue than we can possibly expect of pupils in the high-school stage. There is no doubt that, as Mr. Wood has been saying, we are imposing this serious handicap upon many Indian young people today. The question is, Is it feasible to substitute the vernacular for English as a medium of instruction at that stage in the educational programme? Is it feasible?

I am convinced in my own mind that it is. As many here will know, the vernaculars, at any rate of South India, are first-class languages. They are adequate. They are among the very finest instruments of expression that the evolution of human language has produced. They need nothing except the addition of a technical vocabulary to cover the developments of modern knowledge. The majority of schools would find no difficulty at all in introducing the vernacular as the medium of instruction right through the school course.

I admit that in certain localities, where no one language predominates, where there may be a majority language, but there is also perhaps a very substantial minority language, it would not be possible, of course, to adopt one vernacular only. I agree absolutely with Mr. Wood on that point—every boy must be “taught in the tongue in which his mother spanked him.”

It would create a difficulty only in smaller schools. In the larger schools, where every form is already duplicated, sometimes not twice but four times over, it would be quite possible in one form to do the work in one vernacular, and in another, a parallel division of that same form, to do it in another language.

The parents will be our chief difficulty. The parents have not wanted



the introduction of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction. They still do not want it. They fear that the introduction of the vernaculars will mean a decreased knowledge of English. That, I am convinced, is a mistaken apprehension. The mental relief which will come at the introduction of teaching in their mother-tongue will be such that there will be an increased intellectual activity and boys will make far more rapid progress in all their subjects including English, which will then have its rightful position—namely, as a universal second language.

Mrs. VERGESE: I stand here today representing some of the students who have come to this country, and also as a disillusioned woman, because until this afternoon I thought the girls' schools in India were the very best. It has been a great sorrow to me to hear that they are not as good as the boys' schools. We thought that, though few, they were excellent.

We students feel that one of the greatest necessities that the students want and that education in India needs are training colleges. We have not enough training colleges. If you want your schools to improve and education to spread, you must have good training colleges. So the first thing we would like to ask Government is to give us training colleges which will be open to women; not those which will take a few women as a favour, but of a kind which will be open to women as well as to men.

We also feel that our schools ought to change their old methods and adopt the new and modern methods which are proving so successful in the West. We feel that much more stress, as Mr. Wood has said, should be laid on infant school and nursery school work. Also there should be not only secondary schools, but also vocational schools. In fact, there should be other schools besides the secondary schools.

Referring to this question of the medium of instruction, we are all in agreement, I think, that the medium of instruction should be in the child's own vernacular; but we feel that English should be taught from the junior classes up, because it is not possible for the student who has used only his own vernacular in school to go to college and have all his instruction in English.

We also think that in schools much more emphasis should be laid on the physical well-being of the scholars, and games should be encouraged. It was a source of astonishment to us when we first came to this country and saw trays full of bottles of milk being brought round for the children. It is an unheard-of thing in our schools where many of the children suffer from malnutrition.

As to the status of women in India, I think you will agree that it is improving. If you want to help the best way would be to have schools for married women. You know that married women have great responsibilities in our country; they have to feed their husbands and families. Therefore we suggest that schools for married women should be started,

between the hours of 11 and 3, so that they could come to school and go away again without upsetting the home time-table.

We would also suggest that they should learn not only reading and writing, but also hygiene and child welfare and food values, and they should also learn to be good citizens.

As for having women teachers in boys' schools, we think that is an excellent idea, because it seems to me to be very necessary for little boys to respect women, and how can they respect women more than by having women teachers? In India teachers are revered. Let us give the men of tomorrow women teachers, and they will learn to respect and reverence the women.

Sir RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR: I have only one complaint to make—the lecturer and Mr. Abbott did not visit the best part of India, Southern India. If they had, I do not suggest that any of their conclusions would have been different, but perhaps the aspect would have been a little more mellow. They would perhaps have had a slightly different idea of the difficulties with reference to finding women teachers for schools and other problems.

As you are aware, Indian Ministers are in charge of the educational department. Their proposals will go through, and there is no dictation possible from London or any other place which will affect their policy. The only possibility is if new ideas are valuable enough, and if the proposals are good, they stand a chance of acceptance.

From that point of view, I think the excellent Report Mr. Wood and Mr. Abbott have produced will be very widely accepted by most Ministers, Congress or non-Congress.

I desire to speak on one issue that the lecturer has raised—that is, with reference to vernacular being the medium of instruction. The last speaker put her finger on the spot and showed the difficulties of the problem from the point of view of parents and students. I have heard this question debated in my country with a great deal of feeling on both sides. There are people who are out and out advocates of the vernacular being the medium of instruction. Most of the students have the ambition to have collegiate education, and their parents have the ambition to send them to colleges. Then you are at once faced with the problem, How shall education be imparted in the colleges? You will find there is no halfway house, and you must continue collegiate education through the medium of vernaculars.

That is my reaction to the suggestion. I do not agree with the statement that once the medium of education in the schools is the vernacular, a knowledge of English would automatically so improve that in the colleges there would be no difficulty. If you have vernacular education, let it be as in Japan, right through the whole course, including the college. Then I can see there is some consistency in it. Otherwise I see great difficulties.



Most of you can read French in your schools. How many of you would be in a position to take a college course at the Sorbonne?

There is one other fact. Why do we want the English language? I may say I shall be equally satisfied with the French language. We want contact with Western—I will not say civilization or culture because those words mean many things—but with Western thought. We want that contact, and we want some Western language through which we can establish that contact. For that reason English is valuable to the students in India. The students may not all emerge as graduates, but we do believe that if English or one of the Continental languages is taught to them, there will be a good deal of understanding and appreciation of what is good in the West.

The Englishman feels peculiar difficulties in learning foreign languages. Your isolated position has been responsible for it. But there is hardly an Indian who does not speak more than one language very fluently. The difficulty that Mr. Matthews found in studying Tamil may not be equally as acute to the Indian student. I should not be understood, however, to ignore the value of the vernacular being the medium of instruction in schools. But I desire its advocates to realize the logical extension of that reform and not to be oblivious of the advantages of learning a Western language which brings the student into contact with Western thought.

Mr. A. C. CAMERON (Secretary, Central School for Broadcasting): I am one of the unenlightened, who am only here as a friend of Mr. Wood, and I therefore particularly appreciate your courtesy in asking me to speak.

I am not going to comment on his admirable address, but to ask a question. There is, it seems to me, an omission in his paper. He has not mentioned either broadcasting or the cinema.

I have always felt, though at second-hand, that in a country where there are a number of people illiterate, that both the cinema and broadcasting might have a particular service to render to education. I know, at any rate, that the first intelligent printed official document about the cinema came from India, the Report of the Committee in 1927-1928. It recommended the setting up of a central body that would look after the development of the cinema from the point of view of public welfare. We seem to have heard something of the same kind in this country within the last month or so.

That Report, instead of concentrating on the harm that the cinema could do, concentrated on the good that it might do. I know also that in India today, under Mr. Fielden, a good deal of the development is going on in the use of broadcasting. There again, can that be turned to the service of education in the particular circumstances of India?

I do not know the answer to either of those questions, because I do not know India, but I do suggest that these two new mediums may have a

particular service to render under the circumstances, and ask my question as being possibly a contribution to the discussion.

Mr. MARDY JONES: I only want to put one question, and make it clear that I agree entirely with Mr. Wood's views. I spent three years in India, devoted mainly to what was being done there. Every educationist here and in India feels that the programme must go along those lines. Surely in India it is the birthright of every boy and girl to get a free primary education, yet India is the most backward part of the Empire in that respect.

It seems to me that we are all pretty well agreed as to the lines to take and the need for making it compulsory and free, but no one has mentioned the greatest problem of all, and that is where is the money coming from to meet the cost? The cost would be simply enormous. Relatively India is also the poorest country in the Empire, and I would make a very humble suggestion—that the time has come when the British nation should appreciate what India has meant to us for centuries and how much the very prosperity and prestige of the Empire depends on India. We have taken far more out of India than we have ever put into it, and I think it is time that we took up this education as a duty on our side to facilitate the financial problem by making some substantial contribution to meet the great need of primary education.

The CHAIRMAN: I have no intention of speaking on the subject because all that is good has been said already, but I do wish to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Wood for the excellent address he has given us. I greatly appreciate the application of a highly experienced and trained and technical Western mind to our Eastern problems. His views have been very refreshing, and I am sure they will be greatly appreciated in India and will be the cause of future reforms of our educational system.

Many of these problems that he has touched upon have already been discussed in India. We have had very distinguished Directors of Public Instruction belonging to this great country, who have been helping to educate India in the past, and none of these things have been hidden from them. For the last fifteen or seventeen years the Education Ministers have done their best for the education of their people.

There is a great demand for girls' education. The moment we open a girls' school it is filled immediately. I have been, as Sir George Anderson mentioned, a Minister for Education, and I realize how much I owed to Sir George Anderson's sound advice and ever willing help.

Our great difficulty in India is the increasing population and the lack of funds. At the end of my five years I collected some statistics, and I said, "Now let me see how many more Punjabis I have succeeded in educating, boys and girls, and how many more schools I have opened." I found out



the increased number of schools and the increased number of boys and girls, and I worked out the statistics. I discovered that I was in exactly the same position as my predecessor was five years ago. The increase in population had been quicker than the facilities for education which we had been able to provide.

The great problem that faces our Ministers is the provision of funds. According to the new Constitution, the Provinces have no sources from which the increased revenue can come. All their sources of revenue are more or less rigid.

It is lack of funds that makes me depressed about the future of education in India. The suggestion made during the discussion, that funds should be provided from England, seems to me rather unfeasible. I think the Ministries in the Provinces will have to face this great problem, and I really cannot see where the money is coming from. If we had the money, I assure you that within a generation we would provide Indian children, boys and girls, with an education which would in no way be inferior to the education imparted here. When we consider the amount of money needed and realize how difficult it is for us to raise it, we then understand how colossal our problem is.

One other remark I should like to make, and that is about the medium of instruction. There seems to be a little misunderstanding, because in a very large number of provinces the vernacular is the medium of instruction already up to the matriculation standard. In the Punjab Government has already decided to make the vernacular the medium of instruction except for English subjects for the Punjab matriculation. In Bengal also they have made the vernacular the medium of instruction, and I have no doubt that that will be the trend of things throughout the whole of India.

I entirely agree with my friend Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar that once you make vernacular the medium of instruction for the matriculation examination, it must also go right through the college course. It is wrong to say that college education cannot be imparted in the vernaculars. We have before us the example of the Osmania University in Hyderabad, where education from beginning to end is carried on in the Urdu language. I have met some of the products of that University, and they can hold their own against men from any other University.

I do not wish to take up your time any further. I would like to thank Mr. Wood again for the very sympathetic manner in which he has tackled our problems. I am sure no Indian could have tackled these problems with greater sympathy or sincerity of purpose than Mr. Wood has done. He has kept his mind aloof from all diplomacy and statecraft when dealing with Indian problems, and it has been very refreshing for us Indians to have his views on the questions that are really paramount in the minds of Indian educationists. Mr. Wood's recommendations will be of great value to the educational reformers in India who want to fight against views which

are sometimes very unbending. I have no doubt that he has rendered a service to Indian education which will be remembered and appreciated for many years to come.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: We have to all intents and purposes passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Wood, but I should like to add to that a vote of thanks to the High Commissioner for being so good as to come here this afternoon. We are very glad to see the High Commissioner here, and I think we can all really sincerely feel that he has been rewarded for his kindness by the extremely interesting address Mr. Wood has given us and by the discussion which some of ourselves have contributed. I ask you to pass this vote of thanks.

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

Sir PHILIP HARTOG writes: Our Honorary Secretary has asked me to put down in writing the brief comments on Mr. Wood's delightful paper which I should have made at the meeting, had there been time.

Mr. Wood said: "It has been impressed on us from many quarters that the main purpose of primary education is to secure permanent literacy." As this question of permanent literacy is dealt with at length in the Report of the Education Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, I wish to say that this was not our view. We regarded permanent literacy not as the main purpose of primary education, but as the minimum attainment which could be regarded as tolerable. And we regarded literacy only as a means for the attainment later of that understanding of the outside world and that formation of the individual judgment which every person should have the opportunity of acquiring in a democracy. Our reference related mainly to political changes, and we wrote: "In the primary system, which, from our point of view, should be designed to produce literacy *and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote*, the waste is appalling" (*op. cit.*, p. 345). Mr. Wood's phrase "the literacy of the spirit" appeals to me.

The question of literacy takes me straight on to that of the medium of instruction. Mr. Wood would be the first to admit that his proposals on this point are not new. In the Sadler Report of 1919 there are two long chapters on the Medium of Instruction (xiii. and xli.), recommending the use of the vernacular throughout the secondary school course except in the teaching of English and mathematics. It has taken many years to bring about reform, but changes are now coming into operation, as the Chairman pointed out, in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab, and I have no doubt that other Provinces are preparing to follow suit.

We dealt, moreover, in the Sadler Report with a closely related subject of the greatest importance, the teaching of the mother-tongue, one sadly neglected in India, on which we had much to say that I believe to be still



of value. I was much struck while in Dacca by the poor attainments in Bengali of the average student tested in that subject, due no doubt to the low esteem in which teachers of the vernacular in secondary schools were generally held, and the absurdly low salaries offered for such posts. Dacca was, I believe, the first university institution to pay teachers of the vernacular on the same scale as teachers of other subjects.

I should like to emphasize, as strongly as possible, the need, pointed out by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, for better-educated young Indians to be able to understand (even if they do not learn to speak) a world-language like English, which, after all, is the language spoken by some 190 million people, whose publications give access to every branch of modern science and learning; and I confess to some fear lest the addition of Hindi to the burden of every pupil may produce in future among Hindus that overloading of the curriculum with languages which has acted as so grave a handicap to Muhammadans in the past.

Finally, I think that Mr. Wood will find his arguments against constant changes of the senior officials in the Education Departments enforced with some wealth of detail in the Report of the Education Committee of the Simon Commission.

I hope that these comments may not seem ungracious. India was fortunate in securing the services of two such distinguished officers of the Board of Education as Mr. Abbott and Mr. Wood, from whom long service has taken nothing of their freshness of insight and outlook and expression.

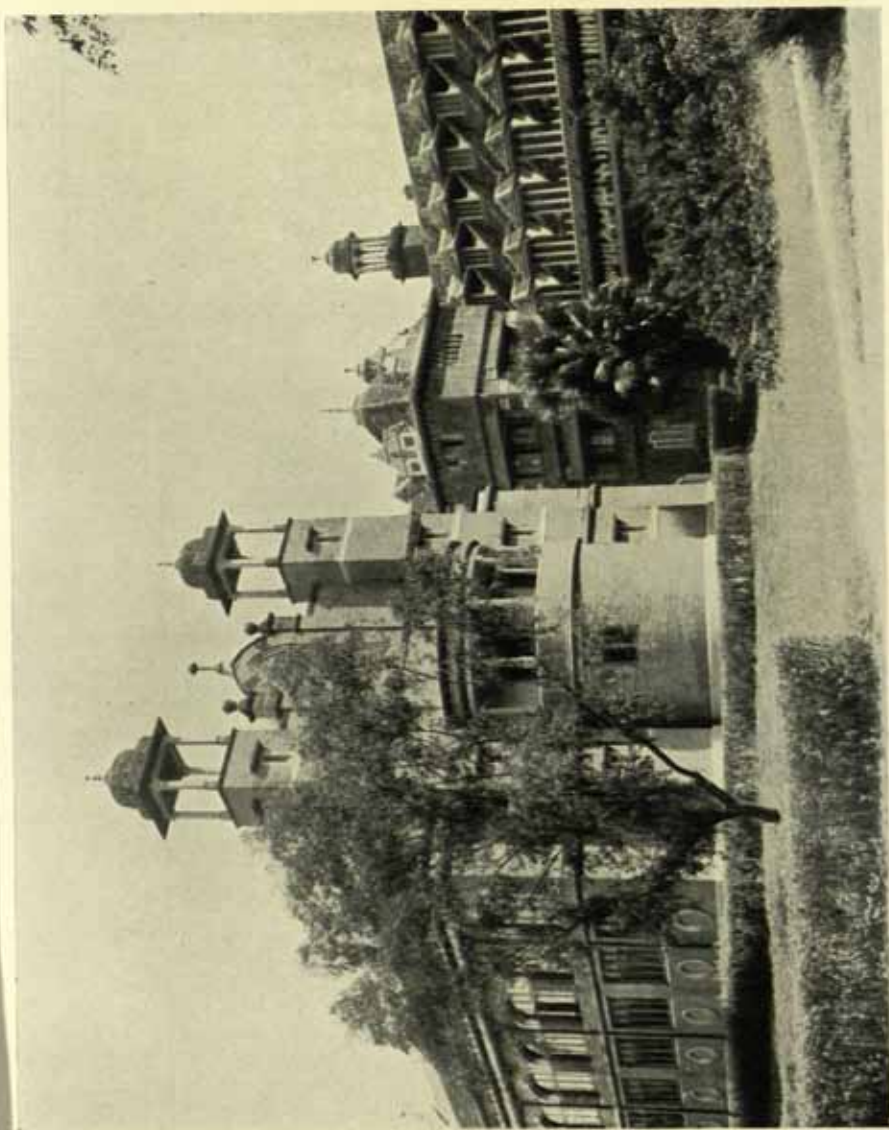


FIG. 1.—VIEW OF THE BARODA PICTURE GALLERY; THE MUSEUM IN THE BACKGROUND.

The Baroda Picture Gallery.

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FIG. 2.—JAIN MINIATURE ON PALM LEAF: ABOUT 1300 A.D.



FIG. 3.—VYAS WITH HIS DISCIPLES.  
Miniature from Razm Namek: time of Akbar.

The Baroda Picture Gallery.

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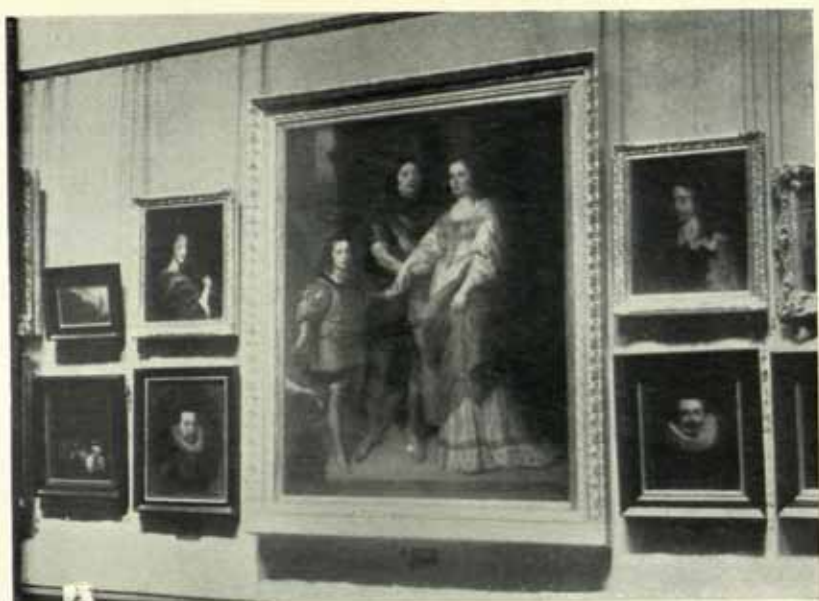


FIG. 4.—PICTURES BY RUBENS AND HIS SCHOOL.



FIG. 6.—PLASTER CASTS FROM WORKS BY  
MICHEL ANGELO.





FIG. 5.—ZOFFANY. PERFORMANCE OF "MACBETH" IN 1768 WITH GARRICK AND  
MRS. PRITCHARD ACTING.

The Baroda Picture Gallery.

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## THE BARODA PICTURE GALLERY

BY ERNEST COHN-WIENER

THE construction of the building of the Picture Gallery at Baroda, which forms an annexe to the Museum, was started in 1908 by Mr. R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., and completed in 1913-14. It consists of two floors, and its galleries contain specimens both of Eastern and Western art. His Highness the Maharajah of Baroda has shown his keen interest in this institution by handing over to it a magnificent private collection which he assembled over a period of years.

The ground floor houses Indian paintings. As may be expected there is a rich collection of ancient Jain miniatures, the greater part belonging to Kalpsutra manuscripts. It is to be regretted that this school of painting is so little known to the artistic world, as its merits are as great as those of mediæval book painting in France or England of the period to which they belong. Our oldest decorated manuscripts, written on palm leaves, belong to the thirteenth century, and the design is of a delicacy hardly surpassed in any other province of art. When, later on in the fifteenth century, paper was used instead of palm leaves, the tradition was kept up so well that the paper leaves were cut in the shape of palm leaves; but the design and the colour became coarser. The latest Jain miniatures in the Baroda Museum belong to Akbar's time. The entire development of this art can thus be studied at Baroda.

Moghul paintings form the next section. The Baroda Museum preserves, as a great treasure, 31 miniatures of Razm Nameh painted by well-known artists of Akbar's court. These miniatures show how Islamic culture really tried to understand Indian mythology, and are of singular beauty. A notable feature is the delicacy of the landscapes. In other rooms there are paintings of the times of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan in fairly large numbers. All schools of Indian paintings are likewise represented, especially the Rajput and Kangra schools. A great number of "Raginis" represent the high development of the artistic feeling in India. No other country succeeded so well in translating musical ideas into pictures.

In the big rooms of the upper story there is the gallery of Western pictures. These were collected under the orders of His Highness the Gackwar of Baroda by Mr. Marion H. Spielmann, F.S.A., from 1910 onwards; but it was not until the year 1920 that they could be brought over to India. This is probably the



finest collection of Western art in India. Numbering more than 200 specimens, it shows every period and every country of European art. There are no less than 19 works of Italian painters, among whom the Venetian artists are especially well represented. There are also pictures by Spanish artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Portuguese school is represented by a portrait of Queen Catherine of Braganza, who was important in Indian history. But these paintings from Southern Europe are greatly outnumbered by those of Northern Europe, numbering altogether 72. Here almost every artist of Rubens' school is represented, and among the Dutch pictures are landscapes of the first rank. The English artists of the eighteenth century are also represented by some excellent portraits and landscapes.

There are 88 modern pictures in the gallery, covering the period from the nineteenth century to the present day. The French section shows, among other pictures, examples by Millet, Courbet, Raffaelli, and others who can be justly called the classics among the modern artists, as the Victorian pictures, of which there is a great number, are the classics of nineteenth century in England.

The third collection is that of plaster casts from famous sculptures. Such a collection is found in every big European museum; but this is, as far as I know, the only one of its kind in India. The different periods of Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, and Greek art are represented, the selection having been made from the modern standpoint. Two other rooms show plaster casts from Italian sculptures, among which the colossal figure of Michel Angelo's Moses is the most outstanding feature.

There is a certain difficulty in all Indian museums. The number of visitors is comparatively high; in Baroda it amounts to 280,000 a year. But it is difficult for them to appreciate properly the beauty of art works, Indian as well as European. Regular lectures are delivered in the different departments of the Baroda Picture Gallery, and high-school teachers and students at Baroda are given a complete series of lectures with lantern slides in the Lecture Theatre of the Museum building in order to spread among them knowledge and understanding of the history of art.

## WOMEN IN INDIA

By DR. S. N. A. JAFRI (BARRISTER-AT-LAW)

WOMEN all over the world are making consistent and earnest attempts today to be in step with the times. To the less convincing and more cantankerous type of critics—essentially of the old school of thought—who still linger in the present age like the peak of a submerged world, it might appear somewhat preposterous that women should pretend to claim equal rights with men. But who can arrest the march of events? Women today are ultra-conscious of their depressed and suppressed past, and with a united front they are advocating zealously their rights and claims. To have a clear picture of the rights and claims of women it is necessary to measure their progress not merely by their achievements but by their endeavours as well.

### THE DARK AGES

If we turn back and look at the world's history, in the days of paganism women were totally relegated to the background. This was due to the fact that in those dark ages when man's rational faculties were not brought much into play, the basic principle of society was brute force and man arrogated to himself the office of a supreme lord over all earthly creations. Woman could never assert herself and was at best considered part and parcel of man's domestic establishment. He held an arbitrary right over her as he did over beings of the lower orders of life. She was a saleable commodity with only one purpose in life—that of helping her lord.

### GREECE AND ROME

This popular conception was current for a long time, and even the early Greeks and Romans, in spite of their intellectual attainments, tenaciously adhered to this view. Greek women were strictly confined to their homes, and their energies in most parts were absorbed in household duties. Though Rome has bequeathed a valuable legacy in art and culture to posterity, she did practically nothing serious to raise the status of women. Roman poets and dramatists have no doubt praised the intrinsic qualities and worth of women, but what appealed to them more than anything else were the maternal virtues of women. Rome, in her



quest for fresh dominions, always courted war rather than peace, and in order to safeguard her far-flung empire from disintegrating, considered it vitally important that she should have exceptionally strong men fit to bear the brunt of the enemy's attack. So it became a question of expediency that Roman women should be the mothers of strong sons, and it became the policy of Government to recognize the importance of women only as mothers of future soldiers. Girl infants were not held in great estimation, and if it was the case of a weakling, the child was exposed to death on the heights of the cold and bleak mountains. In the palmy days of Rome, when Cæsar and Augustus were in power, women came into greater prominence, but even then they were esteemed more for their looks than as individuals who had any appreciable rôle in public life.

#### CHRISTIANITY

One notable feature of Christianity, the religion that dispelled darkness from Europe, was that it recognized, to a very small extent, the right of inheritance of women. Already in Numbers it is related, "If a man die and leave no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter." It is, however, unfortunate that in spite of such enunciation of the rights of women, early churchmen like St. Paul should denounce women for man's original sin of eating the fruit of the forbidden tree. St. Paul said, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in transgression." European history records the curious incident of a potentate in the Middle Ages who had a queen who was in the habit of constantly interfering in his regal duties. The king, to stop this irritating interference, indignantly remarked to his consort: "Madam, I married you to bear me children and not to interfere in the affairs of the State." These instances, trifling as they may appear, serve to show that even in Europe in those days women had not attained considerable importance. Their rights were not recognized, though there was a partial admission of their important place in the social fabric. After the Great War, through which Europe emerged as out of a storm, the old order changed, yielding place to the new, and one cry that rent the air was that of the rights of women. In England this agitation gained such appreciable momentum that it had its effects far and wide. This was a development of the post-war world, a conception quite foreign even to the intellectual few of a bygone age.

#### EARLY HINDUISM

The struggle of women for emancipation, particularly from the dawn of the current century, has been constant and strenuous,

and their attempts and success have been fluctuating like the fortunes of the hero in a novel. In India, a land riddled with superstition and traditional beliefs based on half-truths, the position of Hindu women was far from enviable. In the early ages women were considered symbols of evil, and in the *Rigveda* they are said to be "unmanageable, incorrigible, and wanting in grey matter." It was thought that a girl child was a source of misery and a boy of light in the highest heaven. This led to the traditional belief that only sons, not daughters, could perform the funeral rites of parents. Thus, perchance a man should die childless or should have only daughters—both came to the same thing—it was said that he would not reach heaven, nor would he receive the divine blessing. He would on the contrary reach "Puth," the bottomless pit of eternal misery. So women were considered as necessary evils and they had absolutely no *locus standi* in life. *Manu*, the father of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, to whom much of the present Hindu traditions and customary beliefs are traceable and whose codes of conduct for man have become the basic tenets of Hindu *Dharma*, stressed the importance of the family as the unit of society. The head of the family was the father, through whom the relationship counted. To his protection were charged his unmarried daughters, who, after their marriage, were committed to the sole care of their husbands. Child marriage was the rule rather than the exception. *Manu* has explicitly enjoined that a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve and a man of twenty-four should have for his bride a girl of six years. It is said that he was expected to be the girl's teacher rather than her husband till she attained full maturity, but of course this could not work in practice. This custom of early marriage was so common among the ancient Hindus that if a father failed to marry off his daughter within the prescribed period he was considered a blot on the entire Hindu society. To an orthodox Hindu marriage was sacrosanct. Matrimony was a state attained by a process of religious rituals and was indissoluble, at any rate so far as the girl was concerned. Divorce and widow remarriage were ideas absolutely unknown. In those days there were instances, particularly among the poorer classes, of payment to the brides by their husbands. In parts of Bengal and Madras, and with some caste Hindus in certain other Provinces, even to this day, there is a dowry system by which the father of the girl has to make payments both in cash and kind to the bridegroom as consideration for "obliging" the father by marrying his daughter.

*Manu* laid it down that a woman could have no property of her own and that she could have no legal claims of inheritance. In her married state a woman had no liberty of action and looked to her husband for light and guidance. She was expected to



regard him as a visible embodiment of God on earth. Her earnings, if any, were the property of the father if she was unmarried and that of her husband when married. If the husband should die leaving some property and no child, his widow could enjoy the property only during her lifetime and had no right whatsoever to bequeath it to anyone. The social position of the widow was lamentably bad. Thanks to the advent of the Mughals and some of their benevolent monarchs, the ground was soon cleared for legislation to end this pernicious practice on pain of penalty in the early British period. Even today, in spite of all the advancement due to the impact of Western civilization, there is a good deal of social bias in India among the Hindus against their women and a good deal of restriction against widows. Thanks, however, to the efforts of some legislators, the Central Legislature has recently passed an Act giving Hindu widows and their descendants similar rights of inheritance as to a son. But it is regrettable that a plea to give rights of inheritance to daughters was rejected in connection with the Bill which conceded the afore-said right.

#### MUHAMMADANISM

The condition of women in Arabia before the birth of the Prophet was anything but happy. The early Arabs, like their contemporaries elsewhere, had developed a supreme aversion for women. It was a common practice to bury female children alive. The Prophet saw that no nation or race could stand the test of time if its womenfolk were subjected to such treatment. He condemned the common belief that women were the personification of evil. He regarded women as a source of honour and their position as an index of the civilization of the age. The Quran says: "Oh men! you are an apparel and a source of honour to women: and oh women! you are a source of honour to men." So with divine zeal the Prophet set about reforming the Arabs and strove to improve the lot of women. He preached to his followers: "The best of you is one who is best towards women." It was left to the Prophet to expose the fallacy of the dogma that men were superior to women and prove that women and men were equal. "He giveth a female child to whomsoever He pleaseth and a male child to whomsoever He pleaseth."

Having effected this change in the popular belief, the Prophet next set about enunciating in unambiguous terms the prerogatives, legal rights, and social status of women. "And of wholesome rights women share equally with men." At the very outset it was laid down that Muslim women had a right to inherit property, an idea quite novel to that age. To avoid confusion

and bickering, the Prophet made it clear that the daughter should inherit half the property normally earmarked to the son. This proportion was fixed more for expediency than as a just division, for a son, when married, had to discharge his obligations to his wife and children, and it was but reasonable that he should inherit double that of his sister's share. Moreover, a Muslim woman has a claim on her husband's property as well as on that of her parents. The law of gift also empowers the father to bequeath more of his property to his children in case of need, and daughters as much as sons benefit by this law. A Muslim woman has absolute dominion over her property and has transferable rights. While all this is true in general, there are later developments among certain sects, like the Bora community of Bombay, the talukdars of Oudh, and Muslims of the Punjab, where customary law overrides the personal law. This customary law deprives the woman belonging to above sects of her normal right of inheritance. In 1937 in the autumn session of the Central Legislature, a Bill designed to concede the inherent rights of Muslim women and to remove all impediments in their way of inheritance was passed in respect of all property except agricultural lands, which, being a transferred subject, could not conveniently be brought within the purview of the Bill introduced by the Central Government. It is, however, expected that the Provincial Governments concerned will rise to the expectation of the public and remove completely all the obstacles in the way of Muslim women exercising their inheritance rights sanctioned by their religion.

It may sound as a hyperbole to state that Muslim women by their personal law on the whole enjoy a greater degree of personal freedom than a woman of any other community. But this is none the less true. In all her varied existence, the Muslim woman maintains her individuality. She can dispose of her property in whatever manner she likes, and the fact that she is married is no bar to the conduct of her personal affairs. This liberty of action is unique among the Muslims. Even in England, before the year 1883, according to Anson's *Law of Contract*, women were not permitted to enter into legal contracts. Thus the rights of Muslim women are far greater and more clearly defined than those of the women of other communities. The rights of Muslim women are sanctioned by religion, while in England women wrested theirs from man after a prolonged period of organized agitation.

According to Islamic Law marriage is a contract that binds two people who can be allowed to separate. The whole matter proceeds on the basis of mutual understanding, and if there is any deflection on either side after marriage, the contract can be terminated. Thus, for the Muslim, marriage is a strictly secular



arrangement. The individual has full freedom of choice in the matter of selecting his or her partner. "Marry whomsoever you choose." It is considered un-Islamic to marry a reluctant girl. The Quran says: "Do not detain women unwillingly."

This principle has been further extended in practice. A minor girl cannot be married unless it be a case of exceptional legal necessity, and even then, if the girl, after coming of age, feels that her happiness has been marred by that marriage, she can break away. Though there is no dowry system among the Muslims, there is a practice by which the bridegroom has to pay a consideration money or "Mahar" to the bride, which is in no case refundable. The practice was introduced with the idea of enabling the bride to start life with an economic status, but it has been carried to such extremes among certain classes of Muslims that complications have very often set in at the time of payments, much to the detriment of the good relationship of the parties concerned, with the result that the very object of the injunction, which was to exercise a salutary influence over husbands, is being defeated.

The edicts in Islam which form the mainspring of the women's cause are a revelation to the intellectual world. The idea of original sin has been effectively exploded once for all and women have been put on the same level as men. In fact it is largely due to the wholesome influence of Islam that the cry for the rights of women has been effectively taken up, and today we find women at the helm of affairs in government and society.

### INDIA TODAY

Even in India, where conditions are proverbially stagnant, women are in the vanguard of progress. While women doctors and barristers have ceased to be a rarity, we also hear without surprise of women ministers and legislators. The Age of Consent Act has checked child marriage considerably, and there is constant agitation among women's organizations throughout the country for enforcing similar measures for the elevation of women. Like their sisters elsewhere, Hindu women have become very vocal and insistent for political rights and status. In 1917 the women of India made a bold representation when the Montford reforms were on the anvil. Their joint representation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1934 shows the rapid and remarkable progress Indian women have made since 1917. These things augur well, and with a more rapid disappearance of retrograde beliefs and superstitious customs, it is confidently believed that Indian women will come to occupy at no distant date an important position in the worldly scheme of things.

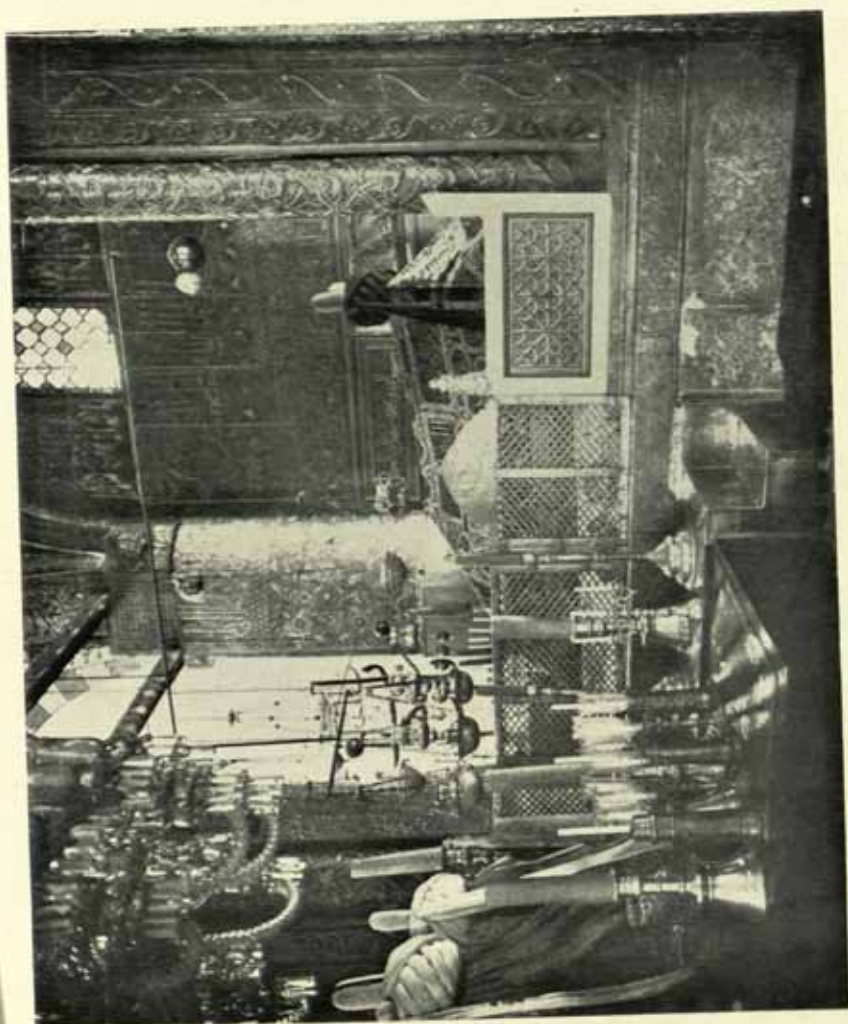


FIG. 1.—KONYA: INTERIOR OF THE FORMER TEKKE OF THE MEVLANI DERVISHES.  
The sarcophagus of the Founder of the Order is seen in the background.

The Tourist in the Turkish Capitals of Anatolia.



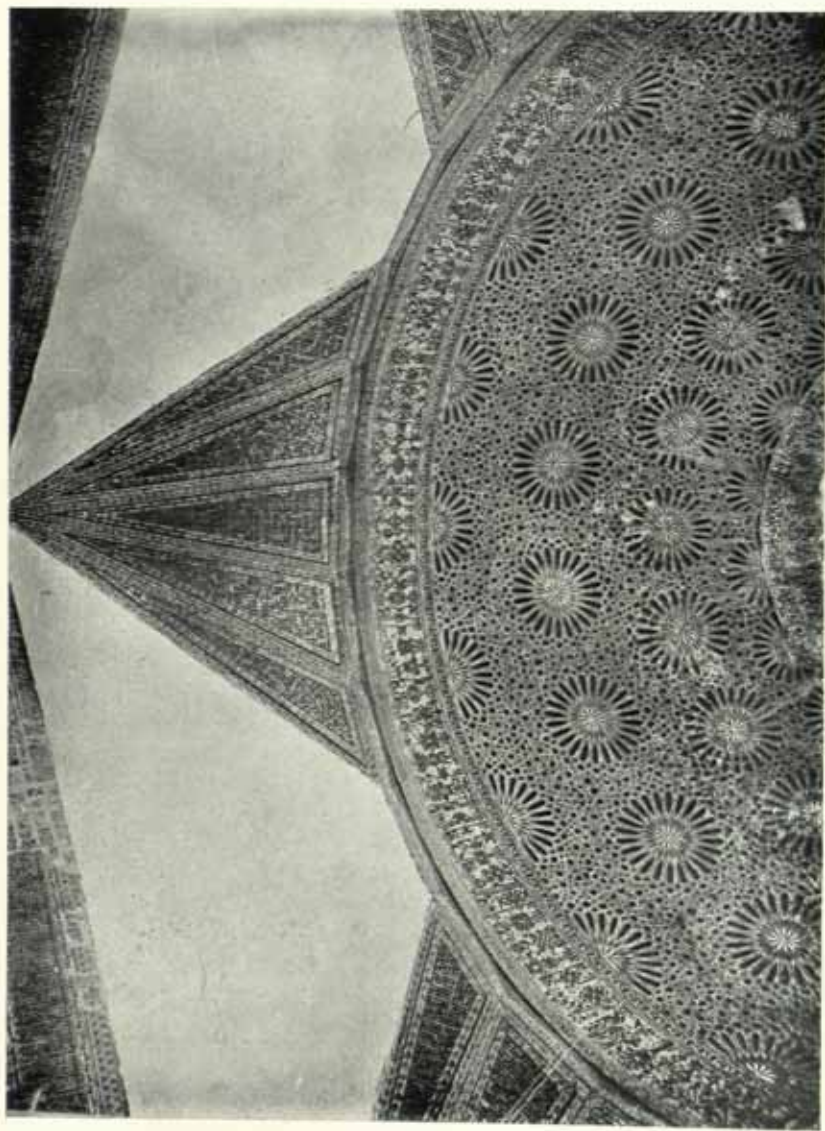


FIG. 2.—KONYA: SECTION OF THE PAIENCE ENCIRCLING THE DOME OF THE KARATAYLAR MEDRESSAH.

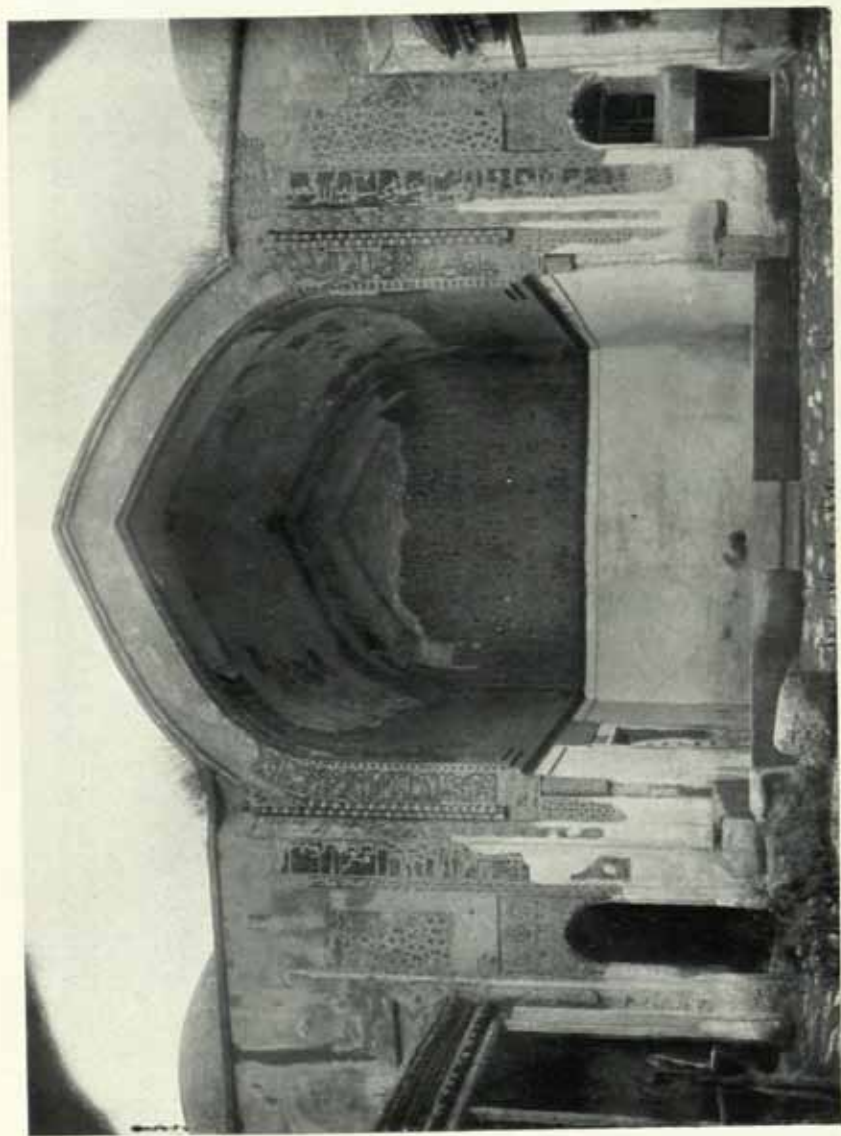


FIG. 3.—KONYA: ARCH OF THE CHAPEL AT THE NORTHERN END OF THE COURT OF THE  
SIRCHALI MEDRESSAH.



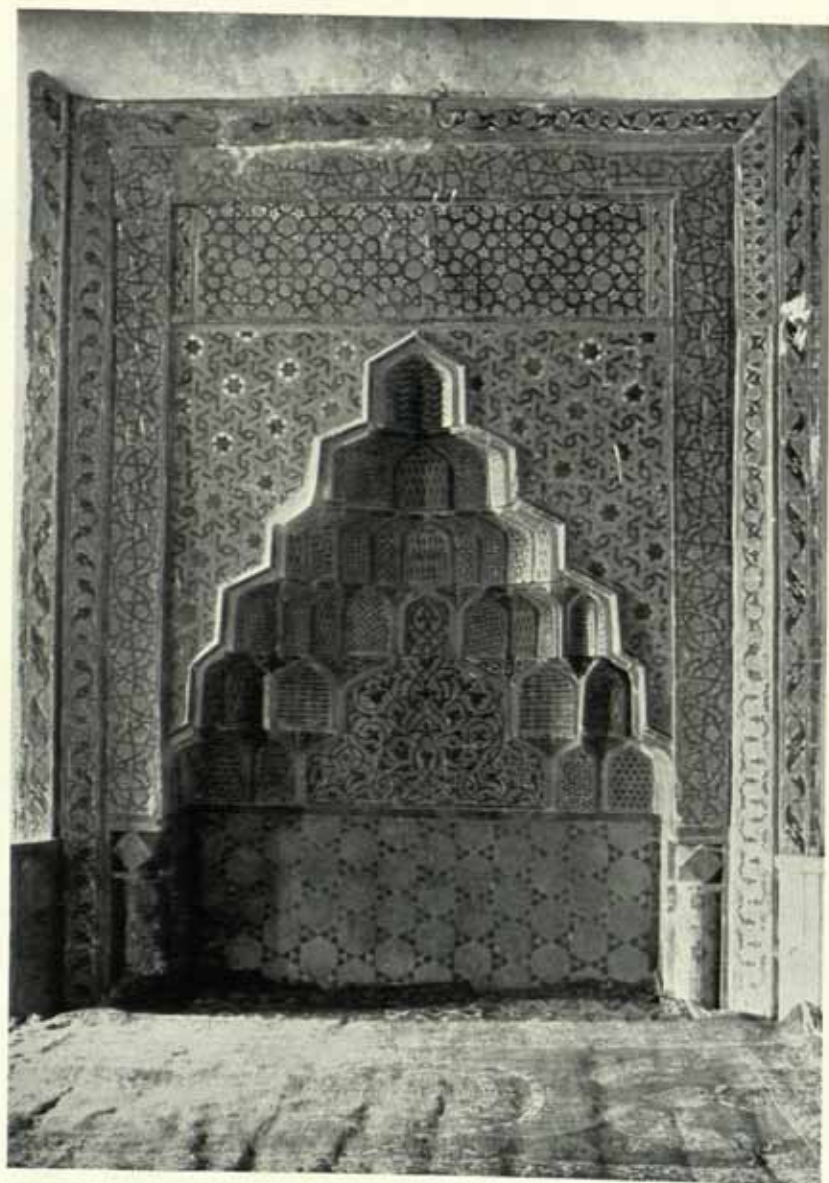


FIG. 4.—KONYA: THE MIHRAB WITHIN THE SAHIBATA MOSQUE.

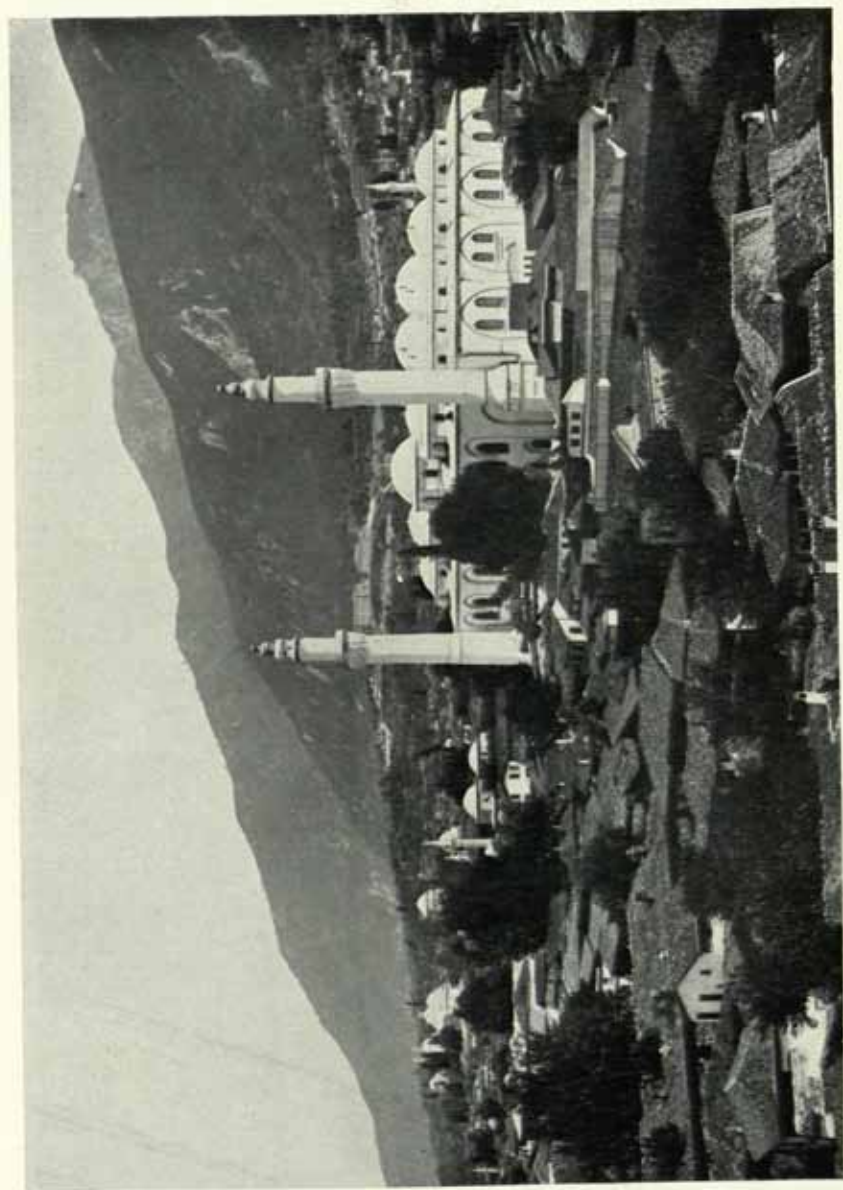


FIG. 5.—BROUSSA : GENERAL VIEW OF THE ULU JAMI OR GREAT MOSQUE.  
The slopes of Mount Olympus are seen in the background.



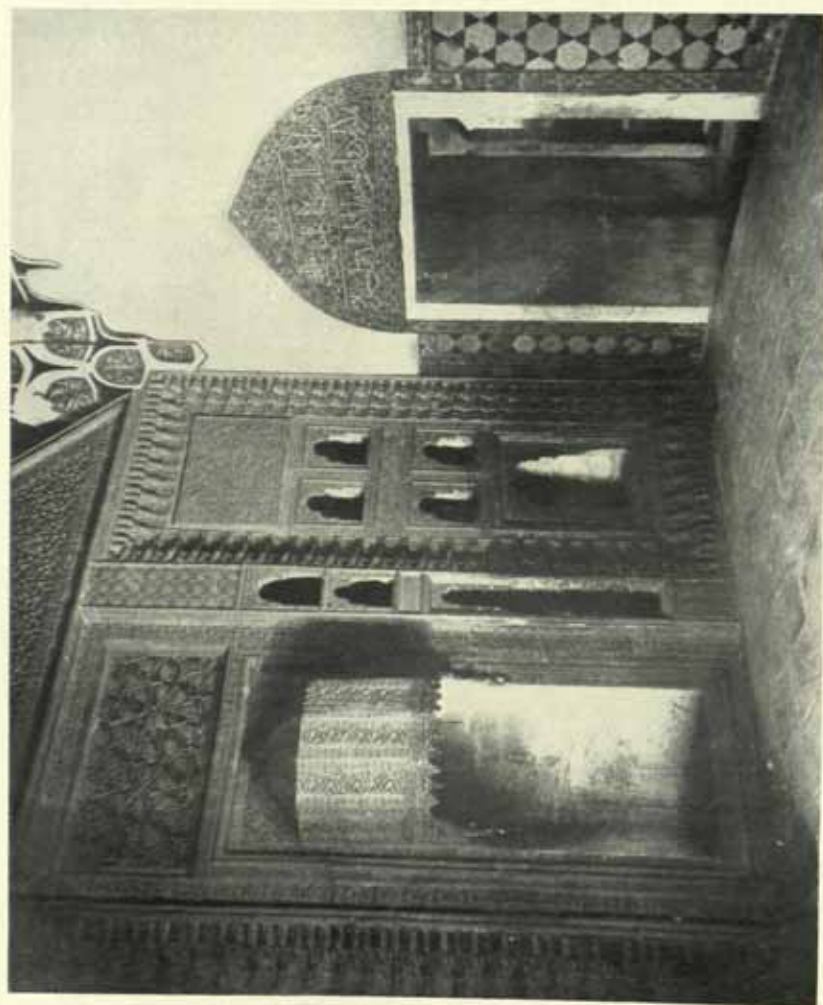


FIG. 6.—BROUSSA : A CORNER OF THE YESHIL JAMI OR GREEN MOSQUE.

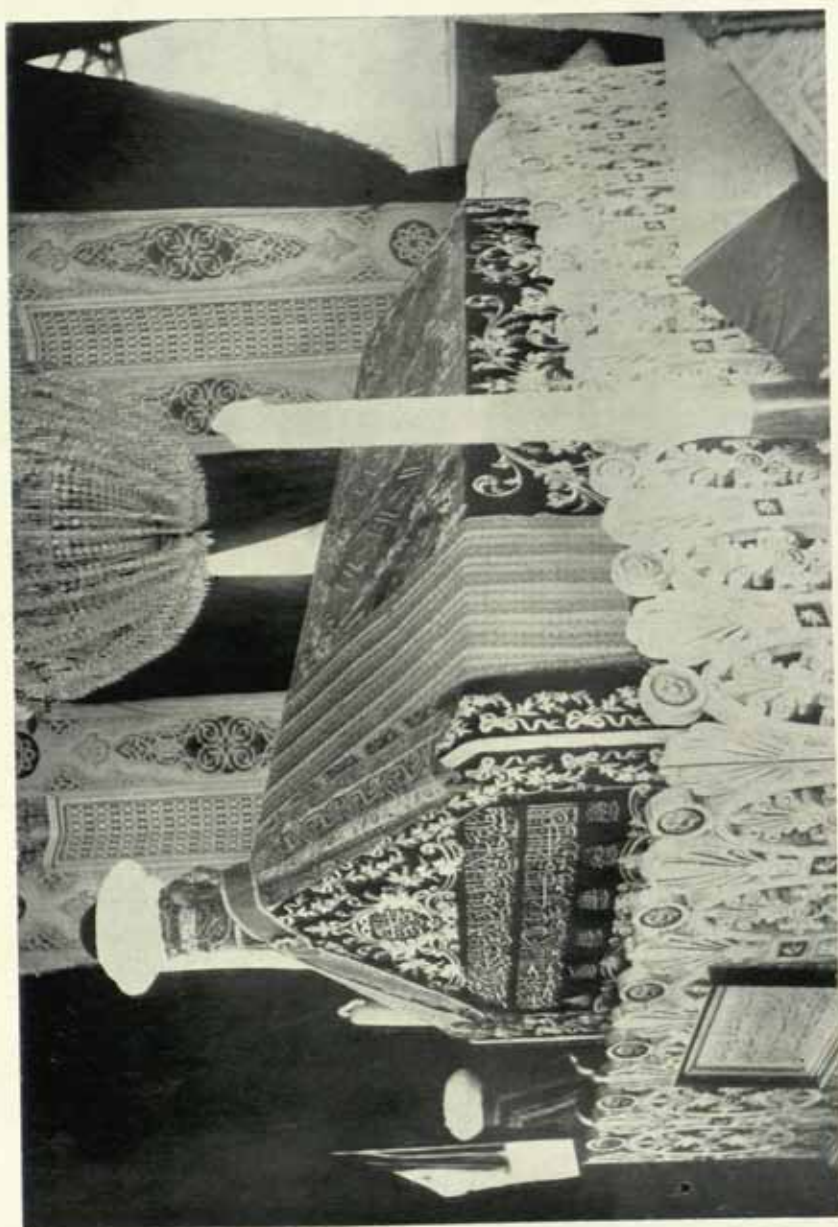


FIG. 7.—EROUSSA: SARCOPHAGUS OF OTHMAN I., FOUNDER OF THE OSMANLI DYNASTY.



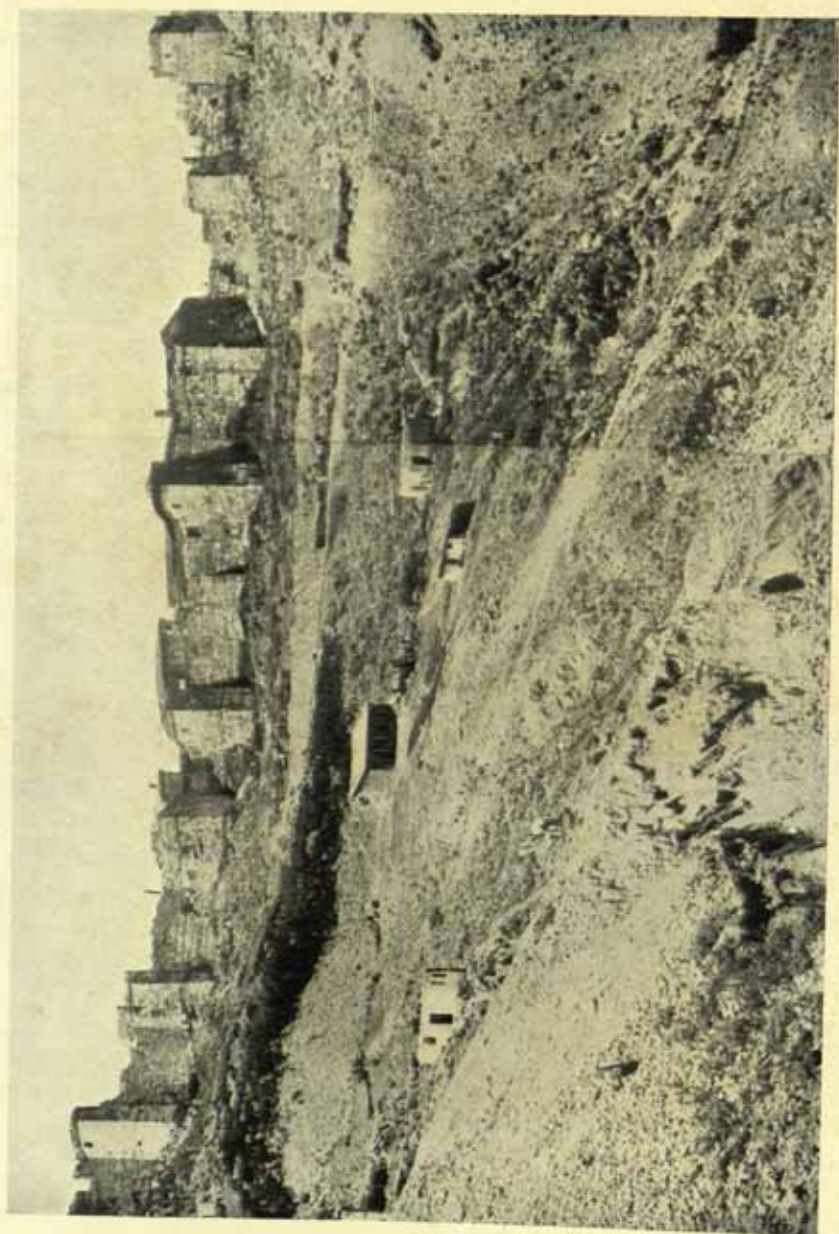


FIG. 8.—ANGORA : A SECTION OF THE TURKISH CITADEL WALLS.

## THE TOURIST IN THE TURKISH CAPITALS OF ANATOLIA

By E. H. KING

HAVING attempted to describe in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* a journey which embraced one of the most remote regions in a land unsurpassed in romantic beauty, my object in writing the present article is to endeavour to arouse the reader's interest in a brief survey of the historic features of the Seljuki, the early Osmanli, and the present-day Turkish capitals which are all easily accessible and where, in the case of the two latter, the complete amenities of modern civilization may be enjoyed.

Of the two latter capitals Broussa may be easily visited from Istanbul by crossing the Bosphorus to Mudanya and proceeding thence by charabanc; it is possible, though very inadvisable, to return the same day. Ankara may be reached in complete comfort by taking a luxurious night train from Haydarpasha, which enables one to reach the modern capital in time for breakfast on the following morning. As to Konya, I recall leaving the city by a night train and arriving at Ankara on the following day round about 5 p.m., so that, although somewhat further afield, even this journey presents no serious difficulties, far less discomfort.

If I have not embarked upon a description of Constantinople itself it is not due to any lack of affection for or interest on my part in the unique splendours of the ancient city of Constantine the Great and the later Osmanli capital, but because I am not unmindful of the fact that far abler pens than mine have long since dilated upon its wonders, nor, frankly, have I the temerity to insult the reader's intelligence by a repetition of historic facts doubtless already acquired in many cases at first hand, or at least upon reference to the wealth of literature so readily available upon the subject. Yet of the hundreds of British tourists who doubtless pass annually up the "Golden Horn," how small a proportion, it would seem, cross to the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus and set out to admire and study the earlier art and history of the Turkish race.

### KONYA

At the conclusion of the journey previously described I had succumbed to a somewhat sharp attack of fever upon my arrival at the seaport of Mersin, and it was with a feeling of profound relief that, when convalescent, I was able to quit the treacherous summer



climate of the lowlands of Cilicia for the health-giving, invigorating air which may be enjoyed in the vicinity of Konya, where I arrived by rail about the middle of July, 1936. The town today boasts a population of approximately sixty thousand, and lies at an altitude of three thousand four hundred feet near the base of the western Taurus range, where it swings in a south-easterly direction along the fringe of the Axylon Plains.

Far be it from me to describe the somewhat cramped accommodation afforded by the Hotel Seljuk Palas as luxurious! Nevertheless, if scrupulous cleanliness, good food, and a helpful and kindly management, whose charges are of the most moderate description, will suffice, your sojourn in Konya should prove every whit as enjoyable as my own, and let me here remark in parenthesis that I have never been approached by the Turkish authorities to extol the beauties of their entrancing land nor to indulge in any form of propaganda, for if I may not write of a country as I find it I would prefer to refrain from describing it at all!

For the most part Asiatic Turkey does not cater for or encourage the foreign tourist as yet, and there exist no national organizations such as the Intourist Travel Bureau of Soviet fame. Before dilating upon the charm and historic interest of the erstwhile capital of the Seljuki Turkish Sultans, I feel it only fair to warn the reader that in travelling along the main lines of communication in Anatolia one must be prepared to encounter possibly a somewhat irksome interest by the police in one's movements, but provided common sense is exercised this need occasion no embarrassment to the traveller, and in my experience courtesy and frankness will smooth away any difficulties which might arise. I merely mention this fact since I have recently read more than one most discouraging account, and I am anxious to remove the impression undoubtedly thereby created that the foreigner travelling in Asia Minor moves in constant peril of being pounced upon by the police at any moment for no apparent reason and confined in a noisome cell over an indefinite period whilst awaiting trial for some purely imaginary offence!

In a country where such far-reaching developments are daily approaching more nearly to the point of fruition, the Government are obliged to exercise a somewhat close scrutiny upon the movements of foreign nationals, but with one minor exception I am happy to be able to emphasize the fact that throughout my fairly protracted travels in Anatolia I have experienced nothing but the most disinterested kindness and help from Turkish Government officials, both in Ankara and elsewhere, and if the police may seek information which possibly strikes the traveller as being somewhat irrelevant, their enquiries are couched in the most courteous terms; personally, I have enjoyed many conversations



of the most interesting and enlightening character with police officials which have more than once served to while away the tedium of a train journey.

Unquestionably one of my most pleasing recollections of the Turkish people centres around the extraordinary friendliness, intelligence, and charm displayed by the youth of the country. I recall more than one occasion when I have been seated, smoking the pipe of contentment and peace, in the public gardens or parks during the cool of the evening and being approached by one or perhaps two or three college students, who, immediately recognizing in me a foreigner, would, in a most delightfully unaffected manner, address me, maybe in French or English, asking if they might join me in a chat. They would thereupon proceed to bombard me with innumerable questions regarding my own country and as to how it compared with Turkey from every conceivable standpoint; in fact, I was frequently subjected to a somewhat gruelling cross-examination from which I was forced to extricate myself by turning the tables upon them and in my turn seeking information from my youthful and ardent interrogators. If these lads may be regarded as typical examples of the rising generation, then it augurs well for the future prosperity and contentment of a country which has suffered so severely from mal-administration in the past.

A knowledge of French, a language far more generally spoken in the country than English, will carry the visitor along quite comfortably in Konya, both at the hotel and for sightseeing purposes, particularly where one is already in possession of a fair knowledge of the historical features of the locality. In dealing with the arabachis, or cab-drivers (many of whom I found to be rapacious to a degree), it is advisable to seek information beforehand regarding fares from the hotel proprietor (although several of the mosques and medressahs [religious colleges] are to be found within a stone's-throw of the front door). So determined was I to resist the extortionate demands of these worthies that on more than one occasion I subsequently discovered that I had inadvertently underpaid them and thus there was doubtless some justification for the howls of abuse which mercifully fell upon uncomprehending ears!

Konya stands upon the site of the ancient Iconium of the Romans and the Greeks, its biblical history being associated with the visit of St. Paul in company with St. Barnabas, whence he was ejected by the Jews, but whither he later returned on his second missionary journey and where he appears to have encountered his cherished disciple Timothy (Acts xvi. 2). Of this ancient city, however, not a visible trace exists today, and its historical interest centres entirely round the earliest Turkish occupation.



In order that the reader (and, as I trust, the potential visitor!) may the more readily appreciate the spirit pervading the rugged old mosques, medressahs, and other remains still standing in a locality wherein I intended to spend a couple of days but where I actually remained for a week, it is necessary to hark back towards the close of the tenth century, when the Turkish nomadic tribes, under the guidance of their leader, one Seljuk, migrated westward from the steppes of Chinese Turkestan towards Bokhara and whose advent constituted a memorable epoch in the history of Islam. At this period the vast empire of the Khalifs, riven by internal dissensions, had become little more than a collection of scattered dynasties bound by no common interests; but the newcomers, adopting the Islamic creed with fervour, infused new life into the moribund state. Toghrul Bey, Seljuk's successor, after completely overrunning the Persian Empire, entered Baghdad in the year 1055, when the Khalif el-Kaim bestowed upon him the title of "Representative of the Khalif and protector of the Moslems," whilst his nephew, Alp Arslan, who in turn succeeded him, followed up his conquest of Georgia by his seizure of the Armenian capital, the city of Ani, in 1063, subsequently driving the Armenians westward from their plains and villages. In 1070 he captured the town of Cæsarea from the Greeks and in 1071 inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at the town of Melazkherd, north of Lake Van—a victory which later paved the way for further conquests in Asia Minor—with the result that in the year 1074 the Seljukis dominated Persia, Syria, and Anatolia, whose dynasties were suppressed and an immense empire founded which extended from the borders of Afghanistan to the shores of the Mediterranean.

The chief claim of Iconium to the distinction of being the capital of the province of Lycaonia in Roman times lay in its central position upon one of the great lines of communication between Ephesus on the western coast of Asia Minor and Tarsus in the south; moreover, many important Roman roads intersected at this point. Later, during the reign of Hadrian, the city became a Roman colony.

The Sultan Daud Kilinj Arslan I., who reigned from 1092-1106, became the founder of the Seljuk Empire of Roum (Anatolia), and the city of Konya became the capital of this dynasty in the year 1099, from which its sway was exercised over a large part of Asia Minor during the ensuing two hundred years. True, their Sultans were deposed for short periods by the Mongols and the outer walls of the city were captured by the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa in 1190, who, however, never succeeded in seizing the castle, and upon his death the Sultans re-entered their capital and thenceforward there ensued the most glamorous

period under the rule of the Seljuks until the weakly Sultan Ghiyas-ed-din Keykhusru II. was defeated by the Mongols near the Armenian town of Erzingan in the year 1243 and under the terms of the Treaty of Sivas acknowledged the supremacy of Kuyuk Khan. The independent Seljuk Empire of Roum thus collapsed, although the successors of Ghiyas-ed-din ruled as vassals of the Mongol Khans until the commencement of the fourteenth century. The city of Konya then passed into the hands of the Emirs of the independent state of Karamania, which was subsequently annexed under the Osmanli dynasty.

Having very briefly surveyed the history of the Seljuks and of their second and incomparably most important capital (for their earlier occupation of Nicæa was of the briefest duration), let us now proceed to inspect the remains which still stand (albeit, in many cases, rapidly crumbling to dust) to testify to the glamorous splendour which characterized the life of the capital in those distant days.

We cannot do better than to make our way in the first instance towards the erstwhile Tekke of the Mevlani, once the principal monastery of the Order of the Whirling Dervishes, founded in the thirteenth century by one Hazret Mevlana, otherwise known as Djelal-ed-din, the Persian mystic, poet, and saint from Bokhara, who was invited to the Court of the Sultan Ala-ed-din Keykubad I. (1219-36), unquestionably the most celebrated of the Sultans of Roum, and who was wont to gather about him many eminent philosophers, architects, and men of letters from the countries east and west of the Oxus, fugitives from the all-devouring and devastating Mongol invasions. As a natural consequence the most casual observer cannot fail to detect the strong Persian influence of the highest order which permeates the art of the Seljuks, largely an essentially composite art, towards which features displaying Saracenic inspiration likewise frequently contribute. Our objective is situated in the centre of the town, being reached by passing through the bazaars (of no particular interest) and being easily identified by the lofty cupola surmounting the building, encrusted with tiles of emerald green (a comparatively recent replacement of the original blue faïence).

Since the year 1925, when the Dervish Orders in Turkey were suppressed by order of Kemal Atatürk, the former inmates have dispersed and the building has now been converted into a museum of Seljuk art, and a more enchantingly peaceful and entrancing spot it would be difficult to imagine. Here is to be found no trace of the musty, fusty atmosphere so frequently associated with such institutions, for in truth but little change has been effected, and that little merely serves to enhance the most interesting features connected with the building.



True, I missed the picturesque figure of the "Chelebi Effendi," as the presiding genius of the monastery was formerly described, garbed in the brown dress with ample fluted skirt and the tall conical hat of similar colour, but encircled by a green band, the sole distinctive emblem of his status over his lesser brethren. In the year of grace 1936, however, I am greeted by the curator of the museum, an elderly little gentleman who strove manfully to rack his brains in order to enlighten me, from an extremely meagre French vocabulary, regarding the historical features of the domain under his charge (with which I was already largely acquainted), and who appeared to be almost on the verge of tears when, on occasions, we may be said to have failed to establish verbal contact!

Upon entering the precinct through a low and picturesque porchway, I was confronted by what may be described as the forecourt, in the centre of which stands a marble fountain with numerous faucets covered by a canopy supported by slender columns, and standing before the lovely old cedarwood doors of the mosque, above which rises the customary minaret.

Having crossed the threshold I was conducted to the interior of the "Turbeh" of the "Pir," or founder, Djelal-ed-din, above which rises the cupola already mentioned and which is reached by passing through the gates of silver observed in the photograph (Fig. 1), beyond which stands the great marble sepulchre itself, covered by a pall of black and gold (presented by the last of the Turkish Sultans, Abdul Hamid) and surmounted by the sarcophagal turbans of the deceased and his kinsman, the Sultan Veled, whilst those of his successors may be observed in an adjoining chamber. No words of mine could adequately describe the beauty of the rich polychrome effects and intricate carving observed upon the walls of the "Turbeh," which, as it seemed to me, serve to enshrine with a majesty in death the remains of one whose life's work ultimately became centred in poverty and the care of the destitute.

The "Turbeh" constitutes the sole portion of the building dating from the Seljuk period (1245) since, in effect, the "Simahane," where the ritualistic dancing took place, erected during the reign of Selim II., and the mosque itself, dating from the time of Suleyman the Magnificent, were both added in order to commemorate in perpetuity the doctrines of the founder. The "Simahane" remains entirely unaltered, and it required no great effort of the imagination to conjure up the figures of the ecstatic devotees as they performed their gyratory evolutions to the accompaniment of weird and barbaric chants and to the beating of the drums in the presence of the august and motionless sedentary figure of the Chelebi himself. Upon the floor of the adjoining

mosque are now arranged a number of museum cases containing various relics, some dating from the time of the founder of the monastery, among which I observed his vestments in a fine state of preservation, as also silk tissues and velvets, together with early volumes and leaves from the Koran.

Suspended from the walls of the building are to be seen carpets and rugs of exquisite design, colour, and weave, amongst which were pointed out to me two specimens which my informant, the curator, assured me dated without question from the thirteenth century—*i.e.*, the Seljuk period. Early Oriental rugs possess for me an intense fascination, and this disclosure came as somewhat of a revelation, since in the London market, where some of the finest pieces are to be acquired today, the earliest Anatolian prayer-rugs are classified as dating from not anterior to the late sixteenth century. Unrivalled in their artistic beauty, a beauty inspired by the fanatical devotion of those weavers of old, are the classic specimens—alas! too rarely encountered—of the towns of Ghiordes and Kula. I myself was fortunate enough to acquire recently a “Kula” of exceptional merit (such as I have sought in vain in the bazaars of Istanbul today) from amongst the exotic showrooms of Mr. Franes, the well-known connoisseur of Burlington Gardens, in London.

Many of the Seljuk remains in Konya of necessity bear the stamp of neglect and decay—despite the enchantment engendered in their passing glory—yet the Tekke of the Mevlani, though bereft of its former picturesque occupants, would still, as it were, seem to emit that vivifying force which once actuated the lives of those who sleep within its walls.

Within a stone's-throw of the Tekke stands the Selimye Mosque erected during the reigns of Suleyman the Magnificent and Selim II., which, in my humble opinion, constitutes the sole mosque in Konya of the Osmanli dynasty which may be said to be really worthy of mention, for the city naturally declined in importance upon the downfall of the Seljuks. Whilst the exterior presents no remarkable features, once the threshold is crossed the interior will reveal a “Mimber,” or, as we should describe it, pulpit, executed in multi-coloured marble, and of rare grace and beauty. The fluted conical erection almost invariably surmounting the “Mimber” of a mosque serves, as might be supposed, as a sounding-board when the hoja, or priest, is delivering his exhortation. This mosque is still in use and I observed a solemn and handsome little Turkish boy mechanically repeating extracts from the Koran before his preceptor, though, if the truth must be told, his attention appeared to be not unnaturally somewhat diverted by the spectacle of a palpable foreigner clad in a suit of “plus-fours,” standing six feet five inches in height and busily engrossed in



photographing the interior, for please remember we are in Konya and not Constantinople, where I imagine the populace must be inured to the sight of all manner of grotesque specimens of humanity!

Happily for those of a lethargic disposition, as I have already remarked, many of the loveliest of Konya's mosques and medresahs are to be found within easy walking distance from the hotel and may be comfortably visited during the course of an afternoon, assuming, say, that the morning has been devoted to an inspection of the Tekke. God forbid that I should attempt to lay down any hard-and-fast rule as to the space of time required in order to "do" Konya. To my mind Konya is a town in which one is tempted to linger if one is to enter into the spirit of the past, and if these old relics are to convey something deeper to the imagination than so many "sights" on a list which may be scratched through with a pencil as disposed of once they have been inspected.

We are now dealing entirely with Seljuk remains; the largest of the mosques and that in the finest state of preservation lies in the Ala-ed-din Mosque, which was commenced in the reign of Kilinj Arslan I. (the founder of the Seljuk dynasty, q.v.) and completed by Ala-ed-din Keykubad I. in the year 1220. This latter sultan employed a Damascene architect, Mohammed Ben Haulan, in its construction, in consequence of which marked Saracenic influence is discernible both in the marble portal and also in the main hall of the interior, where upwards of fifty columns, carved in varying patterns, support the wooden roof, bearing a marked resemblance to those of some of the mosques of Damascus and Cairo. The exterior of this mosque is not particularly impressive, and unfortunately it is now adapted to military purposes, on which account I was only permitted to view it from without, although at my earnest request I was allowed to inspect the chamber containing the sarcophagi of Kilinj Arslan, Ala-ed-din Keykubad, and their kindred, covered with the deep blue faience so characteristic of the Seljuk dynasty and reflecting beams of melancholy beauty as of approaching twilight. Situated upon a mound not far distant from the mosque is to be seen a shapeless ruin, no more than an unrecognizable mass, constituting the sole existing remains of one of the square towers of the ancient castle of Konya, the greater part of the tower having collapsed some twenty-five years since.

What a romantically lovely old tower it must have been! I was able to secure an early photograph from which it is possible to detect the Cufic inscriptions upon the masonry and the figure of a "Seljuk Lion" possessed of the most enchantingly inane expression imaginable and which one can only visualize standing on wheels in a toyshop! My sole reason for not reproducing this

photograph lies in my desire to attempt to convey to the reader (where space is limited) some of the most interesting features to be seen in the locality *today* and not such as existed a quarter of a century ago!

A mosque, the minaret of which presents a singularly stultified appearance, is to be observed in the vicinity, which is known by the somewhat paradoxical name of the Mosque of the Injeh (*i.e.*, needle-shaped) Minaret, having been completed during the reign of the Sultan Izzeddin Keykavus in the year 1310. Actually the name serves to recall the fluted shaft, covered in its entirety with red and blue faïence, which once rose to nearly three times the height of the dome. Alas! nearly fifty years ago the mosque was struck by lightning and almost two-thirds of the minaret crashed to the ground (history does not relate whether any passers-by were standing beneath at the time!). Yet even from the truncated relic that remains one may recapture in part something of the beauty of that tapering spire from which the call to prayer once echoed across the housetops of the ancient city. In contrast with the Persian influence displayed in the design of the minaret (or such portion as remains) is the imposing sandstone portal of this mosque, richly sculptured with intricate arabesques and foliate motifs of Saracenic inspiration. Curiously enough, the faïence with which the minaret is encrusted appears in an incomparably finer state of preservation than the mosaics still clinging to parts of the walls of the interior of this mosque, which, of course, are sheltered from the elements. I naturally concluded that the minaret had been restored at a later date, but was informed that this was not the case.

I have no hesitation whatever in describing the Karataylar Medressah as one of, if not *the* most superb specimen of Seljuk art extant. This medressah was built in the year 1271 by the Vizier Karatay-bin-Abdullah, whose tomb it contains and who became famous under the name of the Emir Jelaleddin during the reign of the Sultan Keykavus II. The French once sought, though in vain, to acquire what might truly be described as "*un vrai éblouissement; un véritable chef d'œuvre*" and to transport the building piecemeal.

The superb portal consists of a recessed door in carved cedar-wood encased by fluted stone jambs and a lintel surrounded by the most delicate carving. This door is surmounted by seven rows of "stalactite" ornamentation in purest marble, each row of a different pattern, the whole being framed by an arch of small multi-coloured interlacing voussoirs of Syrian inspiration.

Passing into the interior one is confronted by a court overgrown with weeds and surrounded by the cells of the students of yore, but it is upon entering the mosque of the medressah



itself that the glory of the building becomes apparent. Practically the entire dome as seen from beneath is adorned with the most magnificent faïence in rich shades of blue and green that it is possible to conceive. Completely encircling the cupola near its base there is traced in Cufic characters the entire *Surat El Fath* (Chapter of Victory), of which a section is seen in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 2), from which may also be observed within this circle "sunburst" motifs of Persian inspiration. Smaller triangles, of which one is shown in its entirety in the illustration, connect as pendentives with four great outer triangles upon which are repeatedly inscribed *ad infinitum* the names of the first four Khalifs, viz., Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali.

A bay forming a Persian window on the south side of this main hall is likewise encrusted with the most exquisite mosaics. In a corner I discovered a small heap of these tiles which, I was informed, had become loosened and which were shortly to be replaced. How ardently did I seek to acquire a few as a souvenir of my visit to Konya! Of no avail, however, were my entreaties—my escort was adamant! In truth, it must be admitted they were not his to sell, otherwise I might possibly have returned to the hotel with my entire person fairly bulging and rattling with thirteenth-century Seljuk tiles!

Before taking our leave of Konya I should like to mention the Sirchali Medressah situated in the district of Gazi Alemshah (at no great distance from the hotel), and in this case the most interesting feature is the inner court, over which albeit there broods an air of ineffable melancholy in its decaying splendour. Whilst the covered colonnade surrounding this court is fast crumbling to dust, and much of the paving is scarcely discernible for weeds, whilst the little apricot trees in the centre droop as if in sorrowful retrospect, yet there still cling to the arch of the chapel at the southern end (Fig. 3), and to the picturesque little doors by which it is flanked, sufficient mosaics covered with Cufic inscriptions, floral motifs, and dainty arabesques to recall the impression once created by the beauty of their colouring and design upon the minds of the worshippers of old as they knelt in ecstatic devotion within its recesses. The medressah was built by one Bedreddin Musleh in the year 1262, during the reign of Keyhusrey bin Keykubad. I remarked when describing the Selimye Mosque that the "Mimber" corresponded with the pulpit in a church, so likewise may the "Mihrab" be said to correspond in some degree to the altar, in the sense that it constitutes the most important and most sacred feature, consisting as it does of a bay, or niche, cut out of the base of the wall, invariably turned towards Mecca, before and within which are spread the finest carpets and prayer-rugs which the mosque possesses. As might naturally be sup-

posed, the carving of the "Mihrab" is the object of very special care and attention, being frequently carried out in the so-called "stalactite" design so often observed in both the religious and secular art of the Turks.

One of the finest Seljuk "Mihrabs" to be found in Konya adorns the ruinous interior of the Sahibata Mosque (Fig. 4), erected by one of that name in the year 656 of the Hegira (A.D. 1259). "Mihrabs" of this design are to be found reproduced in the prayer-arches of the rugs produced in the districts of Ghiordes, Kirshehr, Mudjur, and frequently in those of Konya itself.

#### BROUSSA

Although I did not proceed to Broussa direct from Konya, it is convenient from the point of view of chronological sequence to describe the town at this juncture.

Unfortunately my visit had, of necessity, to be somewhat curtailed in order to enable me to catch the boat from Istanbul homewards. This state of affairs came about entirely owing to my dilatory habits, since not only had I dallied somewhat in Konya, but upon my return to Istanbul I found myself quite unable to resist an alluring invitation to spend a few days at a charming villa upon the shores of the Bosphorus close to the little town of Therapia.

Tradition assigns the foundation of Broussa either to Hannibal about the year 220 B.C. or to Prusias II., King of the province of Bithynia, from whom it would have received its original name of Prusa. Actually, it is probable that Hannibal designed and laid the foundations of the city in token of his appreciation of the refuge afforded him at the Court of this king, and that the latter actually performed most of the "spade work" round about the year 202 B.C., just as Hannibal later, in the year 189 B.C., drew the plans of the old Armenian capital of Artaxata near the banks of the River Araxes, although in effect this city was subsequently built by King Artaxias, after whom it was, of course, named.

Much later Prusa became a Byzantine city of importance under the name of Bursa, or Broussa, and it is to the Greeks that must be attributed the discovery of the thermal waters, so renowned in those distant days that we hear of the Empress Theodosia visiting the city in A.D. 525 with a suite of no less than four thousand in attendance! Between the tenth and the fifteenth century Broussa was the scene of constant warfare, and it was Othman I., the founder of the Osmanli dynasty, who first invested the city in the year 1317, the blockade having been maintained for a period of ten years, when it fell to his son Orhan while the father lay upon his deathbed. His last request was to the effect that here was to



be established the seat of the empire, and that his remains be interred within its walls. The city thus became the Osmanli or Ottoman capital in the year 1327, and here it remained installed until the conquest of Constantinople under the Sultan Mehmet II. Fatih in 1453. Today it boasts a population of about one hundred thousand and is charmingly situated amidst dense vegetation at the base of and to the north of Mount Olympus. The whitewashed houses, with their red-tiled roofs, nestling amidst the shady trees and the abundance of clear, cool water largely derived from the lower banks of the eternal snows of Mount Olympus, which commence to melt after the winter rains are over, together with the innumerable mosques, numbering upwards of two hundred, combine to render Broussa one of the most picturesque and delightful resorts towards which the tourist might well direct his or her footsteps. A new hotel-de-luxe has recently been opened, replete with every conceivable modern comfort "y compris" a first-rate dance orchestra and American bar, together with an irreproachable cuisine. Not unnaturally the charges are in keeping with the surroundings, but there exist other establishments both clean and comfortable, and adapted to those of more modest means. The intending visitor may, however, easily obtain fullest particulars from the offices of Thomas Cook in Istanbul prior to departure.

Now before everything else it is strongly advisable first to ascend the Hisar Ichi, or citadel, standing in the centre of and dominating the city, the walls of which are partly of very early date but also largely restored as a result of the successive earthquakes which have rocked Broussa during the passage of the centuries. From the citadel not only may the finest view of the city be secured, but it is also thus possible to obtain a fairly comprehensive idea of the "lay of the land" generally. Although Broussa boasts an immense number of mosques, by far the greater proportion of them are either comparatively modern or of little interest, and it is towards those erected prior to the year 1453—that is to say, under the first five of the Sultans of the Osmanli dynasty—that one should turn in order to seek acquaintance with those monuments of Oriental splendour which characterized the early art of the Ottoman Empire, an art admittedly inspired in part by that of the Seljuks and to which Byzantine influence has likewise contributed.

The largest of the mosques in Broussa is that actually known by the name of the Ulu Jami, or Great Mosque, standing in the heart of the city and which dominates the scene as observed in the photograph (Fig. 5); commenced by Murad I. in 1379, continued by Bajazet I., and completed by Mehmet I. in 1421.

The court before the mosque appears somewhat neglected and

one seeks in vain for the customary fountain where, as is well known, every true Mussulman performs his ablutions before prostrating himself within the House of Prayer itself. The exterior is chiefly remarkable on account of its size, and more particularly by reason of the fact that in place of the single main dome or cupola usually encountered, in the case of this mosque the roof is comprised of twenty small domes, each covering an arched section of the lower floor, whilst a venerable plane-tree alone rises from the forecourt in place of the cypresses and flowers with which it was doubtless adorned in bygone days. The walls of the interior, once richly decorated, have, alas! been covered with a thick coating of whitewash, upon which have been painted monogrammatic designs in black. The most conspicuous object to be seen inside the mosque consists of a great stone basin, from the centre of which rises a column supporting numerous smaller basins, the water pouring through jets from the upper into the lower, the whole being surrounded by a low railing, and it is here that the Faithful perform their ablutions. The "Mimber"—a veritable masterpiece in carved cedarwood—was fashioned in India, whence it was brought by the Sultan Bajazet I.

But the supreme glory of Broussa and (with the exception of the exquisite Suleyminye Mosque in Istanbul) the most superb monument of Turkish art under the Osmanli dynasty extant, lies in the famous Yeshil Jami, or Green Mosque, situated in the eastern quarter of the city. Erected entirely in purest marble by the Sultan Mehmet I. in the year 1420, it takes its name from the magnificent green faïence with which its minarets were once adorned, but which fell to the ground during an earthquake which occurred in the year 1855. The building was, however, restored with great care and devotion by a young Turkish architect, Asim Bey, in 1909, at the time of a visit to Broussa by the Sultan Mehmet V., a restoration largely carried out as the result of a profound study of the beautiful work of Léon Parvillée (*Architecture et décoration turque au quinzième siècle*). I have already endeavoured to outline in my own words the entrancing beauty of some of the more prominent historical landmarks typifying the art of the Turks, an art which I prefer to describe as embodying the finest features of that of the Persians and of the Arabs, but harmonized, embellished, and moulded under the inspiration of the Seljuks and the Osmanlis into the glorious monuments upon which we are happily still able to feast our eyes today. As to the interior of the Yeshil Jami, the photograph (Fig. 6) must suffice as no more than an introduction to the glory of the whole, which must be seen to be realized; yet, perhaps, the description from the pen of M. Pierre Loti which I append affords a not inadequate summary of this unique and sumptuous edifice:



"Sur les murailles, des faïences rares—de celles dont le procédé de coloration est depuis trois cent ans perdu—alternent avec la blancheur des marbres. Les précieux carreaux qui tapissent les différentes loges, représentent d'imaginables fleurs, ont des encadrements et des bordures de tous les bleus—turquoise, depuis la fraîche turquoise couleur de ciel clair jusqu'à la turquoise mourante, s'éteignant dans les verts étranges. Au fond de la mosquée resplendit le mihrab, le très saint portique vers lequel se tournent les fidèles en priant—chef-d'œuvre d'art ancien, très haut et très majestueux, entièrement en faïence; ses fleurs, ses arabesques, ses inscriptions en relief ont des contournements infinis; son ogive à mille brisants est surchargée de stalactites et rappelle les lentes cristallisations aux voûtes des cavernes; et au-dessus de tout, couronnant ces complications amoncelées une série de grandes trèfles polychromes se découpent sur le marbre blanc des murs."

Owing to my all too transitory inspection of Broussa (whither I shall certainly return during the course of my next travels in the Middle East in a month or two's time) much must of necessity remain undescribed, yet before I took my leave of the city I felt it incumbent upon me at least to pay a visit to the "Turbeh" of Othman I., whose sarcophagus is shown in the photograph (Fig. 7), the "Turbeh" of his son Orhan I. being situated nearby. These tombs are both to be found close to the citadel, being surrounded by a garden through which flows a little stream and where the sweet scent of flowers is wafted on the breeze.

The original sepulchres were, however, destroyed during the course of an earthquake, and those seen today represent the work of the Sultan Abdulaziz during the nineteenth century. Resplendent indeed is that of Othman I., as befits the founder of a great dynasty. Yet how infinitely more impressive must have been the original sarcophagus itself, for the ancient sepulchres of Turkey's Sultans, at all events those of the Seljuks upon which I touched in my description of the Ala-ed-din Mosque at Konya (and doubtless those of the Osmanlis also), required no gorgeous pall such as is seen in the photograph to cover them and which would merely serve to conceal the classic beauty of the workmanship upon which so much reverent and devoted labour had been expended. Suspended diagonally across the front of the catafalque may be seen a broad band of ribbon, the original decoration of the Order of Osmanyé founded by the Sultan Abdulaziz himself, the restorer of the "Turbeh" (q.v.).

I cannot take my leave of Broussa without a passing reference to its silk industry, which may be traced back to the time of the Emperor Justinian; some superb examples of the art of the weavers of the vilayet of Broussa, many dating from the sixteenth

century, are to be seen in the silk and velvet panels, of which the Victoria and Albert Museum boasts an extensive and most representative range.

### ANKARA

And now I come to speak of Angora, the present-day capital of Turkey under the Kemalist régime, or, as it is more popularly termed, Ankara. I spent some days there before setting out upon the journey which formed the subject of my earlier article, and I revisited Ankara in order to pick up the bulk of my luggage before returning to Istanbul.

Much has been written, and stress laid, naturally enough, upon the amazing development of modern Ankara, but before adding my voice to the chorus of praise with which the new capital has been deservedly acclaimed, let us ponder for a moment over the past history of ancient Angora, since ninety-nine people out of a hundred, if interrogated on the subject would doubtless reply, "Angora? Oh yes! that's the place where they breed goats, rabbits, and cats!" Thus, the old town's entire history and industry would appear hitherto to have been confined, in the popular imagination, to the production of untold myriads of the quadrupeds to which its name has lent undying fame! Actually, the date of the foundation of the earliest settlement remains unknown, so dimly does it recede into the mists of antiquity. Certain it is, however, that a city, powerful and prosperous, existed under the name of Ancyra during the Phrygian epoch and which later became the seat of a Gallic tribe known as the Tectosages in the year 200 B.C. When, however, the province of Galatea came under the sway of Rome the name Ancyra (derived from the Greek word signifying "anchor," a device which appeared in the city's coinage) was changed to Sebaste (*i.e.*, respected) in honour of Augustus Cæsar, and it was during the Roman epoch, extending from the year 25 B.C. to A.D. 324, that the ancient city attained the zenith of its fame.

Surely but few cities can have passed through so many vicissitudes! Around but few indeed can the din of battle have so continuously echoed with the passage of the centuries. Captured successively by Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, Chosroes the Persian, and Haroun-el-Raschid, yet again by the Seljuk Turks and by the Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon, who held it for eighteen years, it ultimately passed into the hands of the Osmanli Turks, though previously Tamerlane had witnessed from a nearby hill, named after him to this day, the defeat of the armies of Bajazet I. on July 2, 1402, a defeat which took place upon the very ground where long centuries before Pompey had vanquished



the forces of Mithridates, the adventurous father-in-law of the renowned Armenian King, Tigranes the Great.

Now this city lay largely upon and at the base of the hill which rises to a height of some five hundred feet above the plain whereon the modern capital has been, and still is in process of being constructed. I spent many an interesting hour wandering through the narrow streets with which the ancient "citadel" is intersected. Most of the old Turkish dwellings are primitive enough and appear to be inhabited largely by gypsy folk garbed in picturesque and highly coloured (if none too cleanly!) costumes. They are friendly creatures, these Tziganys, particularly the children, who swarm like rabbits amidst the old fortifications which once guarded the approach to the citadel. Picturesque indeed are the ancient Turkish walls of Angora, of which a section is shown in the photograph (Fig. 8), constructed of great rough-hewn grey stones which contain many fragments of old Roman masonry, inserted apparently quite haphazard, and upon which are to be frequently found inscriptions and other interesting archæological material. Three rows of these fortifications rise in tiers upon the slopes of the citadel, breathing, as it were, grim defiance upon the twentieth-century capital below. Of the essentially Roman remains, however, incomparably the most arresting are comprised in the Temple of Augustus, with its noble archway still standing at the base of the hill and within which are ranged today a number of "Hittite" remains found in the vicinity.

I am glad that this article is appearing at such an appropriate season, since the "Marmor Ancyranum," an inscription recorded in Latin and in Greek upon the "antæ" and the outer walls of the "cella" of the Temple respectively, recall the deeds and conquests of the Emperor Augustus, in which specific reference is made to the famous edict contained in the age-old Gospel story: "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed everyone into his own city." Thus, as all the Christian world knows, did it come about that Joseph and Mary journeyed from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the City of David, and where the momentous event took place which we have so recently celebrated.

These inscriptions on sandstone were copies made from the bronze tablets in Rome whereon were recorded important events which occurred during the lifetime of the great Cæsar.

Against the south face of the Temple stands the Mosque of Hadji Bairam, a little dream sanctuary erected by the famous Turkish architect Sinan during the sixteenth century, whose crowning achievement, however, as is well known, lay in the construction of the loveliest of Constantinople's many lovely

mosques—that of the Sultan Suleyman. Adjoining the mosque is to be seen the “Turbeh” of Hadji Bairam, who became celebrated as a learned theologian during the reign of Ala-ed-din Kaikubad I., and who founded an order of Dervishes named after him. He died in the year 1220 and it is rather touching to observe the strips of material, offerings of the devout, suspended from the handles of the doors giving access to the tomb. Hadji Bairam, incidentally, belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Galatea, and I believe that direct descendants of this Moslem saint still reside in Angora today.

It is well worth while to ascend to the summit of the citadel, if only to enjoy the magnificent view of the surrounding country; here, in fair weather, you may gaze across the undulating hills to the blue mountains in the north, towards the long crest of Elma Dag, or Apple Mountain in the south, and yet again will your eyes rest upon the rosy-tinted peaks in the west.

And now let us turn from the Angora of the past to the Ankara of the present—in every possible sense the very heart through which pulsates the life-blood of the Turkish nation of today. What a contrast it presents indeed! for in place of those ancient grey fortifications, in place of the straggling narrow streets and the quaint old Turkish houses by which they are overshadowed, there stands spread out upon the plain below a city of spacious tree-lined boulevards, of gleaming white buildings, a city of bustle and activity, of cars rushing to and fro, where everyone appears to have a job to perform and to be imbued with the all-absorbing, ardent desire to fulfil his or her part, be it in greater or lesser degree, towards the rebuilding of a great nation. It almost goes without saying that you will find in Ankara similar accommodation to that which I have already described as prevailing in Broussa. The Ankara Palace is to be recommended if you desire (or rather, if you can afford!) to revel in the opulent surroundings of a hotel-de-luxe, while the Belle-vue Palace provides complete comfort under a somewhat less pretentious régime. There is also to be found within a stone's-throw of either (for they are both situated in a central position) a most excellent restaurant known as the “Karpich,” where all the “elect” of the capital are in the habit of foregathering, and where I recall partaking of a first-rate dinner as the guest of Mr. Gunningham, the Archivist of the British Embassy. I cannot too highly recommend this centre of Ankara's night-life, which, I understand, is not infrequently patronized by the “Ghazi” himself, of whom a truly noble stone statue, finely conceived and designed, adorns the main square of the city not far distant.

The Parliament House and many other important buildings in the city are executed in the style which might be described as



"Neo-Turkish" architecture, a style both striking, dignified, and pleasing, of which innumerable illustrations have already appeared in the Press, and which I am thankful to say maintains features of the exquisite early national art I have endeavoured to briefly outline (with the consciousness of many shortcomings) in the course of this article. The Government Offices, lying on the outskirts of the city, are constructed for the most part in the monolithic and strictly utilitarian style which, frankly, I abominate, but where the caller—at all events in so far as the Ministry of the Interior is concerned—(and I have every reason to suppose that the same procedure is adopted throughout) is treated with a courtesy and efficiency, from the moment he enters until his business is concluded, that I would gladly see adopted in the Departmental Offices of some other capitals.

The various Embassies and Legations are situated at Chankaya, some five or six miles outside the city, and here also is to be found the residence of the "Ghazi" (or "Victor") himself. As an obscure individual having no political mission to perform, to my regret I never was privileged to make the personal acquaintance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, whom it is no exaggeration to describe quite simply as the saviour of his country. I once enquired of a Turkish gentleman as to who, in his opinion, was destined to succeed him. He replied that this was a question to which he could vouchsafe no answer, but I believe it to be true to say that from the highest to the lowest throughout the length and breadth of this historic land, one fervent hope is implanted in the breast of every true Turkish patriot today—the hope that their leader and their liberator may be spared to witness the fulfilment of his life's work in the establishment of their country upon strong and sure foundations, upon foundations which shall ensure for her in perpetuity an honoured place in the counsels of the great nations of the earth.

## THE MACHINERY OF ECONOMIC UPLIFT IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

A LECTURE TO THE BURMA ECONOMIC SOCIETY

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ECONOMIC uplift is not the same as economic progress; they may go together, but they are different things. There may be economic progress without economic uplift and economic uplift without economic progress. For example, in Java, as in Burma, the oil-fields form an economic enclave; they contribute to economic progress, to an increase in the net production of wealth, but they contribute little or nothing to economic uplift, the advancement of the people. On the other hand, the Government there is contemplating a quota system with a view to building up the weaving industry; this may contribute to the advancement of the people without adding to the net aggregate of wealth produced. French writers on the functions of Government in a tropical dependency draw a similar distinction between *la mise en valeur de la richesse naturelle* and *la mise en valeur de la richesse humaine*;<sup>\*</sup> between making the most of the country and making the best of the people. The economic uplift of a country may, then, be defined as the advancement of its people by developing their latent or potential productive capabilities.

### BURMA AND JAVA COMPARED

The English tradition in this matter is one of *laissez faire*; that if people cannot save themselves without the help of government they are not, humanly speaking, worth saving. But that is not a bit the Dutch tradition, at least in their colonies. Just a hundred years ago, the Dutch in the Indies were embarking on the interesting experiment known as the Culture System. I do not propose to describe or discuss the Culture System here, and mention it only to illustrate the Dutch tradition in colonial administration. Briefly, the Culture System had two outstanding features: one, that the Government controlled all the productive resources of the country; the other, that its object was to make as much as possible out of the country to benefit the taxpayer in the Netherlands. It was State exploitation; paternal government with a

\* Sarraut, *La Mise en Valeur des Colonies Françaises* (1923), p. 88.



more than Roman father. During the last half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of liberal ideas and liberal capitalists, there was a reaction against State exploitation; but the tradition of government intervention in economic life survived, though in the form of protection instead of exploitation. In Burma, the typical native civil servant is a magistrate; in Java, the typical native civil servant has no magisterial powers under the penal code and only very restricted civil powers; he may be described, in the words of a senior Dutch official, as a "welfare officer." As I went about the country examining various aspects of the administration, I could not help recalling the old-hymn: "Can a woman's tender care cease towards the child she bare?" The present system of government is, in fact, reproached with being, not paternal, but maternal—grandmotherly. Scoffers talk of *babu* government in Java as they do in Burma; but whereas our word *babu* signifies a clerk, their word *baboe* signifies an ayah, a nursemaid. Thus in the Dutch system a policy of economic uplift finds congenial soil, and there is no objection on principle to measures which aim at turning to account the fund of human wealth. It is therefore not surprising that economic uplift is the main function of one of the main Departments of Civil Administration, the Department of Economic Affairs.

### THE DUTCH COLONIAL DEPARTMENT

But I should explain here what the Dutch understand by a "department." The Dutch administrative system is so different from ours that when we do both happen to use the same term, we ordinarily, if not invariably, use it with different meanings. That is true of the word "department." We in Burma have our departments: the Land Records Department, the Agricultural Department, and so on. But in Java the Department, as we know it in Burma, would be termed a Service, and their corresponding organizations are the Land Records Service, the Agricultural Service, etc. A Department in their sense is something that we do not have in Burma; it is a group of services presided over by a Director who is not only the administrative head of all these services, but deals also with all cognate matters. Functional organization is far more elaborate with them. Typically, our organization is territorial and theirs is functional; where we have eight Commissioners ruling territorial Divisions, they have six Directors in charge of different administrative functions. During the last few years they have made experiments in building up a more elaborate territorial organization, but the Directors and Departments are of long standing and have a statutory basis in the first parliamentary Constitution for the Indies, the *Regeeringsregle-*

ment of 1854, Arts. 64, 65. There are, since January 1, 1934, six great Departments of Civil Administration, dealing respectively with Justice, Finance, Internal Administration, Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Civil Public Works, and Economic Affairs.

The Department of Economic Affairs has grown out of the Department of Agriculture, which was constituted in 1904 at the instance of Mr. Treub, then Director of the Botanical Gardens, who urged on the Government the need for organizing its various activities in respect of agriculture. Thus it was among the earliest achievements of the strong constructive impulse which has been a keynote of Dutch colonial policy during the past generation. For some years commercial and industrial activities were still distributed capriciously over various departments, though mostly assigned to the Department of Education, Ecclesiastical Affairs and Industry—rather a strange mixture. In 1907, however, the Department of Government Enterprises was established for the care of State Production, Utilities and Monopolies, and in 1911 the Department of Agriculture was reorganized as the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. Since January 1 of the present year, this Department has taken over many of the functions of the Department of Government Enterprises, which has been abolished, and it is now known, more compendiously, as the Department of Economic Affairs. The following remarks, however, describe the arrangements which existed when I visited Java at the end of 1933; apart from the allocation of certain new functions to the Director, they are still very much the same.

#### THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

As I have already mentioned, the economic advancement of the people is the main function of the Department of Economic Affairs; it is the mainspring in the machinery of economic uplift. But it is far more than that, for the Director has to deal with all aspects of economic development, with *la mise en valeur de la richesse naturelle* as well as with *la mise en valeur de la richesse humaine*, with economic progress as well as economic uplift. And in this connection it should be remembered that in Java the State and European enterprise contribute much more largely to production than in Burma. In Burma, the Burman grows the paddy, the foreigner exports it, and the State preserves law and order; in Java, however, the State and the foreigner work side by side with the native in production, and until quite recently grew the bulk of the export produce. Although, however, both native and European production are the concern of the Director, they concern him in different degrees and, in the words of the latest edition of the Regeerings-Almanak, the Department "is primarily



concerned with framing measures whereby the permanent improvement of native agricultural production may be ensured." Its connection with State and European production is less intimate. The Director either supervises or keeps in touch with various institutions for scientific research, and is responsible for State Plantations; he also maintains relations with various private organizations for the improvement of European agriculture. But for improving native production there are various services under his direct control; these comprise a group belonging to the Agricultural Branch (*afdeeling*); also the Forest and Civil Veterinary Services, and the Services of the Industrial and Commercial Branches. He is also in charge of the Office for Government Purchases, and the Bureau of Weights and Measures. The various activities of his Department are reviewed and tabulated in a Central Office for Statistics which publishes the annual statutory Report, the *Indisch Verslag*, a valuable handbook (in Dutch or English), periodically revised, and a weekly newspaper in Dutch, the *Economisch Weekblad*, with a fortnightly edition in English, the *Economic Bulletin*. These multifarious activities may conveniently be grouped under three heads according as they relate to Scientific Research, to European production, and to Native production.

#### SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

The Scientific Institutions comprise the Council of Natural Science, and various institutions for research in Pure and Applied Science; under the latter head may be included the Government Plantations. Institutions of an industrial or commercial character will be mentioned in connection with those Branches:

(a) *The Council of Natural Science.* Formerly the care for Natural Science as a whole was left to private bodies; at first to the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences and, after 1850, to the Natural History Association. But in 1928 a Council of Natural Science was founded. This comprises thirty Members nominated by the Governor-General, and has a Government Servant for its Librarian. Its functions are to advise the Government in matters of natural science; to link up scientists in Netherlands India with one another and with those of other lands; and to promote such projects and researches as require the co-operation of scientific workers and the support of Government.

(b) *The Institutions for Pure Science* in its various branches are grouped together, so far as possible, with the Director of the State Botanical Gardens as their head. These comprise, in addition to an administrative section, the Botanical Gardens at Buitenzorg and Tjibodas; the Herbarium and Museum of Systematic Botany; the Botanical Laboratory, with sub-sections for Biology and

Physiology; the Zoological Museum; the Marine Biological Laboratory and Aquarium; and the Phytochemical Laboratory.

(c) *The Institutions for Applied Science* comprise various organizations which formerly were independent, but were amalgamated in 1918 in the General Agricultural Experimental Station with various Sections: the Laboratory Section, with separate Chemical, Botanical and Microbiological Laboratories; the Geological Institute; the Institute for Plant Diseases; the Agricultural Institute, with three separate subsections for Agricultural Science, Seed-selection for Annuals and Seed-selection for Perennials; and the Coconut Experimental Station in Marado.

(d) *The Government Plantations* were among the earliest of these scientific and quasi-scientific institutions. Formerly, under the Culture System, when agricultural production was wholly under the control of Government, little or no attention was paid to the improvement of agriculture, and the economists of that time criticized the system, not so much because it was immoral as because it was ineffective. In this respect the introduction of cinchona in 1854 was a new departure. It was the first step in the direction of aiming at the improvement of production rather than at profit. There are now two groups of Government Plantations; the Cinchona and Tea Estate and the Rubber Business. (*'s Lands kine- en theeonderneming* and *'s Lands Caoutchouc-bedrijf*.)

The Cinchona and Tea Estate is the original experimental garden, where, since 1926, tea also has been cultivated. The Director of the Estate, although directly subordinate to the Director of the Department, is not himself a government servant. All the subordinate employees also are in the position of the employees of a private firm. The Estate is managed on commercial lines and publishes an annual balance-sheet and statement of profit and loss. In addition to the revenue from cinchona, profits are made by the sale of seeds, seedlings and grafts to the public. Formerly it maintained an Experimental Station, but in 1927 this was made over to a private Association of Cinchona Planters. The history of this Estate suggests the utility of institutions of this type, not only for economic progress, but for economic uplift; for in 1872 European planters took to the cultivation of cinchona and of recent years there has been an increasing production on native homesteads. More than once the spread of production has been a source of embarrassment. Towards the end of the eighties over-production by European planters reduced the price to an unremunerative level, until production was brought under control in 1898 by the erection of the Bandoeng Quinine Factory. This restored equilibrium until in recent years the spread of cultivation among natives gave the Japanese a chance to enter the market,



and it is said that they are now buying up the whole native output, which they control by a system of advances. In 1926, in view of the uncertain prospects of cinchona, the cultivation of tea was undertaken, and by 1930, in addition to 2,000 acres under cinchona, about 300 acres had reached the stage of producing tea.

The other plantations, constituting the Rubber business, originated in some rubber plantations laid out by the Forest Department in 1900 and subsequently transferred to the Agricultural Department. As on the Cinchona Estate, the Director and his staff are not government servants, but are private employees of the government, and depend for part of their remuneration on the profits of the business. The Director of the Rubber business also supervises some plantations in Sumatra, which grow rubber, coconut, gutta-percha, oil-palms, and kapok, and he also looks after an industrial enterprise for converting resin into turpentine. Altogether, he is in charge of nineteen estates. The Rubber business, like the Cinchona Estate, has played its part in economic uplift. Coconut and kapok have always been mainly native products, and rubber cultivation has been taken up by the natives so largely that it is now a considerable and disturbing factor in world production.

#### EUROPEAN PRODUCTION

These partly autonomous institutions, from the Council of Natural Science down to the Government Plantations, link up with modern science the whole machinery of agricultural improvement, public and private, European and native. But, until 1918, apart from the indirect assistance furnished by these institutions, the main European agricultural enterprises, the so-called "great cultures," received little support from the Department. The constitution of a separate Branch for Agricultural Economy in 1918 was intended mainly to serve European planters, but has, in fact, turned rather to the advantage of the native cultivators. The foundation of the General Agricultural Experimental Station in the same year has accomplished more for European enterprise, but still more helpful is the official recognition accorded by Government to certain private organizations. These associations of planters are an outstanding feature in the agricultural development of the Netherlands Indies. The lead was taken by the sugar planters during the eighties when they were threatened with ruin by a coincidence of plant diseases and low prices. Instead of waiting for Government to help them, they established three independent experimental stations. One soon disappeared, but the others were amalgamated in the present Experimental Station for the Java Sugar Industry. Most of the factories belong to this organization and contribute to its annual income of £100,000, which

served, until the crisis of 1930, to give Java a leading place in the world production of sugar. There is also a separate Union of Java Sugar Producers for the sale of sugar, and a Syndicate of Sugar Planters to promote the general interests of the industry. The other planters followed suit by establishing four powerful Unions for Tea, Cinchona, Coffee and Cocoa, and Rubber. These four Unions are now amalgamated in the United Agricultural Syndicate, which does much the same work as the similar organizations in the sugar industry, including the maintenance of four Experimental Stations, one for each group of planters. These associations have their headquarters in Java, but there are also similar associations in the other islands; notably the Union of Tobacco Planters in East Sumatra, which maintains an Experimental Station for tobacco, and the General Union of Rubber Planters, etc., which maintains Experimental Stations for rubber, oil-palms, tea and other plantation crops. These various institutions transact their business with government through three advisory committees—the General Syndicate of Sugar Producers, the United Agricultural Syndicate, and the Union of Tobacco Planters of East Sumatra, which are officially recognized as authoritative. All these representative bodies are themselves represented on a general Federation of Indian Industry and Commerce, the *Indische Ondernemersbond*, the President of which is a member of a special Economic Committee charged with advising Government on economic affairs. Thus, in respect of European enterprise, which can look after itself, the direct assistance of Government is regarded as unnecessary, and any intervention of Government is ordinarily intended to protect the nation, and falls outside the scope of the Department of Economic Affairs.

#### NATIVE PRODUCTION

In assisting native enterprise, however, Government is directly interested. Agriculture is the main occupation of the natives and, consequently, the most important branch of the Department is that dealing with agriculture. The work of the Agricultural Branch is distributed over five sections concerned respectively with Agriculture, Horticulture, Agricultural Economy, Fisheries, and Education. It is somewhat difficult to describe the administrative organization because this differs in different sections and different regions. The Head of the Agricultural Branch is assisted by three Inspectors, of whom one is in general charge of agriculture in the Outer Provinces (*i.e.*, the islands other than Java and Madoera) and one is in charge of horticulture. The three recently constituted Provinces of East, Middle and West Java are largely autonomous in respect of Agriculture; in each of them there is an



Inspector who is under the Head of the Agricultural Branch in his professional capacity and under the Provincial Governor and Council in his administrative capacity. In the native States of Soerakarta and Djokyakarta, the senior agricultural officer acts as an Inspector for both governments in addition to his ordinary duties.

Below the Inspectors there are Agricultural Advisers (*Landbouwconsulenten*) who, after a prescribed period of approved service, are eligible for promotion to the rank of *Landbouwconsulent, 1st Class*. Some of these are natives, but all must have taken a degree in Agricultural Science at Wageningen in the Netherlands. Hitherto their pay has been of the order of f. 400 to f. 2,000, but the recent depression has necessitated severe cuts. (In the same grade there are still some Agricultural Experts, *landbouwkundige ambtenaren*, who were trained in Java, but these are gradually being eliminated.) Next to the Consulents come the Adjunct-consulents, natives who have been trained at the Middle School for Agriculture at Buitenzorg. These are also eligible for promotion to a first class after approved service. Before the depression their pay ran from f. 130 to f. 500. Below these are the *Opzichters*, who have been trained at Soekaboemi or Malang. These start on f. 70 and rise to f. 200, with prospects of promotion to a first class rising to f. 300. The lowest grade in the service consists of *Mandoers*, who are employed on observing experiments and similar mechanical tasks. These are mostly the sons of agriculturists and have attended the native second-class school, corresponding roughly with our Vernacular Middle School. They start on f. 20 and can rise to f. 50.

The main function of the Agricultural Service, which is known officially as the Agricultural Information Service (*Landbouwvoorlichtingdienst*) is to furnish technical information with the object of improving native practice on scientific principles and also (which is at least equally important) of adapting scientific principles to native practice. The Advisers have, moreover, *ex officio*, a place on the local Irrigation Committee, which normally consist of a Civil Servant, an Irrigation Officer, and an Agricultural Adviser; and before the lease of land to Europeans they must also be consulted as to the manner in which the concession will affect native interests.

## FISHERIES

The Horticultural Section and Fisheries Section, although naturally on a much smaller scale than the Agricultural Section, are organized on similar lines and perform corresponding functions. The Fisheries Section, however, has features of especial interest. The fisheries comprise both inland fisheries and sea

fisheries, the latter including also pearl fisheries. The industry is important as furnishing one of the main articles of food, and also as being—until recent incursions by the Japanese—wholly in native hands. The inland fishing is a domestic industry on a small scale, but sea fishing proper is professional, and in view of the small part which the people in general play in commerce, it is of interest to note that, before the crisis spoiled their market, Javanese merchants sent whole train-loads of fish to the sugar estates up country. The inland fisheries consist mainly of small tanks, in which fish are cultivated, and it is estimated that in Java there are some 100,000 acres of fresh water fish ponds and about twice that area of fish ponds with brackish water. The encouragement of native fishery is even more difficult than the encouragement of native agriculture; but for fifteen years or more the Government has attempted to tackle the problem. For some years preliminary experiments were made by three Fishery Advisers, but since 1928 a regular Fishery Service has been constituted under an enthusiast, Dr. Buschkiel, with the assistance of two Fishery Consultants, who are Doctors of Science, and ten Fishery Officers, who received a special training at a Fishery School in Holland. There are also three native Adjunct Vischerij-consulenten, who have specialized in Fishery after passing through the Agricultural School at Buitenzorg, and a subordinate staff of Fishery Overseers and Officers (*Opziener* and *Mantri*). As in the Agricultural Service, scientific research is considered as important as field work.

The study of the Sea Fisheries may be dated as far back as 1906, when a Salt Water Aquarium was opened in Batavia. During 1914 three fishermen were brought out from Europe, but they did not achieve much on account, apparently, of the lack of skilled direction, and the experiment was abandoned in 1922. Here, as in all other aspects of economic uplift, both science and sympathy were needed, and during the last few years great progress has been made under the guidance of Dr. Bottemann, a trained economist, with a special interest in fisheries. His practical handling of the problems gave such promising results that, even at the height of the present depression, with pay and staff being reduced all round, he has been allowed to recruit two new assistants from Holland.\*

One of the outstanding features of the machinery of economic uplift in Java is the attention paid to the practical aspect of the problem. Money spent on crop improvement is wasted if, owing to some special character in the agricultural economy, the improvements cannot be adopted. We have just noticed the officer in charge of sea fisheries is a professional economist. The same

\* For fuller details, see Furnivall, *Fisheries in Netherlands Indies* (University of Rangoon, 1934).



principle finds recognition in the constitution of a special Section to study agricultural economy. This section was originally founded in 1918 to study the factors conditioning the success of the "great cultures," but it has come to be concerned mainly with native economics, and acts as a link between the Agricultural Department and the Popular Credit Organization; so far has this been carried that the present Adviser for Co-operation was originally a member of the economic section of the Agricultural Service.

But economic uplift, for any considerable results, depends on education; and agricultural uplift depends on agricultural education. In this matter the Dutch had much the same experience as we have had in Burma; but they seem to have derived more profit from it. "We started" (I quote, by permission, from some remarks of the Director of Education, Dr. B. O. Schrieke) "by teaching other people how to teach other people how to teach other people agriculture, but soon realized that we had taken the wrong line. We ourselves did not know enough about native agriculture. Then we tried another plan. We set an agriculturist down in a village to study the local agricultural economy; the conditions of land-holding, cultivation and marketing; and to get to know the local people. When he knew enough about local agriculture to be able to improve on native methods, he invited the peasants to send their sons to him, and showed them by practical experience that improved methods would yield more profitable results. When he had taught the people all he could, he moved on to repeat the process in another district. On this plan we seem to be getting at the native agriculturist and inducing him to adopt methods which pay him better." Unfortunately circumstances did not permit me to see anything quite like this in operation; but certainly it seems the right method.

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

Space does not permit of describing the organization and work of the Veterinary and Forest Services; but it may be mentioned incidentally that since 1897 the Forests have gradually been taken over by Government. I must pass on, however, to the Industries Division. The fostering of native industry received little attention until 1902, when the Dutch Parliament was greatly exercised by allegations regarding the diminishing welfare of the natives. This led to various enquiries and reports, but there was no appreciable advance until the war of 1914-1918 made people realize the dependence of Java on the outside world. In 1915 a Commission was appointed to investigate the prospects of developing large-scale industry and a member of the States-General, Vam Kol,

noted for his sympathetic interest in the natives, was sent to study the development of large-scale industry in Japan. In 1916 Industrial Advisers were appointed, and in 1918 the Industrial Branch of the Department was constituted. The Head of the Department wished to confine his activities to the promotion of native industry and, although this proposal was overruled on principle, it seems to have been adopted in practice. Meanwhile experts had been sent out from the Netherlands to study the improvement of brick and pottery. At that time tiled roofs were considered a prophylactic against plague, and "soft pressure was exercised from above" to encourage the people to roof their houses with tiles. One result has been that tiles cost, I was told, no more than 5 or 7 guilders a thousand, and almost all the houses in the country are tiled, which conveys to anyone from Burma an impression of considerable wealth. In 1919 a Ceramic Laboratory was opened under an expert, and in 1921 an Institute for promoting the Textile Industry was founded at Bandoeng; a branch of this has since been started at Jokakarta. An experimental rope factory opened in 1919 at Cheribon proved unsuccessful and was closed down in 1921. At present there are three laboratories for the study respectively of brick-making and pottery, of tanning and of textile manufacture, and each of these provides facilities for technical instruction. Recently the textile industry has been advancing with great strides, and Europeans are beginning to take an interest in it. There are now four factories which employ 100 to 300 looms, a few others with 40 to 80 and numerous smaller factories with 20 to 40 looms. The competition of the Japanese has, of course, hit this infant industry severely, but for certain kinds of cloth the local weavers seem able to hold their own. And at Jokyakarta I saw three Europeans who had lost their means of livelihood owing to the slump in sugar, working side by side with the native apprentices, learning practical weaving with a view to setting up small factories on the completion of the course. In some of the larger weaving factories mechanical looms have been introduced, but the ordinary loom used at Bandoeng is a hand-loom, of which the original was imported from the Saunders Weaving Institute at Amarapura. Other notable industries are cigarette-making, hat-making, and, within the last year or two, the manufacture of cigarette lighters. These cigarette lighters seem to be the direct outcome of an increase in the tax on matches. Apparently the first instinct of the Finance Department was to get its own back by taxing the lighter, but the Economic Committee mentioned above came to the rescue and protested against laying a tax on an infant industry in these hard times. Now one can buy these lighters all over Java for an anna or so.

In the advancement of the native in commerce the Dutch seem



to have been less successful. In Java, as in Burma, the natives have little part in commerce except for petty retail trade, mostly in the hands of women. In the European stores the responsible assistants are all Europeans and in the Chinese shops all the assistants are Chinese; the native has not had an opening. This has given the Japanese an opportunity which they have not been slow to take. Now, in all the larger towns, one can find Japanese shops where all the employees, except for two or three supervisors, are Javanese; a matter which contains elements of danger to Dutch rule. (It is of interest that in these shops all the goods are marked and sold at fixed prices.)

This brief and inadequate attempt to describe the main features of the Department of Economic Affairs justifies me, I submit, in terming it the mainspring of economic uplift. But it is only the mainspring and, like the mainspring of any other system of machinery, it must be wound up, and it works indirectly. These two aspects of its working will call for our attention, but we may pause here to consider the three general principles which it embodies: scientific research, economic study, and the co-ordination of related activities in a single large Department. Economic uplift must be based on modern science, and in the Department of Economic Affairs we see specialists in all the various activities of native life linked up in a pyramid of scientific institutions, crowned by the Council of Natural Science, which has the special function of co-ordinating scientific work. But science can do little without sympathy, and can contribute nothing to economic uplift unless informed by a sympathetic understanding of the people and their difficulties; here the economist steps in. Science can contribute to production, but production on an economic basis is dependent on demand. An improved loom, for example, is no improvement from the economic standpoint if there is no market for its products, and it is as difficult to organize the market as to improve the loom. Here again one must recognize the advantage of a large Department. The expert in agriculture, fisheries, or textiles each has his special problems, but the problem of organizing demand has much in common in every occupation and a solution is most likely to be attained if those working on it can pool their experience and results. Thus the combination within one large department of diverse branches of scientific research and economic study must be regarded as a notable contribution to the technique of economic uplift.

Let us turn now to consider how this machinery is set in motion. The immediate responsibility for keeping it going rests on the Director of the Department. Now the field of vision of the Director is not likely to extend beyond the limits of his own Department; there is a danger of Departmentalism. This danger

is less acute in the Netherlands Indies than in Burma, not only because the Departments are so much larger and Departmentalism correspondingly less pernicious, but because the barriers separating Departments are less formidable. An officer is commonly transferred from one Department to another. Thus, a late Director of Finance was formerly an officer in the Forest Service; and a Director of Economic Affairs started life as an Engineer in the Public Works Department; an Adviser for Co-operation originally joined the Agricultural Department and a Professor of Constitutional Law in the Law High School was at one time a Civil Servant. Even with this fluidity between the Departments a Director must still find it difficult to look over the walls of his Department. But life is not cut up into Departments like a system of administration, and any attempt to solve economic problems departmentally is foredoomed to failure. The system in the Netherlands Indies provides, however, for co-ordinating the Departments. There is a Council of Departmental Heads which meets periodically with the Senior Director as their Chairman. In this Council, the Departmental heads can examine their individual problems from a wider standpoint and thus adjust differences and supplement deficiencies. Such periodical discussions must be of great value as an antidote to Departmentalism and should contribute materially to the solution of problems which touch life at so many points as do the problems connected with economic uplift. But this Council serves not only for the organization of thought and knowledge, it operates also as an organization of will. When a policy has once found the approval of such a Council it ceases to be merely a Departmental policy and becomes the embodiment of the general will of the administration. Moreover, the Directors of a Department come and go, but the Council remains in being as a constant source of energy.

#### SCIENTIFIC PRESS

But there is still another source of energy which sets the machinery in action. Even a superficial acquaintance with the history of Dutch colonial administration shows the remarkable influence which has been exercised by periodical literature, official, demi-official, and unofficial. An article by de Wolff van Westenrood in the official *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheid en Landbouw* was the starting point of the system of popular credit; one by Van Deventer in the *Gids* is usually taken as inaugurating the modern constructive period of colonial policy, the so-called "ethical" policy, which took its title from a brochure by Brooschooft in 1901; and a quite recent article, "Old Glory," by the late Professor Von Vollenhoven in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, seems likely to turn



the current of administration in a new direction. Many of the Departments run their own periodical for the discussion of departmental problems, but other periodicals are of more general interest. Conspicuous among these are the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, published by the Indian Civil Servants' Association; the *Koloniale Studien*, formerly the official organ of the Civil Service and now edited by a Board of leading Civil Servants; and the *Indische Gids*. In the Library of the Batavian Association one can find upwards of 30 periodicals of serious interest, largely devoted to the discussion of current problems. This periodical literature serves for the ventilation and discussion of new ideas and for the study and elucidation of facts, which otherwise would remain unknown, and, taken in the mass, makes available for constructive purposes a tremendous and very powerful organization of thought and knowledge, and the far-reaching effects merely of the two articles cited above by de Wolff and Van Deventer show how large a part this literature plays in driving the machinery of economic uplift.

In this connection it deserves notice also that where the administrative organization is functional the administrative machinery encounters less friction than where the organization is territorial. With a territorial organization all constructive work and everything beyond routine is centred in one man, a passing figure who is at the head of local affairs for so short a period that he can rarely exercise lasting influence. With each new head, administrative policy is continually wrenched in a different, often an opposite, direction. But with a functional organization, the continuity of the Department makes for continuity of policy, and I owe to Professor Logemann of the School of Law in Batavia the interesting suggestion that this may be the explanation of the continuity of policy which is noticeable in the administration of the Netherlands Indies.

Finally, just a word as to how the system works. It works very largely through the medium of the Civil Servants, especially of the native Civil Servants. In theory, the specialist advises and the Civil Servant interprets his advice, and in practice there seemed to be quite a remarkable attainment of co-operation and co-ordination between the executive officers of the various Departments and the Civil Service. We have noticed above that the Agricultural Officer served on the local Irrigation Committee with the Resident and the Irrigation Officer. He is also *ex officio* a Director of the Divisional Bank. But for the most part the co-operation is less formal. One outstanding feature of the administrative system in the Netherlands is the holding of periodical Conferences, ordinarily once a month, by all officials from the Village Headman up to the Resident. In these Conferences all matters of current interest are discussed and the attendance of officers belonging



to Departments interested in the matter for discussion may be invited. Thus, at a Conference of Village Officers held by a Circle Officer, the Village Irrigation Heads and the local Veterinary Assistant were present for the discussion respectively of village irrigation and the castration of cattle. A Fishery Officer was also present to advise the people about fish cultivation. In some places, at least, the Sub-Inspector of Education (*Opziener*) attends the Circle Conference to examine and discuss the percentage of non-attendance at the village schools. In this manner the Civil Servant helps the Specialist to educate the people in all the activities of village life.

Here, then, in brief outline is the machinery of economic uplift in Netherlands India. It is permissible to contend that it is useless, or even worse than useless. In Java itself criticism of this kind has become more audible during recent years. At a famous Conference of Residents in 1924 one officer stated the dilemma: "If Government abstains from intervention, then everything sinks into a quagmire, but if Government intervenes, it introduces Western ideas with every chance that they will miscarry." Another, one of the most respected senior officers who had himself in earlier days been conspicuous in promoting native industries, advocated as the correct policy, "Look after law and order and beyond that . . . leave them alone" (*Stel de landsbelangen veilig, en verder . . . leave them alone*). The policy of uplift was criticized more pungently by a flippant youth who probably voiced the table talk of his seniors in saying "a man cannot scratch his head unless a Civil Servant gives him leave, and a specialist shows him how to do it." Frankly, I cannot picture a Burman taking kindly to the coddling which the Javanese receives. The Javanese permits the Veterinary Department to select the cattle for castration, but the Madurese, more independent, would rather slaughter them than comply with the instructions of the Veterinary Assistant. Only too often (so it is commonly alleged) Government does not merely show the cultivator how to scratch his head, but scratches it for him; the Village Bank is really a Government Bank, the Village School is really a Government School and the whole policy of uplift is merely "oil to make a shining countenance" (*voor den fraaien salven der schijn*), just "hyper-ethical." And here the critics are denounced as "hyper-ethnological" and there is all the making of a pretty quarrel, in which a prudent observer from outside will take no part.

But this is certain, that economic construction in the East demands the co-operation of the West, and in adapting Western methods to the needs of Eastern peoples the West must do its share. Most work of this kind is unprofitable, and, unless the State does it, will remain undone. That is why many will regard



the machinery which has been devised in the Netherlands Indies for promoting economic uplift, with its combination of scientific research and economic study, as a very notable achievement, and will hope that, when our politicians in this country, Burman and European, are tired of talking and get down to business, they will deal in a businesslike manner with economic construction by establishing a Department of Economic Affairs especially charged with economic uplift. When that happens, both the Minister responsible for the Department and its official Head will probably find that they have much to learn from the example and experience of the Government of the Netherlands Indies.

## THE FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE ISLAND OF SINGAPORE

By G. N. OWEN

Translated from W. G. Shellabear's Romanized Version of the  
*Hikayat Abdullah*

### INTRODUCTION

ABDULLAH BIN ABDUL KADIR, the author of the *Hikayat Abdullah*, or Memoirs of Abdullah, was a "Munshi," or teacher of languages at Malacca and afterwards at Singapore. He was born at Malacca about A.D. 1800 of mixed Arab, Hindu, and Malay blood. His great-grandfather, Shaikh Abdul Kadir, an Arab of Yemen, had emigrated to the East Coast of India, where he married and settled down. Abdul Kadir had four sons, of whom Mohamed Ibrahim was the eldest. In due course this Mohamed Ibrahim emigrated from India to the Malay Peninsula, where he married and had a son, whom he named Abdul Kadir after the boy's grandfather. This Abdul Kadir married twice—the first wife having been divorced—and the author of the *Hikayat* was the last and only surviving son of this second marriage, four elder brothers having died in childhood. Abdul Kadir was for a time employed by the Dutch harbour authority at Malacca and had a local reputation as a religious scholar and teacher of languages. It is recorded that Abdul Kadir taught the Malay language to Mr. Marsden, the well-known Malay grammarian. According to his own account, Abdullah himself was a sickly child and only survived the early fate of his four brothers owing to the devotion and care of his mother, Salamah. Salamah herself was the daughter of a Hindu who had emigrated from Kedah to Malacca, where he turned Mohammedan. Abdullah's father, Abdul Kadir, was, apparently, a man of some literary ability and a recognized expounder of the Islamic faith. He saw to it that the young Abdullah learnt to read and write in the Arabic characters, a somewhat rare accomplishment in those days. As a result of his father's foresight Abdullah was later to find a ready market for his skill as a "Munshi," or teacher of the Malay language and Arabic script (Jawi), in which his memoirs were originally written and transliterated into the Roman character in 1907 by the Rev. W. G. Shellabear. The *Hikayat Abdullah* was composed between 1840 and 1843 and printed and published by the author himself some six years later.

According to the author the task of recording his memoirs was



first suggested to him by an English friend, and, in all probability, the text was used by him in his profession of Malay teacher. Apart from its considerable value to a student of the Malay language, the *Hikayat Abdullah* is of special interest since Abdullah, the last of the native Malay historians with any pretensions to literary ability, was a contemporary and friend of the great Stamford Raffles, founder in A.D. 1819 of Singapore, the great British Eastern port and fortress, guarding the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, the Straits of Malacca, and the sea routes to India, Australia, and the Far East. At that time Singapore was a sparsely populated island, chiefly notorious as the haunt of *Ilanun*\* pirates, who infested the Straits of Malacca and Southern China Seas, a fact vividly illustrated by Abdullah in his gruesome description of the finding of a number of skulls on the shores of the island—victims of the bloodthirsty villainy of these cruel marauders.

In A.D. 1818 the East India Company, under authority of the British Government, had agreed to hand back the settlement of Malacca to the Dutch, from whom it had been taken by force 23 years previously.

In consequence of this agreement Stamford Raffles had determined to open a new trading station on the island of Singapore, and had come to an arrangement with Sultan Mahmoud of Johore, to whom the island nominally belonged, and by whom it was finally ceded in 1824.

Shortly before the actual transfer of Malacca to the Dutch, Colonel Farquhar, Engineer-in-Charge of Malacca, was ordered by Raffles to proceed to Singapore Island and establish a settlement there.

The following account of Colonel Farquhar's adventures in carrying out these orders is one of the twenty-eight stories which comprise the *Hikayat Abdullah*, and describes the first British occupation of Singapore by Colonel Farquhar and his Malacca Malays, one of whom was evidently Abdullah himself.

#### SINGAPORE

I will now return to my account of Colonel Farquhar's voyage to Singapore from Malacca. He ordered the ship to proceed to Singapore because, for some time past, he had been on friendly terms with Tengku Long, a son of Sultan Mahmoud of Johore, when the Tengku was living at Malacca.

It was rumoured that Tengku Long had received a certain sum of money from Colonel Farquhar, and there is no doubt that at that time the Tengku had promised to hand the island over

\* The *Ilanuns* are a large tribe of Mindanao in the Southern Philippines. They also inhabit the north-west coast of Borneo.

to the English. Moreover, Colonel Farquhar had been to Riau to see Tengku Long and come to terms with him. When the matter had been settled with the Tengku, Colonel Farquhar returned to Malacca to hand over that settlement to the Dutch, an account of which I have given elsewhere in my Memoirs.

Now a report of all these discussions and agreements with Tengku Long had been sent to Mr. Raffles, who was then at Penang, and transmitted by him to the Governor-General in India.

In due course a reply came from India to the following effect: "If you wish to establish a settlement at Singapore the Company will not raise any objection, provided the Company is not put to any expense other than the personal expenses of yourself and Colonel Farquhar, but, if the venture is successful, the Company will consider further what is to be done." Subsequently Mr. Raffles accepted the responsibility and informed the Governor-General that he intended to do everything possible to establish a settlement on Singapore Island. With this object in view Mr. Raffles came to Malacca, and after consultation with Colonel Farquhar the latter was instructed to proceed to Singapore by sea and to carry out the project in whatever manner he thought fit.

At that time Mr. Raffles himself was under orders of the Governor-General to proceed to Acheh in Sumatra (in order to settle a dispute that had arisen between the Rajah of Acheh and Acheh Pidir and Teluk Simawa—a dispute which threatened to end in bloodshed). The disputants had sent a letter to India asking for help to settle the dispute and Mr. Raffles, being ordered to effect this, had set out for Acheh, while Colonel Farquhar set out for Singapore, as already stated.

When the ship reached Singapore Colonel Farquhar went ashore in the ship's cutter, accompanied by the Malays whom he had brought with him from Malacca. They landed on the flat strip of land where the Law Courts now (1840) stand. They found the land overgrown with "kemunting" trees and wild shrubs. On the banks of the (Singapore) river were four or five small huts and a few coconut trees. There was also a somewhat larger house in which the Temenggong lived.

Colonel Farquhar walked around making a careful inspection of the spot, and, while he was doing this, some of the Orang Laut inhabitants came to peep at him and then ran off to inform the Temenggong.

Shortly afterwards the Temenggong himself, surrounded by four or five of his armed followers, came to meet Colonel Farquhar. At that time of the day it was extremely hot and Colonel Farquhar had taken shelter under a tree standing in the middle of the strip of land. They greeted one another warmly and the Temenggong then took Colonel Farquhar to his own house.



Arrived there, Colonel Farquhar told the Temenggong the reason of his visit to the island, explaining that he had received instructions from Mr. Raffles, who was then at Bangahulu, in Sumatra, to look for a suitable place to establish a station in place of Malacca, which had been handed over to the King of Holland by the King of England. And he added that if the English decided to open a station on the island it would be a very convenient spot for the Malays who wished to trade. Moreover, European traders of all kinds would come to the settlement.

Colonel Farquhar used all his powers of persuasion and advice to secure the goodwill of the Temenggong. To which the Temenggong replied: "Sir, I myself am a wanderer and exile from Riau. You know how it is with Malay Rajas—each one endeavouring to exalt himself above his fellows. That is why I have taken refuge in this out-of-the-way island of the ocean. But the island is mine by inheritance, since, by Malay custom, authority over all these islands and islets is vested in the Temenggong, although the real owner was the late Sultan Mahmoud of Johore. Now he had two sons, Abdul Rahman and Husain, both of them illegitimate. Of these Husain holds the title of Tengku Long. Since the death of the Sultan Mahmoud the authorities of Daik, Riau, and Pahang have been unable to decide who shall be installed as Sultan by the Bendahara, since both the sons claim the title. Now it is the wish of the wife of the late Sultan that Tengku Long shall be installed as Raja, while the chiefs support Tengku Abdul Rahman.

"As a consequence of the dispute, Tengku Abdul Rahman lost his temper and went to Trengganu, leaving Tengku Long at Riau. In the meantime, all the insignia of royalty have been handed over to the Tengku Putera, wife of the deceased Sultan."

When Colonel Farquhar heard this story he smiled and said: "Tengku, all these matters are known to Mr. Raffles, and he will settle them in due course." After that Colonel Farquhar quickly changed the conversation, saying: "Tengku, what is the name of that hill over there?" and the Temenggong replied: "For ages the hill has been known as 'The Forbidden Hill.'" Colonel Farquhar then enquired why the hill was so named and the Temenggong replied that the original Sultan built a palace on the top of the hill and forbade anyone to go up the hill unless with his express permission or unless specially summoned by him. That is why it is called the "Forbidden Hill." Behind the hill there is a spring, called the "Forbidden Spring," where the wives and concubines of the Sultan used to bathe, and no one was allowed to approach it.

Colonel Farquhar then said to the Tengku: "I have come here, after consultation with Mr. Raffles and with the approval

and authority of Tengku Long, son of the late Sultan Mahmoud of Riau and Lingga, to take over the island of Singapore with a view to establishing a trading-station for the East India Company and to add lustre to the name of former Sultans; and to obtain the signatures of Tengku Long and yourself to a treaty of cession. Until the arrival of Mr. Raffles we will take counsel together to decide how much Tengku Long and yourself ought to receive and to come to an arrangement between the two parties—Tengku Long and yourself of the one part, and the East India Company of the other part. Now, what is your opinion?"

When the Temenggong heard these words he was silent awhile; and then he replied: "Sir, I myself owe allegiance to Tengku Long, and if this arrangement has his approval, I also am agreeable."

Colonel Farquhar replied: "So long as you are agreeable, all is well, and we had better draw up a written agreement." The Tengku protested that a written agreement was unnecessary as his verbal acquiescence was sufficient, but Colonel Farquhar insisted that it was the custom of the English to put these matters on paper to obviate any future misunderstanding or alteration of the agreement.

Colonel Farquhar then told Enchek Siang to draw up an agreement in accordance with the Temenggong's promise.

In a short time an agreement was drawn up to the effect that the Temenggong gave assurances of his friendly feelings towards the English company and its authority and agreed to cede the island of Singapore to Mr. Raffles and Colonel Farquhar for the purpose of establishing a settlement there, provided that Tengku Long was also agreeable. When the agreement was drawn up both of them signed it. Colonel Farquhar then shook hands with the Temenggong, saying: "From this day we remain friends always."

Colonel Farquhar then told the Temenggong that he wanted to bring his tents ashore from the ship, and asked him the best place to pitch them, to which he replied: "Wherever you like!" So Colonel Farquhar said that he thought they had better be put up on the level ground. Shortly afterwards boats arrived from the ship with men and the tents with all their gear. Some of the men were set to clear the scrub and others to erect the tents, and, in about two hours, the tents had been put up.

Colonel Farquhar then ordered a well to be dug under a "kēlat" tree, and the water from this well was drunk by all of them. At the time there were some thirty men of Malacca, who took turns at night mounting guard. Colonel Farquhar ordered a 36-ft. pole to be erected on the shore and the English flag was hoisted on it. At that time there was a shortage of food and so



Colonel Farquhar gave the men £20 and told them to buy what food they could, but, search where they may, they could find nothing except what was supplied from the ship. Although there was money to buy, nothing was obtainable. There were two or three small huts close to the Temenggong's house, but the people all subsisted, like castaways, on tree-shoots, dried fish, and pearl sago, with, occasionally, a little rice. On the outskirts of Gelam village there were a few huts occupied by "Orang Laut," people of the Gelam tribe, after whom the village was named. These people were occupied making "kajangs" and sails.

At that time the seas around Singapore were not only feared by human beings, but even spirits and devils feared to approach them because this area was the dormitory of the pirates. Whenever they pillaged a ship, ketch, or small boat, they brought the spoil to Singapore and there divided it, murdering their captives, and even one another, for possession of the plunder. These Orang Laut (sea gypsies) live all their lives in boats, and when they see strangers in the vicinity they get away if they can, and, if they cannot get away, they dive into the sea like fish and disappear under water for about half an hour before reappearing on the surface some 300 or 400 yards away from the spot where they dived into the water—both men and women, not to mention the children, who, if they see anyone, scream as if they are about to be murdered or as if they had come face to face with a tiger! They supply the Temenggong with fish. At that time the only means of catching fish was by spearing them. Most of the fish they speared was "tenggiri," although occasionally they got other kinds, such as the "parang-parang."

In those days Singapore fish was as hard and tough as a buffalo hide because people had not yet become accustomed to eating fresh fish. The fish were so tame that even large ones could be caught close in to the shore, while shellfish were piled up on the shore so that "gallons" of them could be collected in a short time.

The Temenggong ordered the Orang Laut to bring in their fish for sale, and, although they did come, they were terrified of the tents and people's clothing, etc. Whatever they were offered, in the shape of tobacco or rice, for their fish, they accepted and departed.

When these people came Colonel Farquhar gave them money, rice, and cloth, because he saw they had no clothing and in order to tame them. In that way in a few days they lost their shyness and rubbed shoulders with the newcomers. Only the children remained extremely wild; even becoming ill with fright when they saw anyone approaching them! One child was drowned in the sea opposite Teluk Ayer. He became terrified

\* Kajangs = awnings made of palm leaves.

when some people passed near his boat and dived into the sea at high tide when the current was running fast. They waited for him to rise above the surface, but he disappeared beneath the waves and was swept out to sea.

Colonel Farquhar occupied himself every morning walking around the settlement inspecting the spot. All the paths were overgrown; only the centre of the clearing was free of large jungle or undergrowth. On the shore side the ground was covered with "ambong" shrubs and dead wood. Hardly sixty feet in width of solid earth could be found, everywhere else being covered with crab-casts. Only on the hills was there any firm soil. At the mouth of the Singapore river one large hill stood up. Quantities of huge rocks were lying around the mouth of the Singapore river, with just room for the stream, which twisted about, resembling a stricken snake, to pass through them to the sea. Among all these rocks there was one with a sharp point resembling the snout of a "todak" fish and called by the Orang Laut the Todak-head Rock. The people believe that the rock is haunted by demons. They are afraid of the spot, hanging up banners and treating it with reverence. They explained that if they did not treat the spot with respect they would suffer disaster at sea. Every day they brought offerings and set them on the stone. Rolling about on every shore were hundreds of human skulls; some old, some recent, some with the hair still adhering, some with filed teeth, some not—all kinds! When the Orang Laut were asked to whom all these skulls belonged, they said that they were the heads of people murdered on the spot by pirates. Whenever a piracy on a ship or boat was committed, the pirates came to this spot to share out the spoil. Some of the skulls were those of their companions who had been murdered and robbed of their share of the spoil, others were the heads of prisoners taken by the pirates. On these shores each man tested the keenness of his weapon on the head of his captive! Here also the pirates indulged in gambling and cock-fighting.

When this was reported to Colonel Farquhar he went to see the skulls and ordered them to be collected in sacks and thrown into the sea.

One day Colonel Farquhar wished to climb "The Forbidden Hill," but the Temenggong's followers were afraid to go up it because they said that the hill was full of ghosts. They said that the sound of hundreds of people, and sometimes of gongs and shouting, could be heard almost every day. But Colonel Farquhar only laughed at these stories, saying that he would like to see these ghosts. He ordered the Malacca men to drag a cannon to the top of the hill.

Many of the men were afraid to do this, but as they could not



avoid it they *had* to pull the cannon up. But these men were all of Malacca, since none of the others dared to approach the spot. There was very little jungle on the hill itself—just a few clumps of large trees here and there.

When the top was reached, Colonel Farquhar ordered the cannon to be loaded and he himself fired twelve rounds one after the other in all directions around the top of the hill. Then he ordered a pole to be erected and hoisted the English flag on it. He also ordered the undergrowth to be cleared away and a path to be made to enable people to go up and down the hill. Every day was occupied with the work of clearing the jungle and making the path. On the island at that time no wild or domesticated animals were to be seen with the exception of rats, of which there were thousands in the ground, some of them almost as big as cats. If one went out for a walk at night they would attack you, and so big were these rats that they caused a number of people to fall down. A cat was kept in the house where I was living, and, on one occasion during the night, we heard the cat mewling loudly. One of my companions went out with a torch to see what was the matter, and he saw the cat surrounded by six or seven rats, which were biting it! Some of the rats were biting the cat's ears and some its legs, so that the cat was unable to move and could only mew. When my friend saw what was happening he called out to me and I ran out to the back to look. Several of the others joined us, and eventually there were six or seven of us standing around quite close to the cat. Even then the rats did not let go of the cat. When the cat saw a number of people standing around it increased its mewling as if asking for help! The men fetched sticks and struck at the rats, killing two that were biting the cat's ears. It was only when the cat had its ears free that it sprang at one of the rats and killed it. Another of the rats was killed and the rest ran away. But the cat's face was covered with bites and bleeding profusely.

Every house was overrun by rats to an almost intolerable extent. It was the same in Colonel Farquhar's tent. Eventually Colonel Farquhar issued a notice to the effect that he would pay one cent for every rat killed. When the men heard of this they started to make every kind of contrivance with which to kill the rats. Some put down poison and others used bamboo covered with bird-lime. Some hunted the rats in their holes and others speared them. Every morning the men assembled around Colonel Farquhar's tent, bringing in the dead rats, some with fifty or sixty, and some with only six or seven. At the beginning some thousands of rats were brought in and the carcasses piled up in a heap. Colonel Farquhar paid out the rewards as he had promised.

This went on for six or seven days, but as it was obvious that there were still great numbers of rats Colonel Farquhar offered to increase the reward to five cents per head, and as a result thousands more were brought in. A deep hole was ordered to be dug in which all the carcasses were buried. In this way there was some abatement of the rat plague and only ten or twenty rats were being brought in a day, and, finally, the rat menace came to an end.

Shortly after this, large numbers of centipedes made their appearance and everywhere people were being stung by them. If one sat down for a moment in any house several centipedes fell from the roof.

Awaking in the morning one was sure to find several large centipedes under the sleeping mat, and the people got very disturbed about it. When this news reached Colonel Farquhar he ordered that anyone bringing in a centipede was to be paid  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents. When this became known the people set about hunting the centipedes and hundreds were brought in every day, caught in every conceivable fashion. In this way the scourge was abated, until only twenty or thirty were brought in. And so the campaign against the centipedes ended and the people ceased wailing of pain caused by centipede stings!



## ANCIENT CHINESE ASTRONOMY\*

BY HERBERT CHATLEY, D.Sc.

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IN prehistoric times in China it is probable that during the food-collecting or hunting state the approximate equivalence of twelve moons to the seasonal year was noted. This fact is the basis of the duodecimal system of reckoning, but certainly came later than the finger or decimal system for counting days. Three star groups, corresponding to the Chaldaeo-Greek Scorpio, Orion, and Great Bear, seem to have been noticed quite early in China. In the third millennium B.C. Scorpio (known as Huo, "Fire," or Fang Hsin or the "Dragon," Lung) is said to have been regarded as heralding the spring, and it is a fact that it then appeared in the west after dusk at the end of March and remained conspicuous throughout the night. Orion and Pleiades (Ts'an Mao) similarly marked the autumn in late September. It seems also to have been noticed that the full moon occurred near these star groups at these times of the year. They are now both two months later in their appearance owing to the precession of the equinoxes which proceeds at the rate of one degree in 72 years, or a complete revolution in about 26,000 years. The Great Bear (Pai Tou) seems also to have been noticed in early times as an indicator of the north, and also, by its annual change of position in the evening, combined with the other two star groups, served to distinguish the seasons. It may also have been used to some extent to mark the progress of time during the night.

The counting of days by tens (hsün) probably goes back to this period. Some Chinese scholars hold that there was also a seven-day count, with twenty-eight to the month, but this is very dubious.

Schlegel, by a special interpretation of the alleged Hsia records referred to later, believed that the majority of the Chinese star groups dated from about 15,400 B.C., but de Saussure has shown the fallacy of his reasoning, which overlooks the use of the full moon as an indicator of the seasons, and this notion is quite incompatible with the general rate of progress of culture.

### SEMI-MYTHICAL PERIOD

According to old tradition, Chinese astronomy took its rise with the Yellow Emperor and his second successor Chüan Hsü about

\* Based on a lecture delivered before the China Society on October 7, 1937. Professor W. Perceval Yetts presided.

2700 to 2500 B.C. These traditions only appear a few centuries B.C., and the only fact which in any way supports them is the apparent agreement of the Chinese star system with a date of about 2400 B.C., as indicated by the tropical points.

The fundamental bases of this tradition are the much debated Canons of Yao and Shun, reputedly dating from about 2200 B.C., and certain internal evidence derived from late Chou and early Han astronomy (600 to 100 B.C.).

The Canon of Yao occurs in the beginning of the Book of History, confessedly compiled by Confucius in about 500 B.C., lost in 212 B.C., and restored from memory and certain disputable texts in early Han times. In spite of the fact that the Chinese language and writing must have undergone immense changes during the 1,600 years interim down to Confucius and the hazards of the next 400 years, this text is held by many to contain a real tradition. It asserts that four named stars (Niao, Huo, Hsü, and Mao) mark the four tropic times, that the year is 366 days, and that an intercalary moon is required to fix the seasons. In the supplementary Canon of Shun, which follows that of Yao, considered by some to be part of the same document, an instrument (Hsüan Chi Yu Heng) is mentioned for regulating the "Seven directors," and a fourfold inspection was made by the Emperor in the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh moons of the year, apparently to correspond with the four tropical times. From this last consideration it is deduced that the first moon commenced about midway between the winter solstice and spring equinox, so that the four tropical points were the middles of the four seasonal quarters of the year and not, as with the Greeks and ourselves, their beginnings.

The four stars were identified in Han times with four of the twenty-eight star groups which marked the equatorial belt of sky (60 degrees wide) within which the sun and planets travel. They appear to be respectively Alpha Hydræ, Alpha or Beta Scorpionis, Beta Aquarii, and Eta Tauri (Pleiades). If these identifications are correct—and they certainly go back in China to a time before the precession of the equinoxes was understood there—it is a fact that at the spring equinox, summer solstice, autumnal equinox, and winter solstice respectively they culminated (*i.e.*, rose to their highest in the south) at 6 p.m. in 2200 B.C., but the difficulty to be overcome is that they could not be seen at that hour except at the winter solstice, and even then at a time after dusk which would have to have been determined by a clepsydra. Schlegel boldly assumed the text to be interpreted as referring to a heliacal rising (*i.e.*, at dawn) at the spring equinox, a noon culmination (invisible) with the summer solstice, a heliacal setting (*i.e.*, at dusk) in the autumn equinox, and a midnight culmination at the winter solstice, so arriving at his extraordinarily early date. Incidentally this still



implies the use of a time-measuring instrument. Leopold de Saussure pointed out that by observing the position of full moon and by meridian transits (*i.e.*, crossings of the north-south line) of these stars combined with some of the never setting circumpolar stars, the theoretical culminations at mean sunset (*i.e.*, 6 p.m. mean time) could be simply computed. He buttresses his argument by showing that the whole of Chinese uranography and chronometry, including the movements of the pole, is tied up to this system.

An alternative is the fact that the four stars did culminate approximately *at dusk* on the four tropical dates in 1100 B.C., and the system may have started then (about the beginning of the Chou dynasty) and been transferred by later students to remote antiquity. The objection to this argument is the mere approximation of the culminations.

De Saussure originally indicated a Babylonian source for this system, but later inclined to a Persian one. There is a chronological difficulty in regard to the latter. The Avesta (as developed in the Bundahesh) cannot well be attributed to earlier times than those of Zoroaster, who seems to have lived in the days of Hystaspes, corresponding to the later Chou dynasty. It is true that the Bundahesh refers to four analogous stars in connection with the seasons.

On de Saussure's theory the twenty-eight constellations must also go back to pre-Hsia times and precede or parallel the twenty-eight Indian nakshatra which resemble the twenty-eight Chinese Hsü, but differ in some respects. The conventional beginning of the series is Chiao, the "Horn," corresponding to Spica (Alpha Virginis), which is very close to the ecliptic and almost coincided with the autumnal equinox in the third century A.D., but the astronomical beginning was in Tou (the Southern Bushel, a group of stars in Sagittarius which resembles the Great Bear on a small scale, Mu, Lambda, Phi, Sigma, Tau, and Zeta Sagittarii) in Han times. The westernmost of the stars of Tou is now just above the winter solstice. The archaic beginning is in Hsü (Alpha Equlei and Beta Aquarii).

#### SHANG YIN DYNASTY

The Book of History mentions a reported eclipse in the time of Chung K'ang, but it cannot be identified and may not even be an eclipse. The actual Shang relics in the inscribed oracle bones show that lunar dates and the cycle of sixty days were in regular use. The ten "stems" are numerators of the days and the twelve "branches" were probably at first numerators of the months. Doubtless further information will come from this source.

## CHOU DYNASTY

Prior to the eighth century B.C., Chinese history is still rather vague. There are sundry documents reputedly dating to the beginning of the dynasty, but how far they have been reshaped is uncertain. The Book of Changes implies an eightfold division of the seasonal year, and this appears later in the Lunar Rules of the Book of Rites, a Han compilation from late Chou data. In the Chou Pei (also Han) the Duke of Chou is reputed to have used the 3-4-5 right-angled triangle, and in the Chou Li (late Chou period) the use of the gnomon for sundials and determination of latitude and of the clepsydra for time is indicated as ancient. Very probably these traditions are sound. In the Ch'un Ch'iu period (eighth to sixth century B.C.) eclipses are first recorded exactly and most have been confirmed. Intercalation of the moon to keep the lunar year in seasonal position began to be correctly done, and an astronomical reckoning of the year from the winter solstice was applied to the civil lunar year. This astronomical year was divided into twelve equal parts and then again into halves, making twenty-four fifteen- or sixteen-day periods with climatic or astronomical names. These periods have nothing to do with the moon.

In the Chan Kuo or Warring kingdoms period—500 to 250 B.C.—detailed star catalogues were made and rough planetary observations compiled by Shih Shen and Kan Teh, of which fragments remain in certain later books. The five-element theory in relation to the planets was invented or developed by Tsou Yen. A twelve-year count based on the revolutions of Jupiter was used, and calendar systems, known as Chüan Hsü, Yin, and Hsia were studied and compared.

## CH'IN DYNASTY (255 TO 206 B.C.)

The First Emperor ordered a return to the Hsia calendar (first moon of the civil year commences near February 4 when the sun is forty-five degrees past the winter solstice), which had apparently been used in the Ch'in kingdom.

## HAN DYNASTY (206 B.C. TO A.D. 229)

This period is that of the greatest development. Efforts were made to collect and collate the old records and systematize the results. Szu-ma Ch'ien, continuing the work of his father Szu-ma Tan, wrote a general history and embodied in it a study of the calendar, chronology, astronomy, and astrology. Lo Hsia Hung and Liu Hsin developed the "San T'ung" system with an era at the reputed new moon and winter solstice concurrence on



December 25, 105 B.C. The year, which in late Chou times was thought to be 365 days and a quarter, was changed to 365 and  $385/1539$  days; the moon was reckoned as 29 and  $43/81$  days; there was a lunar cycle of 19 years, a "T'ung" of 1,539 years, containing an exactly whole number of days, and a Yuan or round of 4,617 years, containing an exact number of 60-day cycles. The planetary synodical times were found or learned with considerable exactness, and by least common multiple a grand period of 23,639,040 years was computed.

In A.D. 4 the sixty-year cycle appears to have been introduced, but there is still some obscurity on this point.

Li Fan next developed the Szu Fen system, returning to the year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, a moon of 29 and  $499/940$  days, a lunar cycle (Pu) of 76 years, a Chi of 1,520 years, containing an exact number of 60-day cycles, and a round (Yuan) of 4,560 years, containing an exact number of 60-year cycles. The grand period was reckoned as 2,626,560 years by introducing the planetary periods, but these were later slightly corrected and the grand period became uncertain. [In T'ang times the 4,560-year period was multiplied by seven to include the planetary week which was introduced from India.]

The ecliptic was fixed apparently for the first time, and the fact of the precession of the equinoctial points along it was discovered, but not correctly measured.

The memoirs in the Han Books on the calendar, astronomy and the five elements contain many valuable records.

It is a matter for debate how far occidental knowledge reached China in the Han period. Some ideas, if not figures, certainly filtered through India and Central Asia, and it was during this dynasty that China first made contact with the remoter nations of Asia. The enormous improvement in numerical data, combined with the lack of geometrical knowledge, certainly suggests reception of ideas, if not actual figures.

Apart from the cryptic instrument of Shun and the simple gnomon, we now hear for the first time of instruments. Cheng Hang develops a globe half buried in the ground to simulate the celestial sphere, and seems to have had some form of sight bar. The Chou Pei describes the use of the pierced gnomon and horizontal dial plate, while at the same time making very gross geometrical errors. The cascade clepsydra may belong to this time.

The Chou Pei is considered by Maspero as a Han book, although it claims to be Chou and includes some T'ang commentaries. It assumes the so-called Kai T'ien or "Cover" theory of cosmology, which appears to be ancient and somewhat resembles the Babylonian idea of the heavenly firmament. It shows a knowledge of

the arctic zone and the curvature of the earth's surface. A rival theory of a completely spherical heaven appears to have been less popular.

### POST-HAN

Instruments continued to develop, and there can be little doubt that further foreign ideas gradually entered. Curiously enough, that very beautiful and useful instrument, the planispheric astrolabe, which was invented in Greek times, flourished exceedingly in the Mediterranean, and is still used in Muslim countries as a night clock, does not seem to have been known to the Chinese. No detailed descriptions have survived, but it seems probable that a universal astrolabe consisting of equatorial and colure circles with a moveable alidade or sight existed in Wei times. The motions of the planets in latitude were studied, but the epicyclic system of Ptolemy never seems to have been understood, and was probably beyond the abilities of the Chinese geometer. Even in recent times the importance of diagonals was unknown to the Chinese land surveyor.

In the great T'ang dynasty Buddhists brought from India Greek ideas and the planetary week. Chronology was revised, but the delusions of the Han astronomers were not discovered. Star catalogues were collated, but little real observation was made except of special phenomena, such as meteors and comets or eclipses. The inequality of the sun's and moon's daily motions and the obliquity of the moon's path to the ecliptic became known in T'ang times. In Sung times fully developed universal spherical armillary astrolabes were in use, but do not seem to have been very accurate. In the Mongol dynasty Kuo Shou Ch'ing greatly improved the instruments, and two of his large ones are now on the top of Purple Mountain in Nanking at the new observatory. They are still divided in the old degrees,  $365\frac{1}{4}$  to the circle.

At the end of the Ming dynasty calendarization was still inaccurate. The Jesuit missionaries revised it at the beginning of the Manchu period and introduced European types of instrument.

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## BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN SOUTH CHINA

BY R. T. BARRETT

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GREAT BRITAIN has often been reproached for awakening the East, and particularly the Far East. China and Japan, it is said, had no wish to emerge from isolation, and if only Britain had left them alone and had used her sea power to keep out intruders, these dangerous giants would still be asleep. Their armour-clad warriors would to this day be armed with bows, and the tribulations which have fallen upon two ancient Arcadias would not have been suffered.

Such regrets have no root in human realities. Apart from the share taken by Russia and America in breaking in upon the seclusion of Eastern Asia, it would be ludicrous to suppose that one-quarter of the world's population—an active, enterprising, and highly intellectual quarter—could be permanently shut out from the scientific, commercial, and militaristic civilization that has been encircling the earth and conquering distance.

Britain's Far Eastern policy has always been the bold one. Though we may have blundered into China and Japan much in the same way that we fell upon an elephant's back in India, our policy has, on the whole, been far-sighted and right. We have made a great position for ourselves in the Far East; we have assumed responsibilities, but in view of the rise of Japanese militarism and a national spirit in China, it has to be considered whether our task in that part of the world is finished, and whether we should retreat with as much dignity and little loss as possible. On the other hand it is arguable that our task in the Far East is now only beginning, and that to shirk our part there is neither good for the East nor in accord with the traditions of our race. Britain has never been afraid of Asia. We are not mere conquerors. Our aim has been to make her peoples our colleagues and our friends, and, with that end in view, we are starting in India today a courageous experiment in self-government.

Britain has never aimed at conquest in the Far East. Japan soon showed that she was capable of looking after herself, and Great Britain gave every possible assistance in the triumph of Japanese reconstruction.

China has always exercised a fascination over the minds of Englishmen. They see in her a true survivor, in essentials unchanged, of the age of Egypt and Babylon; an empire full of art and ancient knowledge, aloof and self-sufficient. There has been



a fixed determination in Britain that the tragedies of Mexico and Peru shall not be repeated in China; our ambition has been to assume the rôle of friend and patron of this "lost civilization." There was also the practical consideration of extremely profitable trade. British motives are always mixed, but no great firm, and no dominant personalities in the story of British contact with China have failed to fall under the spell of her culture. The names of Gordon and Sir Robert Hart, the founder of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, spring to mind, but the history of the "great hong" shows that China was far more to these traders than a comfortable source of profit.

Over the course of a century Britain has built a complex structure in China; an *imperium in imperio*, let it be admitted, and yet in no way impinging upon Chinese integrity. It came gradually, and was only to a limited extent achieved by war. The Treaty of Nanking in 1842 opened a number of Treaty Ports, but only unsavoury mudflats at Shanghai, at a number of coastal towns, and at Canton, were flung contemptuously to the foreign barbarian. An obscure island was ceded in the south. How could the Chinese court and mandarins foresee that these places would grow into fine towns, to be envied and copied by the Chinese themselves? How could they know that the barren rock called Hongkong would grow into "an isle of gold," one of the largest and most beautiful ports in the world? Chinese co-operation made the miracle possible. Being an intensely practical race the Chinese flocked to the European settlements, where trade was good, wages high for servants and labourers, and security was offered in times of trouble. Britain further strengthened her position by her grip on the Chinese Maritime Customs, organized by Sir Robert Hart and controlled with a magnificent integrity and impartiality. Mining and railway concessions followed. The coasts were opened to British shipping and light draft vessels plied up the Yangtse and West Rivers, eventually penetrating above the Yangtse rapids and starting trade with the great province of Szechuan.

The British position in China depended upon several factors. It could only be maintained by the acquiescence of the Chinese people. Despite garrisons, gunboats, and the China Squadron, if China had decided that our presence was injurious and offensive, that decision would have prevailed, or at least have secured modifications sufficient to satisfy the fixed wishes of the Chinese. Furthermore, Britain's position depended upon the supremacy of British commerce. The system was a free trade one. Tariffs were low and no nationalistic discriminations were made, even at Hongkong. Britain favoured the "Open Door," for in that epoch of free trade our manufacturers ruled the roost. We had

been first in the field, our "great hong" had the technique of trading with China at their fingertips, and foreign industrialists had to use them as agents. British sea power, with its base at Hongkong, kept guard over the China Seas.

The first potential challenge to Britain's supremacy was the rise of Japan's naval and military power. This was met for over twenty years by Anglo-Japanese friendship and formal alliance. Our position was, however, weakened by the necessity of withdrawing battleships from the Far East and concentrating our naval strength against Germany in the North Sea. Japan, having dispelled the legend of European invincibility by her defeat of Russia, was left mistress of the Far East.

The Great War lowered European prestige and gave Japan an economic opportunity. While we were making munitions her cheap-grade goods started to flood not only China, but the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and the whole of Asia. Japan could produce at a cost which the Asiatic peasant and coolie could afford to pay.

China's troublous times, following the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1917, after he had held the new Republic together for five years, reduced the purchasing power of China, and seriously damaged British commerce. Such trade as was going went mostly to Japan, though America now became a formidable rival. Her manufacturers studied the requirements of the market, her universities were opened to Chinese students, and the spread of the American films gave a cultural grip on the Chinese mentality.

In 1925 the flame of nationalism was lit and fanned by the Russian Communists employed at Canton by Sun Yat-sen, after his appeal for British aid had been rejected. We had already burnt our fingers by backing "great men" and would-be unifiers, but in Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang Party, the Russian Mission found instruments to their hands. Micael Borodin proved a genius in agitation, and Galen, the military organizer, is now "Marshal Blucher," the "Napoleon" of the Soviet.

Britain was the arch-enemy in those days—the greedy capitalist and the Imperialistic ogre. When the plans for the unification of China had met with full success, her newly acquired might was to be turned against Great Britain and sweep every vestige of her power from the Far East. But Borodin, in his enthusiasm for Communism and Russian political ambition, went too far. China soon saw what the gigantic alliance of China and Russia for world revolution would mean, when it came to practical politics. The Russians were ignominiously expelled, Chinese Communism was proscribed, and relations with Britain returned to normal, following British rendition of the Hankow and smaller Yangtse concessions.



These incidents need recalling, not only to show something of the background of the British position today, but as a reminder that we have in recent years resisted a determined attempt to drive us out of China. They show that Far Eastern political typhoons, though dangerous at the time, blow themselves out. Peace descends, by-gones are by-gones, as they were after the Opium Wars and the Boxer Rising. British and Chinese have always been able to pick up the old relationship after tempers have cooled.

Owing to her interests in the Far East Great Britain is forced into the position of third party in the conflict between China and Japan, an antagonism as deep-rooted, and almost as old, as the hatred of Teuton and Frank. Unless it is resolved it may prove mutually destructive to both nations, and may involve the world in another war. It is in Britain's hands alone that the hope of effecting a permanent settlement lies. This is not to say that Britain must be the mediator in the present war, but in the post-war period Britain alone can be the architect of a lasting settlement.

It is essential in approaching this problem of Sino-Japanese hostility to understand something of Japanese history, mentality, needs, and ambitions. The struggle between China and Japan goes back to the attempts of Kublai Khan to add the island kingdom to his empire. Twice his armadas were repulsed and finally shattered by typhoons. Those events have bitten as deeply into Japanese mentality as the defeat of the Spanish Armada into British imagination. From these victories the Japanese have imbued a sense of invincibility and divine protection. Later their corsairs were to ravage the coast of China, and the Japanese "Napoleon," the great Hideyoshi, was to embark on a scheme for the conquest of China, of Asia, and of the whole earth. Those dreams are alive today. The old feats of daring and valour are being dug out of history and glorified, as the Elizabethan poets glorified the English victories over France under Plantagenet kings. The people of Japan are on the march; they believe themselves irresistible. China now, then Russia, Britain, and the world will be theirs. This is the modern spirit of Japan, and either this ardour must be abated or a clash with Britain is inevitable. If we retreat from China shall we have to be prepared to fight at Singapore? The question is, where shall we make our next line of defence? The conflict may be economic, but there is little sign that war has become an anachronism.

It is just possible that China's heroic resistance will bring Japan down in ruin; it is not impossible that Japan may offer a generous peace, but the danger of a Japanese triumph has to be faced. What would that imply, and can Britain mitigate the disaster?

Every student of Far Eastern affairs knows that one of the chief issues, full of far-reaching consequences, is the control of Chinese Maritime Customs. For over a year Japan has been seeking to breach the Chinese tariff walls. She did this by setting up a puppet state in East Hopei, on the Gulf of Chihli, and by pouring through that state, by sea and by rail from Manchuria, a mighty stream of smuggled goods. The eventual success of the Chinese Customs officials in stemming that stream is one of the direct causes of the launching of the present attack.

If Japan be left in control of the Chinese Maritime Customs (even supposing the ports south of the Yangtse were exempt) it would give her an intolerable grip on China's throat. Even a moderately successful Japan will demand, in her terms of peace, tariff concessions that will clinch her hold on the Chinese market, but if she gain her complete ends, no doubt an indemnity will be imposed, and will be secured by an unqualified confiscation of the Maritime Customs revenue. The bait to Europe will be a guarantee to pay the interest on the loans secured on these Customs. This would break the Chinese Government. Without the financial resources needed for administration and reconstruction, order could not be maintained from the capital; the old provincial rivalries would be resumed; the country would fall into chaos, and Japan would be given the excuse and the opportunity to repeat, on the greater scale which she has in view, the Manchukuo experiment.

Japanese conquest would mean a worse thing than military domination, cultural slavery, and the end of the hopes engendered by the success of the National Government in reconstruction. Japan knows the immensity of the task of holding down China. She may not wish it, but if she conquers China, China will inevitably fall into degradation. For over a century opium has been the curse of China. It has also been the main source of revenue both to the central and the semi-independent provincial administrations. Civil wars have been fought for the control of the great centres of opium distribution and the money drawn from levies on the drug. Chiang Kai-shek has been the first Chinese ruler in modern times to fight the opium trade with real measure of success. He did it for three reasons. First, when he took Shanghai he had in the Customs, through which half the trade of China passes, an alternative source of revenue. The less opium was planted and smoked, the less money could his rivals in the provinces raise on that source and use for resistance to Nanking. Secondly, Chiang saw that war with Japan was inevitable, and that upon him the responsibility for conducting that war would fall. He knew that an opium-sodden nation would have neither the physical nor the moral



stamina to stand up to Japan; he knew that if he had a bunch of opium addicts round him, half of them would be in Japanese pockets. Thirdly, he is a Christian, with the fanatical hatred of opium shared by missionaries and their genuine converts, because they know that opium saps the moral fibre, and every addict is liable to crack, mentally and physically, under the strain of war. The cynical sneer of Far Eastern "old-timers," "Opium never hurt a Chinaman," is nonsense. It blunts the moral sense; it stimulates mental activity and power of intrigue at the expense of the executive faculties and of the higher qualities by which alone such martyrdom as China must suffer can be endured to the end.

In the past, British hands have been none too clean over this opium business. Will Japan be better? What is her record with regard to the drug trade? The recent report of the League of Nations on the heroin and opium trade in Manchukuo is the answer. If she sets herself up as overlord of China she will need the opium revenues to finance the adventure; she will be faced by Chinese appeals for the cultivation of the drug. China will genuinely need the drug. The sufferers from the lung and bronchial troubles that take toll of millions of lives will be crying out for opium, the one relief that they know. In a China with hopes blighted, with the plans for reconstruction, higher standards of life, and improved health services, placed beyond accomplishment, what will be left but to fall back upon the pipe that never failed to give, not the dreams of fantastic tradition, but the mental quiet and the escape from reality which made life endurable.

No special indictment of Japan is intended. She will be driven by circumstances—of the creation of her heroic soldiers. There will be once more an opium-sodden China, docile under the fumes of opium. The poppy-fields will flourish as when, in 1893, Dr. Morrison, author of *An Australian in China*, wrote: "From the time I left Hupeh till I reached the boundary of Burmah, a distance of 1,700 miles, I never remember to have been out of sight of the poppy. . . . Edicts are issued against the use of opium by Chinese philanthropists over a quiet pipe of opium, and signed by opium-smoking officials, whose revenues are derived from the poppy."

A pleasant prospect for the world! We know the power of the drug rings at the present time, but with heroin pouring out of China by land, by sea, and by air, what control would be possible, who would be safe?

Is Japan to be trusted with the overlordship of China? Could she maintain her rule, and at the same time allow that great people to take the place in the world which they have the character and the ability to take, after a period of reform and reconstruction, such as Nanking had already inaugurated? Will

China be left to the mercy of Japanese militarism and commercialism? Militarism by its nature kills for patriotic reasons, and with proper professional pride. Chinese rebels would have to be killed. Commercialism! We in England have emerged out of the era of Satanic mills, and we have curbed the havoc of the drink trade among primitive peoples. Can the same be said of Japan? Her own factories are no Utopia. What will those manned by Chinese coolies be like?

For Britain these are practical questions. If Japan is able to control the Chinese Customs, to dominate Shanghai and the north, if she is allowed to mask Hongkong by the annexation of Hainan, will she be content? The Imperialist appetite grows with what it feeds upon. The dreams of the Tanaka Memorandum figure more than the overlordship of China. The rice-fields and the mines of Indo-China, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Siam, Malaya, and Australia are marked out for the privilege of Japanese conquest. The argument that China would be a source of weakness and not strength to Japan is as fallacious as it is mean-spirited. To leave China as a sacrifice to Japan, so that Japan will have no strength for further aggression, is not pretty. Japan could probably secure raw materials, revenue, and labour from China. Not much money would be wasted on anything beyond policing the country.

To resist Japan in full flight of victory, and with European Fascist states as her allies, might seem a hopeless task. But let it be repeated, Britain has never been afraid of Asia, and the task is not so formidable as might be supposed. How far is the defence of China by Great Britain a strategic possibility? North of the Yangtse it is not. We have no base, and modern fleets and aircraft are helpless without adequate sources of supply and re-conditioning. Nor would the British nation be prepared to fight for the Shanghai International Settlement. Japan's ambition may not stop short of the Yangtse River. She has interests in Fukien, opposite to Formosa, and would like to own Foochow, once the centre of the tea trade. She has designs on Hainan Island, and she naturally covets Hongkong, the key to Canton and the South China railway and river systems.

Is it a physical possibility to prevent Japan's advance into South China, either during the present operations or at some further stage of her policy of expansion and conquest? If it can be resisted Britain should not scuttle from a country where we have great interests, and to whom we owe moral obligations of a kind that cannot be honourably repudiated. To take such a line is to abandon China, and to hope that Japan will wear herself out and go the way of the Manchu and Mongolian conquerors. But modern conquerors have resources of terrorization unknown to



their prototypes of olden time, and their will to overlordship is not less ruthless.

What, then, are the chances of resistance? No European Power, or even combination of Powers, can attack Japan from the sea. But to prevent Japan moving south either against Canton, the coast ports, of which Foochow, Amoy, and Swatow are the most important, or against Hainan, is perfectly feasible. The only pre-requisite is that Hongkong should be properly fortified, and this includes adequate defence for the big towns of Victoria and Kowloon against aerial attack on the large scale, which could be launched from Takao, in Formosa, only 400 miles to the north-east of the British colony. At present these towns are not secure. The military defences of Hongkong are strong, but if these congested and exposed towns were obliterated by aerial bombardment, and the million Chinese in them were massacred, British prestige would die with them. Defence is a matter of money, and if Hongkong were made impregnable Japan could move neither against Canton nor Hainan, in face of British opposition. Without command of the sea a military invasion and conquest of South China—mountainous, lacking communications, and of immense area, would be impossible. Even if Japan brought her whole battle fleet of nine dreadnoughts down to Formosa, and operated them from there, Britain could move an equal number of capital ships, with their necessary complement of light craft and fleet auxiliaries, to Hongkong, risking a stiletto blow in the back nearer home. But with the Chinese war on her hands, and with Vladivostock, swarming with war planes, only 450 miles from her own coasts, Japan would never venture her whole navy south against the British fleet. Hainan lies 200 miles south-west of Hongkong, and Takao, in Formosa, is 400 miles north-east of Hongkong. If, therefore, Japan is tamely permitted to take Hainan, Hongkong is masked and Japan has an ideal base of operations against South China, and, if need arises, against Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. What is the use of having a British navy, with bases at Hongkong and Singapore, unless we are prepared to use them? There can never be a more righteous and necessary cause than the keeping of Japan out of South China.

If South China is saved the whole of China will eventually save herself. With Britain secure at Hongkong the normal process of reconstruction in South China and Szechuan can continue without Japanese interference. Chinese nationalism and will to reconstruction, being concentrated in that area, will present a more wieldy administrative task than when the whole Republic was governed from Nanking. The Chinese will be imbued with a new spirit of unity and with a desire to purge the country of

its ills and renew its greatness. But without a British Hongkong, China is cut off from Europe, and the spirit of patriotism and progress will inevitably be quenched, and the whole land must, in the course of time, fall under Japanese domination. It is not only that European goods and traders go up-country from Hongkong, but the Chinese come there and see for themselves what Europe is doing and what she is prepared to offer them. They go back to their walled towns and muddy villages intent upon change. They want electricity and sanitation, medical services, and modern transport. But if Hongkong is not there they will never see these things. Nor must it be forgotten that Hongkong is of incalculable value to the missionary schools, where European knowledge is taught, and to the missionary hospitals ministering to the lepers, the consumptives, and the sufferers from the ophthalmic diseases rife in China.

But whatever the upshot of the present struggle may be, the problem of Japan's urge to expansion must be faced. Are there alternative directions open to Japan? Must her ambition take militaristic form? A policy along such lines must involve risk and sacrifice; but the bold course, the policy of Wellington after Waterloo, of Campbell-Bannerman in South Africa, seldom fails. Britain's responsibility towards China cannot be separated from Japan's real needs, which are for markets and for tropical or sub-tropical lands where certain materials that she requires for her industry can be obtained, and where the Japanese manner of life can be reproduced, as British life is reproduced in New Zealand. There are in the Far East great tropical lands, neither self-governing nor densely populated, nor being developed, beyond a scratching for oil and precious metals. Their future status cannot be fixed by the chances of their original occupation, and by the principle never to part with an inch of territory. There is a distinction between colonies that are being worked and those that are lying fallow. Some form of transfer, by purchase, or over a period of time, should be made possible.

Can China be saved and British interests, vital for the welfare of both countries, be preserved by concessions in other directions that would mean no real sacrifice? Spain lost her empire by holding on to more than she could govern and develop, and by refusing to allow other peoples a share even in trade. Tariff walls and political pride are today encompassing Japan, so that the force of her industrial expansion, by which alone she can provide for a population increasing by a net million a year, is directed against China. While she could not hold down China without violence and repression, there has been little complaint from Formosa.

Political fires arise in the East, and often, as in jungle fires,



disaster seems imminent. But the flames die down, little damage is done, and only dry grass is consumed. But unless the root causes of this conflagration are understood and removed, the outbreak will recur. The present struggle may drag on as an indecisive war of attrition; China's gallant resistance may crumple, or Japan may offer terms of unexpected generosity; but whatever happens, Britain should maintain her place in the Far East. The country that awakened the East should remain in the East till the reconstruction of China is accomplished and Japan has passed out of her imperialistic adolescence.

## INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT\*

BY SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I., C.B.E.

BEFORE I commence, I should perhaps mention that from April 1 last Burma ceased to be part of the Indian Empire. Separate statistics for Burma are not, however, at present available, at any rate to me, and it is, therefore, impossible to exclude Burma from my purview. There is the less need to do so because, although Burma, when a Province of the Indian Empire, accounted for nearly one-eighth of the area of that Empire—233,500 square miles out of a total of 1,809,000 square miles—it only accounted for a little over 4 per cent. of its population—14·5 millions against 353 millions, which, it may be noted in passing, is one-fifth of that of the whole world. Such figures as I shall give are, therefore, only slightly affected by the separation of Burma.

## THE AGRICULTURAL BACKGROUND

And now for the background. India is a predominantly agricultural country, the population of which is increasing at a rate which is enough, in itself, to give rise to serious problems in the near future. Between 1921 and 1931 the total population of India increased from 318·9 to 352·8 millions—that is, by 10·6 per cent. It is true that the rate of increase in the urban population was 20 per cent., against 9·6 per cent. for the rural, but, as the latter in 1931 numbered 313·8 millions against only 39 millions for the former, the predominance of the rural population was only slightly affected. In the last 50 years, the total population of India has increased by 39 per cent. The Public Health Commissioner for India, Colonel Russell, in his recent annual report estimates that at the next census it will be found to have reached 400 millions. Put it in another way. Between 1921 and 1931, India added to herself the equivalent of the whole population of France or Italy. Of India's 353 millions, 11 per cent. only are classed as urban and 89 per cent. as rural. That 89 per cent. lives in 700,000 villages, the average population of which is about 450. Over 40 per cent. of the rural population lives in villages of under 500 inhabitants and about 45 per cent. in villages with populations between 500 and 2,000.

It will be obvious, therefore, that nowhere in the Empire is that

\* Based on a paper read before the Conference on Imperial Development on November 23 at the Royal Empire Society.



immense scope for increased demand for food, clothing, houses, and for every sort of manufactured goods, which is stressed in the General Note on the aims and objects of this Conference, as great as it is in India. Even if we were not dealing with such a vast population, that would still be true for, as everyone who knows India is only too painfully aware, nowhere in the Empire is it more desirable that the standards of living should be raised than in India. Let me take the enormous unsatisfied needs in the order in which they are stated in the Note and deal first with food, from every point of view the most important in a country in which so large a proportion of the population is undoubtedly under-nourished, even if it may be somewhat of an exaggeration to state that it does not get one proper meal a day.

Here let me offer a word of warning. I have little confidence in the various estimates which have been framed from time to time of the gross food supply in India as compared with the requirements of the population. In the first place, the statistics of production are far too incomplete and under-estimating of the outturn of crops—owing to the ingrained pessimism of the Indian reporting agency—far too common to admit of any great reliance being placed upon them. In the second place, every serious student of nutrition problems in villages has noticed that there are many useful foodstuffs, especially vegetables, which make little or no appearance in the crop returns but which are none the less of very real importance. Equally with the estimates of gross food supply, it is, in my view, unsafe to trust the attempts which have been made to calculate the equivalent in calories of that supply, and to compare the result with what is required for a healthy population. Not only are many fundamental data on the composition and digestibility of Indian foodstuffs lacking, but we have, as yet, no proper figures of the requirements of an Asiatic population living under tropical conditions. I said "as yet," for with eminent experts like Dr. Aykroyd, the Director of Nutrition Research in India, working in this field, it should not be long before some of the lacunæ in this direction are filled in.

But, whatever the accuracy of the estimates, the fact remains incontrovertible that the yields of Indian agriculture are low, that, consequently, the villages remain poor, and that the diet provided is almost entirely grain, is lacking in variety, and poor in animal products. It has been argued that a dangerous position is arising because, while the population is increasing, the area under food grains is not.

The official figures, as they stand, lend some support to this view. During the period 1908-09 to 1917-18, 0.89 acre per head of population was devoted to food crops, whilst during the period 1928-29 to 1932-33, the acreage had shrunk to 0.79 per

head. The population had increased by 28·7 millions, but the area under food crops had only gone up by 2·6 million acres—that is, by 0·09 acre per head. The non-food crops, on the other hand, had kept pace with the population, the acreage per head being 0·044 in the earlier and 0·057 in the later of the two periods. It would, in my view, be dangerous to draw from these figures the inference which has been drawn from them by some that the villager has less food than he used to have. The more correct inference is, I think, that yields have increased. It would not be very creditable to the work the Agricultural Departments have done since the beginning of the century if this were not so. The main reason for the under-nourishment of so large a proportion of the Indian population is to be found elsewhere. It lies in the fact that, even when allowance is made for the foodstuffs which do not appear in the crop returns, so high a proportion of the food crops grown in India consists of grain crops. It is the quality, even more than the quantity, of the Indian dietary that is wrong.

But it is not the quality of the food crops the Indian peasantry consumes that needs attention. Early this year Sir John Russell, the Director of the Rothamsted Experimental Station, and Dr. Norman Wright, the Director of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute, Kirkhill, Ayr, both very eminent experts in their particular lines, went out to India to review the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Their most valuable reports, which have recently been published and which I have found of the greatest assistance in preparing this paper, throw much light on this question. Sir John Russell's view, which can, I think, be accepted without hesitation, is that in dealing with food crops intended for home consumption, the Indian agriculturist should aim at securing the largest and healthiest crops possible, but need not concern himself with trying to change their composition. The amount of alteration possible is too small to justify the expenditure of time and resources that can better be spent in other ways.

### THE DIETARY

The view that the Indian dietary is deficient in quality more than in quantity has been well illustrated by Dr. Aykroyd in two tables he has drawn up showing two dietaries—a common ill-balanced one and a well-balanced diet which should be substituted for it. The common ill-balanced diet consists of 20 ounces of cereals per day and only 7½ ounces of pulses, vegetables, fats and oils, and milk. Fruit does not appear in it at all. In the well-balanced diet, cereals fall to 15 ounces; pulses, vegetables, fats and oils, fruit, and milk account for 25 ounces. It is the lack



or insufficiency of the latter elements that accounts for the prevalence of "deficiency diseases" in India: keratomolacia caused by deficiency of vitamin A; stomatitis caused by deficiency of vitamin B; low hæmoglobin content caused by iron deficiency, and so on.

It is in respect of milk that the defects of the ill-balanced diet are specially apparent. In Dr. Aykroyd's well-balanced diet, the consumption of milk jumps to 8 ounces from the 2 ounces in the ill-balanced one. Dr. Wright goes much further than Dr. Aykroyd. Working on Dr. Aykroyd's material, he urges that the standard Indian requirement should be 15 ounces of milk per day against a standard European requirement of 35 ounces. Even 15 ounces a day is still double the quantity which he estimates as at present available in the country—namely, 7 to 8 ounces per head. He points out that the standard Indian requirement would appear to have been somewhat arbitrarily fixed at a low figure to make it a feasible standard under Indian conditions. If the standard were to be fixed at a level more nearly akin to that aimed at in prosperous European countries, the present output of milk in India would not merely need to be doubled, but would have to be increased threefold or even fourfold.

How are the deficiencies in the Indian dietary to be set right? How is the population—mainly, I need hardly remind you, a vegetarian population—to get the vegetables, fruit, and protective foods, milk, ghee (clarified butter), and fats generally of which it stands in such great need? Here we are at once in real earnest up against the question of improving its purchasing power of which we always—and very rightly—hear so much in this and similar connections and for which it is so difficult to find a satisfactory and feasible solution. But in this matter of purchasing power, as Sir George Schuster pointed out in the deeply interesting Birdwood Lecture he delivered to the Royal Society of Arts the year before last, it is easy to exaggerate the difficulties. "After all," as he went on to say, "what is involved is no more than a process of exchange. Every seller becomes, *ipso facto*, a potential buyer. If A produces more milk and B produces more grain—in the light of what I have said, it would perhaps be more correct to say more vegetables, fruit, and fodder crops—their positions fit in together, for A and his cows can consume more of B's foodstuffs, while B and his family can, in exchange, consume more of A's milk and ghee and butter." What is needed is somehow or other to get the rural masses—and to a lesser degree, of course, the urban masses, out of the rut of their present low standards of living.

Much can be done, as no one has realized more keenly than

the present Viceroy, by education, propaganda, and a reasonable measure of public assistance. But, supposing an effective demand for a change in the Indian dietary—and more especially an effective demand for more milk—were aroused in this way, it may be asked where the land on which to grow the special foodstuffs is to come from.

#### UNCULTIVATED LAND

I may say at once that I do not think that much assistance can be looked for from those millions of acres shown in the *Agricultural Statistics of India* as "Culturable waste other than fallow." As the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, of which the present Viceroy was chairman, said in their Report of 1928 when pressing for a re-examination of the figures under this head—which, so far as I know has not yet been undertaken—it is certain that much of this area, amounting to 152 million acres—an area which must have been very largely reduced by the separation of Burma—or nearly 23 per cent. of the total area of British India could, in no conceivable circumstances, be brought under tillage. If such lands are accessible, they must be of the poorest quality or they would have been brought under cultivation long ago. If they are not accessible, they obviously cannot be cultivated.

If we assume with Dr. Aykroyd that at present the cultivator eats more cereals than he really needs, then some of the land devoted to cereals at present could be diverted to special food products. But even if pressure of population necessitated that all the land devoted to food grains should continue to be so used, there are other ways of dealing, at any rate partially, with the problem. What is needed is a better planning of the cropping of villages. Without very gravely disturbing the general balance of cash and food crops, there is undoubtedly scope for systems of cropping which would gradually improve the nutrition of the cultivator and of his cattle and raise the fertility of the soil. One way in which the present vicious circle might be broken would be to take fuller advantage of the fact that there are now in India at least twenty million acres under improved strains of crops, mostly cash crops such as cotton, sugar cane, and jute, all yielding, even at the most modest estimate, some 10 to 15 per cent. more on the average than the varieties they have displaced. Cotton, sugar cane, and jute all present their special problems, of which I shall have more to say later, but a study of those problems shows, I think, the undesirability of increasing the gross production of the cash crops by such a percentage as that I have just mentioned.

That being so, the preferable course would appear to be to set



free a portion of the land now devoted to cash crops and to utilize it for the cultivation of special foodstuffs. If the supply of milk is to be increased, it is essential that there should be a very much larger production of fodder crops, especially leguminous crops, for both working and milch cattle. A beginning has been made with early maize and irrigated berseem (Egyptian clover) in what, after the area under the Lloyd Barrage in Sind, is the most important addition to the area under irrigation in India in recent years—the areas irrigated by tube wells in the United Provinces, for which those Provinces are largely indebted to the genius and enthusiasm of Sir William Stampe. It is only in ways such as this that one can hope to increase the supply of milk and ghee in the villages. Opportunities of doing so to some extent occur where schemes are in operation to remedy that curse of Indian agriculture, the fragmentation of holdings.

#### FRAGMENTATION OF HOLDINGS

India is essentially a country of small holdings. A special enquiry undertaken in 2,400 villages in the Punjab a few years ago showed that 18 per cent. of the owners' holdings were under one acre, 25 per cent. were between one and three acres, 15 per cent. were between three and five acres, and a further 18 per cent. were between five and ten acres. And these figures would be on the high side for India as a whole, for the number of cultivated acres per cultivator in the Punjab is about nine acres, which is three times as much as it is in the United Provinces, Bengal, or Bihar. Dr. Wright comments feelingly on the difficulties this presents to the establishment of a dairy industry. But worse remains. For those holdings, small as they are, are not solid blocks. If a father dies owning three isolated fields of one acre each and leaving three sons, the sons do not take one field each, but one-third of each field. Efforts are being made to secure the realignment of holdings. These have met with some success, notably in the Punjab. Apart from other advantages, they enable untidy corners to be turned into quite useful fodder plots.

It should, I think, be once again emphasized that, whilst there is practically general agreement that the dietary of the greater part of the population in India is unsatisfactory both in quality and quantity, the data at present available are quite insufficient to enable the deficiencies in both respects to be determined with anything like exactitude. It would be a mistake, in this as in so many other respects, to generalize for the whole of India. Nutritional deficiencies have been studied more fully in Madras than elsewhere, but what is true for Madras may be regarded as hold-

ing good for most of the south and east of India, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa, and the Central Provinces. In the Punjab and the United Provinces more wheat and milk—and in the Punjab, with its very large Muslim and Sikh population, more meat—are consumed and the problems are, therefore, rather different. Everywhere, however, more study is required, and it is to be hoped that the recommendation made both by Sir John Russell and the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the India Research Food Association that there should be a nutrition survey in each Province in order to discover the chief deficiencies revealed in the Indian dietary, after which the ways in which they can be put right would be determined by consultation between the agricultural and medical authorities, will be accepted. One important step which has recently been taken has been the appointment of a Nutrition Officer at Delhi to act as a liaison officer between the Nutrition Laboratory at Coonoor in South India and the Agricultural Research Institutes at Delhi and in the Provinces.

#### AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

I have so far dealt with the improvement of Indian agriculture mainly from the point of view of nutrition. The scope for improvement generally is, of course, immense. Sir John Russell, dotting the i's and crossing the t's of that very voluminous document, the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, has succinctly summed up the seven great factors capable of improving the yield of crops in India. They are better varieties of crops, better control of pests and diseases, better control of water supply for crops, the prevention of soil erosion, better use of manures and fertilizers, better implements and cultivators, and better systems of cropping, in particular, better rotations and the use of more fodder crops with the object of obtaining more farm-yard manure. Much has been done in all these directions since the Royal Commission on Agriculture reported in 1928 and since the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the most important outcome of its labours, was established in 1929, but very much remains to be done. It is, however, good to find that Sir John Russell and Dr. Wright have given the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research their very warm approval, qualified only by recommendations for its expansion in several important directions.

I have endeavoured to show, however sketchily—and I ought, I know, to have said more about the improvement of the cattle of India, which constitute more than one-third the cattle population of the world—the immense scope there is for increased efficiency of production in the broadest sense to India's most



important industry, agriculture. But increased production from the soil of India is not in itself sufficient to secure a happy and contented countryside. An improvement in the standard of living in the purely material sense is only a partial solution of the problem. No efforts to improve agriculture will yield the fullest results unless village life is made more attractive and the villages are made fit to live in. The drift to the towns must be arrested and the most strenuous endeavours must be made to keep on the land or to send back to it some of those thousands of young men who in recent years have swollen the army of educated unemployed to disquieting dimensions and have made the question of middle-class unemployment one of the two questions on the solution of which, it is not exaggerating greatly to say, depends in very large measure the future of India. The other is, of course, the communal question. Various colonization and settlement experiments have been tried in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and elsewhere, but it cannot be said that they have done more than touch the fringe of the problem. Much water has flowed down the rivers of India since I left that country in April last, after 34½ years of service to it, and I doubt whether any year in India has shown greater changes than 1937. But it is heartening to those interested in Indian village welfare—and who that knows India is not?—that the new Provincial Governments, whatever their composition, have without exception placed the improvement of Indian village life in the forefront of their programmes. The world offers no fairer field for the exercise of wisely directed enthusiasm, and it may be doubted whether anything would have a more far-reaching effect in the prosperity of the Empire as a whole than the general raising of the standard of life in the Indian countryside.

I may well be told at this stage that I have dwelt too exclusively on the internal economy of India and on the need for greater production and consumption by the Indian people of their own products. Where, I shall be asked, does the Empire come in? The answer to that question is contained, in the main, in the General Note on the aims and objects of this Conference to which I have already referred. In that Note, it is stated that increased consumption is dependent on increased purchasing power, which again is dependent upon enlarging the real national income of every portion of the Empire. In India, far the most potent way of enlarging the real national income is by improving agriculture, upon which the improvement of that vital national asset, the health and morale of its people, must most largely depend. As Colonel Russell emphasizes, the malnourishment of a very large proportion of the population of India not only affects the mental and physical energy of the individual, but increases the morbidity



and mortality of the many infectious diseases to which the ordinary individual is subjected in that country. That improvement of health and morale is, in its turn, bound to create enormous unsatisfied needs which the rest of the Empire can help to satisfy.

#### CASH CROPS

Before I pass on to the industrial aspect I should like to say a few words about the cash crops, the exports of which are of such great importance to India. For it is on those exports that India mainly relies to meet not only the cost of her imports but also her home charges, military and civil, payment of pensions, leave salaries, payment of interest on loans, and the like, and, as Sir George Schuster emphasized in his lecture, it is the exported portion of the crop which makes all the difference to the general body of cultivators, while, in those special areas which concentrate on growing crops like cotton, jute, tobacco, oil seeds, and tea, the loss of export markets would, for the time being at any rate, mean the destruction of the bulk of the people's livelihood. They are specially worthy of mention today, as some of them supply noteworthy instances of co-operation between different parts of the Empire which it is the special object of this Conference to assist in fostering.

The most striking instance of that co-operation has been furnished by the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee, established in 1932 as the result of the discussions at the Ottawa Conference of that year on the development of trade between the nations of the British Commonwealth. The Committee has, I may perhaps remind you, two main lines of activity. It has a Commissioner in India who works in close co-operation with the Indian Central Cotton Committee, a most capable and efficient body for whose establishment I am proud to think that, as Secretary of the Indian Cotton Committee of 1917-18, I am in some degree responsible, and also with the Provincial Agricultural Departments, in promoting the production and preparation for the market of more and more of the types of cotton which Lancashire can use. It also conducts a most thorough programme of research and experiment in Lancashire in order to evolve methods for utilizing the shorter staple cotton which Lancashire was formerly unable to use and which will probably always remain a very large part of the Indian crop. The admirable propaganda and active work carried out by the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee has resulted in a very striking increase in the United Kingdom's takings of Indian cotton during recent years. From 230,000 bales in 1932-33 they rose to 639,000 bales in 1936-37, and the possibilities are very far



from being exhausted. The Committee said in 1935—and it is even truer in 1937 than it was then:

"It is beyond question that the educational propaganda of the last two years has had a very powerful effect in Lancashire. A definite goodwill towards Indian cotton has been brought into existence throughout the industry, and it is in sharp contrast to the attitude of mind towards Indian growths which has always obtained previously. A great many mills have made adjustments in their processes and even in equipment so as to enable them to use Indian types to advantage. A large number of new market connections have been opened and Indian cotton has been brought into the foreground of the commercial arena in a way which has exceeded the most optimistic expectations of the Committee. All this is of comparatively recent growth and its practical effect should be more far-reaching as time goes on."

The value of the work of the Committee ought—as I hope it is—to be specially apparent in India at the present moment, when the conflict in the Far East has, as I gather from recent reports in the Press, resulted in exports of Indian cotton to Japan falling to a lower level than any reached for many years past.

#### RUBBER AND TEA

My next two instances of co-operation are neither so relevant nor so satisfactory. They are not so relevant because the co-operation here is not exclusively within the Empire but is international. And they are not so satisfactory because a Conference, one of whose objects is to stress increased efficiency of production in its broadest sense, is here confronted with problems arising out of the consequences of the stimulation of that production to a pitch at which consumption is definitely below it. The moral to be drawn—on which it is not necessary for me to enlarge—is the necessity for stimulating consumption not only throughout the Empire but throughout the world. The two commodities to which I refer are rubber and tea. India, including Burma, is a party to restriction schemes in regard to both. From the Indian point of view it is, however, satisfactory to find that, in spite of restriction, the export trade in rubber is becoming of increasing importance. The total quantity of rubber exported rose from 16·2 million pounds, valued at £234,000, in 1933-34 to 30·6 million pounds, valued at £665,250, in 1935-36. The corresponding figures for exports to the United Kingdom were 3·3 million pounds, valued at £57,000, and 10·8 million pounds, valued at £238,950. The working of the tea restriction scheme has been different. Exports have been reduced from 379 million pounds in 1932-33, the peak year, to 302 million pounds last year, but it

should be mentioned that the value of the 269 million pounds imported into the United Kingdom, far the most important of India's customers for tea, in 1935 was £1½ millions more than that of the 312 million pounds imported in 1932, so that the producer has gained by restriction. And the vigorous propaganda carried on in various parts of India by the International Tea Market Expansion Board has undoubtedly been successful in stimulating consumption. The balance retained for consumption in India in 1935-36 was estimated at 83 million pounds against 63 million pounds in 1932-33.

#### COFFEE AND JUTE

Coffee has recently joined the list of the commodities in India on which a cess is collected under statutory authority and handed over to a Committee to be administered in the interests of the trade and industry concerned. A Coffee Cess Committee has been established in India and a Coffee Market Expansion Board in London. It is, of course, much too early to offer any comment on the results of their efforts.

Jute, second only in importance to cotton in the export trade of India, is another crop which furnishes an example of the two-fold problem of restriction of production and stimulation of consumption. Since 1935 the Government of Bengal have made strenuous efforts to secure the voluntary restriction of the area under jute. Those efforts have met with some degree of success and, in 1935, the official estimate of outturn was 7·2 million bales, against 8·5 million bales in 1934. It had increased to 8·7 million bales in 1936, but that was some two million bales less than the average for the three years 1927-29. Prices reacted to restriction, and the price of raw jute in 1935, on the whole, showed a marked appreciation over that for 1934. On October 1 last, it was some Rs. 6 per bale higher than on October 1 of the two previous years and Rs. 8½ above that on October 1, 1934, but how far that is due to restriction and how far to world factors, it would be rash to say.

But it is all to the good that the Indian jute industry has at last wakened up to the dangers resulting from economic nationalism, the progress made by competing fibres such as sisal and coir, the scientific attempts made to find suitable substitutes, and the changes in methods of transport. With the assistance of Dr. S. G. Barker, the industry is now engaged in active examination of the problems of keeping its present markets unimpaired, of recovering lost markets, if at all possible, and of establishing new ones. Again, at long last, a recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has borne fruit and the Government



of India have decided to establish a Central Jute Committee on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee to watch over the interests of all branches of the trade, from the field to the factory. The functions of the Committee, like those of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, will include agricultural, technological, and economic research, the improvement of crop forecasts and statistics, the production, testing, and distribution of improved seed, enquiries and recommendations relating to banking, transport facilities and transport routes, and the improvement of marketing in the interests of the jute industry in India.

Lastly, in this connection, a word should be said about sugar, though it is not an export crop. In 1929-30 nearly one million tons, valued at £12·2 millions, were imported into India. Those imports, thanks to the stimulation of production in India caused by a very high import duty, imposed originally for revenue and maintained for protective purposes, have practically disappeared, as the Finance Member knows to his cost. The progress of the industry has been far too rapid to be entirely healthy, and has brought with it a new set of problems which will shortly come under the purview of the Sugar Committee which it is proposed to establish on somewhat the same lines as the Committees for Cotton and Jute. Sir John Russell has recommended that this Committee should take over the Sugar Research Institute at Cawnpore established two or three years ago by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

### THE MARKET FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS

I have commented at some length on the work which is being done on the various crops in India as I thought it would be of interest to know something about the efforts which are being made in India to improve production in various directions and also to stimulate consumption. I now turn—rather late it may be thought—to a question of greater interest perhaps to many present here than those with which I have dealt—the underconsumption in India of manufactured goods from other parts of the Empire, more especially from this country. I do so with great reluctance, for I am painfully aware that I am now entering on very difficult and controversial ground, all the more so because negotiations between His Majesty's Government in this country and his Government in India are still in progress in regard to the continuance in some form or other of the Ottawa Agreement. As I retired from the Government in India in April last, I have had no part in those negotiations. In the little I have to say on this aspect, I hope it will be quite clear that I am merely expressing my own personal views.

I have endeavoured to show how the real national income of India can be enlarged by increased efficiency throughout the countryside. Increased efficiency should bring in its train increased prosperity and increased demand for many things at present outside the villager's ken, better clothing if not more of it—I have often thought that the time has come for economic studies of the real needs of the Indian peasantry in regard to clothing—better housing, better sanitation, more bicycles, more books and newspapers, and the thousand and one luxuries which, as what we like to regard as progress advances, become necessities. A striking example of the way in which demand can spring up has been furnished by the spread of travel by motor bus in India, both among the urban and rural population—a demand which has caused the railway authorities in India considerable searchings of heart.

#### PURCHASING POWER

In all discussions on Imperial development, one inevitably has to return time and again to the question of increased purchasing power. As to the need for that, there is general agreement. But when we come to the ways in which increased purchasing power is to be secured, then "*quot homines, tot sententiæ*." I am not an economist and I can only state the position as it strikes me briefly and crudely. If the United Kingdom expects India to take her manufactured goods, it must contribute in increasing degree to the increase of Indian purchasing power. This applies, though not, of course, to the same extent, to the Dominions. Greater purchases of Indian raw products are only the first step in this direction. Rapid progress in industrialization in India is a fact that has to be faced. The gospel of self-sufficiency is preached in India with as much zeal and as much misdirected enthusiasm as it is in some other countries. Its advocates overlook what I stressed earlier on, the importance of the export market to the cultivator. They overlook the equally important consideration that even if India produced all the manufactured goods she now imports, the amount of additional employment that would be created would be very small compared with the vast population of India.

Take cotton manufactures, for instance, still, in spite of the tremendous fall in recent years, much the most important of India's imports. The best estimates available place the total amount of cotton piece goods available for consumption in India in 1913-14 at 5,280 million yards, of which 3,130 million yards were supplied by imports, 1,080 million yards by Indian mills, and 1,070 million yards by handlooms. In 1935-36, the total available for consumption in India had increased to 6,130 million yards,



of which only 970 million yards were supplied by imports, whereas the amount supplied by handlooms had increased to 1,660 million yards and that supplied by Indian mills had—as Lancashire knows only too well—gone up to 3,500 million yards. But the number of those employed in the cotton mills had only increased by about 200,000.

If India were to manufacture all the cotton goods she now imports, that would only mean an addition to the number of those at present employed in the cotton mills of less than 100,000. If the imports were replaced by handloom products, as both they and mill products may well be to some extent now that half a dozen Provincial Governments are stout protagonists for the use of *Khaddar*, the number would, of course, be much larger, but, even so, it would be a drop in the ocean compared with the millions who are added to India's population every year. There is one point about these figures on which this is perhaps the best place to comment. The average consumption of cloth per head in India in 1913-14 was 16.50 yards. In 1935-36 it was 16.57 yards. It varied, of course, in the interval, the lowest figure reached being 11.81 yards in 1921-22 in the period of very high prices after the War. The highest figure reached was 16.70 yards in 1932-33. I should not like to hazard a guess as to the extent to which it has been desirable that it should be exceeded. We have even less data about India's real needs in regard to clothing than we have about those in regard to diet. As I suggested at an earlier stage, they might well form the subject of some of those economic enquiries which are helping to supply the lacunæ in our information.

#### INDUSTRIALISATION

To revert to the point I was endeavouring to make. The Indian Fiscal Commission did not attach overwhelming importance to the effect of industries in drawing any surplus population from the land. Their view was, "Even if the development of industries in the near future is very rapid, the population withdrawn from the land will be but a small proportion." But that is no argument against industrialisation, and there are very strong arguments in its favour—always provided that it can be accomplished without the evils which some industrial centres in India have only too faithfully copied from their Western prototypes. As I see them—I may perhaps be forgiven for repeating what I said in India last year—they are that the diversification consequent on an advance of industrialisation will render the economic life of the country less precarious than if it depends on agriculture alone, that the capital of the country will be made more mobile by opportunities of industrial investment, that a higher standard of life in the

industrial centres will exert some influence in gradually raising the standard of life in the countryside and, lastly, that industrial enterprise will have the effect of quickening initiative and practical intelligence and thereby of contributing certain new and valuable elements to the national character.

Argument or no argument, industrialisation in India is proceeding apace and must be recognized as inevitable. The last report of the India Stores Department, the Government of India's purchasing agency, gives a lengthy list of articles to which attention was specially devoted during the year in order to develop their manufacture in India and their utilization in preference to imported articles. Among them were carriage and wagon fittings, wagons, enamelled plates and mouldings, irrigation pumps, hurricane lanterns, electric lamps, police whistles, and silver-grey flannel. Gone are the days, if indeed they ever existed, when it was possible for this country, or any other, to dictate to India what form her industrialization should take. That being so, it follows, I think, that the second step to be taken by this country to improve the purchasing power of India so that that country may take more of her highly specialised manufactured goods is to purchase certain classes of Indian manufactured goods of a less specialised character and to maintain the large free market in this country for those goods. I cannot but think that, unless one takes a very short view, this is a step which it is in the widest interests of British manufacturers and consumers generally to take. There are certain manufactures for which India has special advantages, certain classes of cotton goods, jute goods, carpets, leather, both finished and unfinished, to mention only a few of the more important. Unpleasant as it may be, it would be very unwise to fail to recognize that the centre of gravity of the world's textile industry is moving steadily East, and though this fact may call for more replanning in the British textile industries, it offers some countervailing advantages to manufacturers of machinery, chemical manufacturers, and a large number of other highly specialised industries.

#### TRADE AGREEMENTS

Time does not permit me to do more than make a passing reference to the dangers of the excessive development of bilateral trade agreements from the point of view of a country such as India, whose position as a negotiating country is weakened by the fact that at present she lives mainly by the export of raw materials and foodstuffs and normally has to export more than she imports. They were discussed at great length last year in the Indian Legislative Assembly and I will not repeat the arguments made by



speakers on the Government benches against those members of the Opposition who held that India should scrap all her existing trade treaties and start with a clean slate. But I should like to recall the wording of the original resolution passed by the Ottawa Conference, which ran as follows: "The nations of the British Commonwealth having entered into certain agreements with one another for the extension of Imperial trade by means of reciprocal preferential tariffs, this Conference takes note of those agreements and records its conviction.

"That by the lowering or removal of barriers among themselves provided for in those agreements, the flow of trade between the various countries of the Empire will be facilitated, and that by the consequent increase of purchasing power of their peoples, the trade of the world will also be stimulated and increased.

"Further, that this Conference regards the conclusion of these agreements as a step forward which should, in the future, tend to further progress in the same direction and which will utilize protective duties to ensure that the resources and industries of the Empire are developed on sound economic lines."

It follows, therefore, that it was the avowed aim of the Government of the United Kingdom so to develop its policy of Imperial Preference that it would lead to freer trade within the Empire and thus eventually to freer trade within the world in general. That policy in so far—and this is an important qualification—as it was consistent with the protection of British industries has been pursued since Ottawa. This has been possible for the United Kingdom because it was so long a Free Trade country and is still, in essence, a country of low tariffs in which direct taxation is high and indirect taxation, except for a few special articles of great importance, such as tea and tobacco, comparatively low, so that Customs revenue is relatively unimportant. The problem, as we know to our cost, is very different in India. If bilateral agreements are to assist the development of world trade as well as of Empire trade, it seems to follow that tariff preferences should not be sought on imports which are extremely important to non-Empire countries and discrimination against which might lead to trade dislocation and the raising or consolidation of barriers against trade. Trade agreements and tariff preferences by themselves do not ensure increased consumption and, whilst Empire sentiment cannot and should not be ignored, even more importance should, I think, be extended to serious studies of needs of consuming countries and the abilities of producing countries. It is, I am sure, unnecessary to develop this point further for an audience such as this. I would only refer once again, as an example of what I have in mind, to the work of the Indian Central Cotton Committee in co-operation with the Lancashire

Indian Cotton Committee and, more recently, of the Indian Coffee Marketing Expansion Board in London, a branch of the Indian Coffee Cess Committee in India.

It is, I think, of great significance that the present Conference should be almost coincident with the appointment of an eminent economist, Professor Gregory, to assist the Government of India in working out the problems which are engaging the attention of this Conference.

My subject has been so vast that I have only been able to dwell on a few points and have been compelled to omit many of very great importance. I ought, I know, to have said something about the possibilities of further large irrigation works in India; about the Marketing Surveys which it is hoped will lead to marked improvements in the condition in which some of India's major crops are marketed; about the co-operative movement, once so full of promise, but the fire of which has died down, though the embers are still capable of being fanned into a flame at which the Indian peasantry can warm its hands, if not its whole body; about many other subjects. May I stress once again, in conclusion, that India's contribution to an increase in Empire prosperity can only be secured by concerted, strenuous, and sustained effort to raise the standard of living in the Indian village.



## THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By Y. N. SUKTHANKAR

IN order to appreciate correctly the present position of sugar industry in India, it is necessary to remember that there are four different interests intimately concerned in it—the cultivator, the manufacturer, the trader, and the consumer. Over and above these four interests, there is a fifth one—viz., the State, which has made the present position of the industry possible by its effective policy of protection and which has to see that there is no undue conflict in the aims of the other four interests and that they are properly reconciled. It has to be remembered that the State includes not only the Central Government but also the Provincial Governments, which, as a result of the recent constitutional changes, now enjoy a higher status and a greater measure of independence of the Centre than they did in the past.

Only a few figures are necessary to show the remarkable expansion which has taken place in the sugar industry in India in recent years. One hundred and thirty-seven cane factories worked during 1935-36, the latest year for which statistical and other information is complete. The total production of sugar direct from cane amounted to 912,000 tons during the 1935-36 season, as against 578,115 tons in 1934-35. Thus over one season the increase of production of sugar direct from cane has been approximately 58 per cent. The immediate causes of this large production in 1935-36 were partly technical and partly climatic: the working capacity of many factories has improved; factories were able to obtain full supplies of cane throughout the season owing to a healthy crop and extended cultivation; thirdly, owing to well-distributed winter rains and absence of pests, the factories were able to prolong their crushing season and obtain a higher recovery of sugar. But these are only temporary causes which could operate only in a particularly fortunate season, and the reasons for the remarkable progress achieved by the industry during the last five years or so must be sought for elsewhere. It will be observed that in 1931-32 the number of factories producing sugar direct from cane was only 32. It was early in 1931 that the Tariff Board completed its enquiry into the then existing condition of the sugar industry and recommended it for protection. Government accepted this recommendation and imposed, by the Sugar Industry Protection Act, 1932, a protective duty which now amounts to

Rs. 9/4/- per cwt., being made up of Rs. 7/4/- per cwt. duty on foreign sugar and Rs. 2 per cwt. excise imposed on sugar produced in factories in British India and either issued out of or used within such factories.

It is the stimulus given by protection that is the primary cause of expansion of the sugar industry in India. Next is the technical improvement that is taking place steadily in the factories. It is interesting to note that in 1935-36 India imported sugar machinery valued at about Rs. 66 lakhs (approximately £495,000). From the United Kingdom alone India imported sugar machinery worth about half a crore of rupees (£375,000). In 1932-33 the total imports of sugar machinery were valued at about Rs. 1½ crores, in 1933-34 a little under Rs. 3½ crores, and in 1934-35 a little over a crore of rupees; the number of factories in these years were 57, 112, and 130 respectively. From the decline which has taken place in these imports over the last four years it would appear as if the existing factories have either obtained the necessary machinery for their present requirements or are refraining at present from embarking on more capital expenditure. There has been, however, an increase in the value of the imports of sugar machinery in 1936-37 and they have gone up to Rs. 95 lakhs, the United Kingdom and Germany supplying machinery worth Rs. 68½ lakhs and 12 lakhs respectively, as against Rs. 50 lakhs and Rs. 11 lakhs in 1935-36.

The number of sugar factories operating in 1936-37 is 146, as against 137 in the previous season. Another indication of the technical improvement is given by the increase in the recovery of sugar from cane. This average is steadily increasing. In 1935-36 the highest recovery for the season was 11·34 per cent., as against 11·10 per cent. during the previous season. Even the minimum percentage for 1935-36—viz., 6·59 per cent., is appreciably higher than that for 1934-35, which was 5 per cent. The average all-India figure—i.e., the ratio of total sugar made to total cane crushed, has risen from 8·66 per cent. in 1934-35 to 9·29 per cent. in 1935-36. This improvement, happily, is not confined to a few selected factories, but is fairly widespread, as an examination of the figures shows. In Bombay the majority of factories worked to a recovery figure of 10 per cent. and over, in the United Provinces to 9 per cent. and over, and in Bihar and Orissa to 8 per cent. and over.

The third factor responsible for the expansion of sugar industry is the steady increase in the cultivation of improved varieties of sugar-cane. Out of the total area of 4,022,000 acres under sugar-cane, 3,071,000 acres, or 74 per cent., represent the area under improved varieties of cane. As the sugar industry has shown the greatest expansion in the Provinces of the United Provinces and



Bihar, it is also in these two Provinces that the improved varieties of sugar-cane find an increasing use. The research work on problems connected with sugar-cane breeding is proceeding apace in the Imperial Sugar-cane Station at Coimbatore and also at other provincial centres under the auspices of the Provincial Governments. The problem of developing into hybrid cane varieties qualities like "vigour of growth," "earliness," and "good habit" is being successfully studied at Coimbatore. A successful variety has not only to be "early," but must combine with "earliness" "satisfactory tonnage." The question of satisfactory sugar values is therefore stressed in the experimental programme at Coimbatore. Similarly, "late canes" are desirable from the point of view of extending the crushing season and work is proceeding on evolving a "late" variety which will be sufficiently strong to withstand the severe conditions in Northern India without showing any deterioration in quality. At the sugar-cane research station, Muzaffarnagar, United Provinces, apart from experiments conducted to examine the manurial and cultural requirements of cane, entomological studies are being carried out. Detailed studies in the principal sugar-cane insect pests are being conducted with the help of financial grants received from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

Having referred to the agricultural and manufacturing aspects of the recent developments in the sugar industry, it is time to take up trade and other aspects. The inevitable result of the expansion of the sugar industry behind tariffs in India was bound to be a decline in the imports of foreign sugar. In the last five years or so the decline has been very severe. In 1931-32 India imported 516,000 tons of foreign sugar, valued at approximately Rs. 6 crores. In 1935-36 the imports amounted to 201,000 tons, valued at Rs. 1 crore and 91 lakhs, thus having diminished in quantity to less than half and in value less than a third of what they were five years back. In 1936-37 there was a further sharp decline in the imports of foreign sugar, amounting to 23,000 tons valued at Rs. 24 lakhs. The severity of the rate of decline becomes all the more apparent when it is remembered that in 1913-14 India imported 803,000 tons of foreign sugar, valued at a little over Rs. 14 crores. It will thus be seen that the locally manufactured sugar is gradually displacing the foreign sugar. The total quantities of sugar available for consumption, after allowing for the exports and re-exports by land and sea, amounted to 1,059,000 tons in 1936-37, as against 1,015,000 tons in 1935-36. The figures for the three previous years have been 926,000 tons in 1932-33, 932,000 tons in 1933-34, and 932,000 tons in 1934-35. Thus the net quantity available for consumption has increased only slightly during the last five years. It is interesting to note that the "initial



stocks"—i.e., the stocks at the beginning of the season—have gone down from 157,862 tons in 1931-32 to 22,373 tons in 1935-36. The "closing stocks"—i.e., stocks at the end of the season—have gone down during this period from 67,878 tons to 40,057 tons in 1935-36. These figures, of course, represent the stocks at the main British ports. The "closing stocks," however, show an appreciable increase when compared with the three previous years, when they amounted to 22,316, 25,350, and 22,373 tons respectively.

It will be seen from the declining imports of foreign sugar that India is on a fair way to being self-sufficient. Actually for the first time in 1935-36 total production of white sugar—i.e., sugar made directly from cane and refined from "gur," together with the sugar manufactured by "khandsari" concerns—exceeded a million tons. At the commencement of the 1936-37 season the stocks of sugar with the factories as well as at the principal ports amounted to 143,684 tons, or roughly 13 per cent. of the previous season's production. The estimated production during 1936-37 season also exceeds a million tons.

It will therefore be appreciated that if "stagnation" is to be avoided in the sugar market, steps must be taken to see that "stocks" do not go on accumulating and are disposed of in a systematic manner. Several suggestions have been made as to how this should be achieved. Reduction in the price of "cane" and reduction in the railway freights so as to bring about a reduction in the price of the finished article with a view to stimulate the demand for it, rationalization of production, organization of internal marketing, and finding export markets for the surplus stock, are some of the suggested remedies.

Last April the Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar made certain alterations in the Sugar-cane (Minimum Prices) Rules, so as to adjust the sugar-cane prices to the falling prices of sugar, but beyond such adjustment it is not feasible to expect any absolute reduction in the price of cane which the sugar factories have to pay. It is the avowed policy of the Governments in these two Provinces that the cultivator gets a fair price for the cane. In fact, according to a recently published notification, the Government of the United Provinces have amended the sugar-cane rules again so as to raise the minimum price to 5 annas 3 pies per maund. During the 1936-37 season (November to June) it fluctuated between 3 annas 3 pies per maund and 4 annas 9 pies per maund in the United Provinces and 3 annas and 4 annas 9 pies per maund in Bihar. It has to be remembered that sugar-cane, like cotton and jute, is a "cash crop"—that is to say, its chief attraction to the cultivator is the return it brings in money. Should its remunerativeness be seriously or permanently reduced, the area under sugar-cane is almost certain to be curtailed in course



of time. Moreover, with the improvement in world prices of most agricultural products the cultivator might, even without the discouragement of lower minimum cane prices, turn to other crops like wheat, which are becoming more remunerative. What the sugar factories want is an abundance of cane crop with low prices, and a scarcity resulting from the cultivators taking to some other crop will have exactly the opposite effect.

Some reduction in the railway freights has already been brought about and should to that extent help to ease the marketing difficulties. But it is obvious that any drastic reduction in the railway freights cannot be looked for. There is no reason why one particular industry should receive special treatment from the railway authorities without evoking a demand for similar treatment from other industries.

Rationalization of production and properly organized internal markets perhaps offer the greatest scope for solving the difficulties confronting the sugar industry at the present moment. There is no doubt that in the affluent "get rich quick" days following the grant of protection in the sugar industry factories were put up in a haphazard manner, and it may well be that some of the weaker vessels will have to be eliminated before the production could be rationalized. It will also be agreed that cut-throat competition amongst the sellers, which can only depress the sugar market, is undesirable. There should be some organization capable of holding the sugar stocks for some length of time and releasing them in an orderly manner. The All-India Sugar Syndicate, Ltd., which was formed in July, 1937, holds out, therefore, a promise of great possibilities and its career will be watched with interest. It has been started with a view "to improve the tone of the sugar market by regulated sales," and it has commenced work by taking over from its members their entire unsold stocks of sugar produced in the season. The Syndicate proposed to sell them on a regulated basis and at rates specified by itself. It is stated that the Syndicate was able to enlist the co-operation of about 95 factories, including almost all the important manufacturing interests and representing about 90 per cent. of the total stocks of unsold sugar with manufacturers in the country.

While rationalized production and regulated sales are objectives worth working for, it cannot be doubted that any undue raising of sugar prices will seriously affect consumption. In the case of sugar, as of all other commodities, the Indian market is a "price market," whose requirements are a "good quality" and "reasonable prices," and it sets about equal store by both these requirements, with the balance perhaps tipped in favour of "reasonable prices." It is satisfactory to note that the sugar produced in 1936-37 season is of an improved quality, and high-grade sugar, be-

ing less liable to deterioration in storage, is being taken delivery of more readily. While some Indian sugars compare favourably with the superior Java white sugar, it is felt that there is still room for improvement in the colour of Indian sugar. It should not be difficult to remove these defects with the use of more efficient machinery. It is also desirable that the factories should concentrate on the particular grade in which they have attained excellence rather than disperse their efforts on a variety of grades.

There are two other features of the internal sugar market which are worth noticing. In spite of the increasing production of white sugar, it has not been able to replace the production of "gur." In fact the net production of "gur" has steadily increased from 1,235,000 tons in 1930-31 to 2,258,000 tons in 1935-36. By "net production" is meant the amount of "gur" actually produced and consumed in the form of "gur." On account of its cheapness and its dietary values, it is a popular article of food in villages and with agricultural, labouring, and other poorer classes. Sugar is consumed only in urban centres and by more well-to-do classes, and it is doubtful if it will ever succeed in replacing "gur." Another feature of the Indian sugar market is that there is not the same sort of demand for sugar for confectionery as there is in European countries. There are no articles of Indian confectionery which enjoy the universal popularity that chocolates and toffees do, for instance, in European countries. Indian confectionery, therefore, does not set up a steady and effective demand for sugar. It is, however, to be hoped that progress in the canning industry may set up some kind of demand for sugar.

Any serious rise in the price of sugar is therefore bound to affect adversely its consumption. So far the consumer has not done so badly. In 1935-36 Cawnpore special, a well-known grade of sugar refined from "gur," generally varied between Rs. 8/10/- and Rs. 9 per maund, the highest price attained being Rs. 9/3/- per maund for a month or two. Prices of marhowrah crystal No. 1, which is a typical first-grade sugar manufactured by Indian mills, ranged between Rs. 8/9/- and Rs. 9/4/- per maund, whereas ready Java white sugar in Bombay ranged between Rs. 9/14/- per maund and Rs. 10 per maund. The prices quoted are of course on a factory basis. The latest available quotations show a further decline in the prices of Indian sugar. Thus on October 29, 1937, the price of marhowrah crystal No. 1 was, *ex* factory, Rs. 6/14/- per maund, as against Rs. 8/8/- the same day the previous year.

With the decision of the Government of India to ratify the Sugar Agreement and to undertake not to export sugar by sea for a period of five years except to Burma, the question of finding markets overseas for Indian sugar in the immediate future becomes only of academic importance. But actually the gap between



the production costs in India today and those in great exporting countries like Java and Cuba is so wide that India could not possibly be able to put her sugar on the world market at economic prices without some measure of Government assistance or preferential aids from the importing markets. There is no ground for believing that this gap will always remain as wide, but it will take some time before it can be reduced. In the meantime, India's decision to ratify the Sugar Agreement is expected to give stability to the international sugar market. The condition of that market has been far from healthy in recent years, but with assurance of stability and order resulting from the International Agreement to maintain a reasonable balance between the supply and demand it is to be hoped that the world market will improve once again and the producers all the world over will be freed from some of their difficulties, which were mainly due to a lack of certainty regarding the world production and lack of co-ordination among the sugar policies of different countries. The Indian sugar industry can profitably utilize the next five years in setting its house in order. The Tariff Board which has been appointed according to the Government of India Resolution dated March 27, 1937, to examine the measure of protection now enjoyed by the sugar industry and to report whether it is necessary to continue protection to this extent, or to a greater or lesser extent, will no doubt enquire fully into the condition of the industry. It might have something to say about the present difficulties of the sugar industry and how best they could be met. The report might well prove a source of useful information by which the industry could direct its future efforts. Should any improvement take place in the world market at the end of five years as a result of the International Sugar Agreement, the Indian sugar industry should be in readiness to take advantage of it.

## AVIATION IN DUTCH AND AUSTRALIAN NEW GUINEA

BY DR. W. C. KLEIN

(Mining Engineer, Secretary of the New Guinea Committee, The Hague.)

THE following is a summary of a more detailed publication that will be published by Mr. de Ruyter van Steveninck\* and the writer in the course of 1938, in the Dutch language, as a chapter of the economical handbook entitled *New Guinea*, edited by the Moluccan Institute at Amsterdam under the supervision of the writer.† As in Dutch New Guinea various exploration campaigns have started on a very large scale and, for example, aerial photography for topographical and geological survey has covered about 40,000 square miles, we may say that in a few respects we are now no longer behind the Australian part, though this portion remains ahead as regards administration, exports, etc. By publishing in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* some facts and views about the development work‡ (in this case by means of aviation) on the Dutch side, we also hope to contribute to an exchange of information regarding both New Guineas. The interest for this exchange and the belief in its usefulness (the latter also for the Australians, although more advanced in many respects, as stated above, on their half of the island) has to be stimulated on both sides.

As to the interest of the Dutch for the progress in Australian New Guinea, the trip which the author made to that country in 1935 on behalf of the New Guinea Committee has brought about good results, which could be obtained all the more easily as the Australian authorities and private persons were very kind and helpful.

With regard to the spreading of knowledge about Dutch New

\* Captain de Ruyter van Steveninck (the leader of the air-survey of Netherlands New Guinea), who recently returned from New Guinea, was kind enough to look through the manuscript before its dispatch.

† Volumes I. and II. have appeared (publisher: De Bussy, Rokin 58, Amsterdam, price of each fr. 7.50), and Volume III. will soon appear. Most of the articles in the book are followed by English summaries and some maps have English legends. Every article deals equally with Dutch and Australian New Guinea, and many of the writers have personal knowledge of local conditions. Among the economical chapters we may mention agriculture, mining, marine products, trade, shipping, and aviation. They are all contained in Volume II., except aviation, which appears in Volume III.

‡ Including numerous photographs supplied by the courtesy of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Co. (partly aerial photographs taken from 4,000 m. = 13,300 feet).



Guinea in Australia the language forms a serious obstacle, as many publications—e.g., about expeditions, scientific results, and medical work—are in Dutch. Therefore the New Guinea Committee intends to promote the publication of Dutch opinions and projects and achievements in relation to Dutch New Guinea in the English language.

In co-operation with the writer, Captain de Ruyter van Steveninck describes in the above-mentioned Dutch article the principles and *methods of aerial photography*, emphasizing the usefulness of stereoscopic photographs, coloured filters, panchromatic films, etc., and explaining how, by means of air-triangulation, more accurate maps can be obtained than by simply pasting the photos together to mosaics.

Mr. de R. van Steveninck was the leader of the aerial survey of the K.N.I.L.M.-Company (Royal Netherlands Indies Airways), working under a contract for the Netherland New Guinea Petroleum Co., that obtained a ten-million ha. concession for oil. The staff consisted of 32 Europeans and numerous Asiatics. Six of the Europeans were pilots.

The *objects of air-survey*—a term which is used here for explorations from the air in the widest sense—are discussed by the writer in the same article. Up till now surveys, mostly in the form of military and scientific expeditions, have cost in Dutch New Guinea about ten million florins. To bring the results obtained for these ten millions in such a form as is required for economic exploitation and Government penetration, the expenditure of another ten million florins will certainly be necessary (£1 Australian = about seven florins). We are convinced, however, that every few hundreds of thousands of florins spent on air-survey will save as many millions on the future surface expeditions that are still required. Everything is seen from the air; we detect which are the most important areas in the little-known interior, also we discover the best routes to reach them\* and those leading from one area to another. One can thus avoid the sometimes not very high but absolutely impassable hummocky limestone† ridges that nearly brought disaster to the recent Hides-O'Malley expedition in the unknown interior of Papua (1935). One can also see pretty well which valleys are wide or dry and easily passable, and where they are V-shaped and full of rapids and waterfalls, or even suddenly disappear owing to absorption of their waters in limestone. If mountains have to be crossed one

\* So did, for instance, Dr. A. H. Colijn, when ascending Mt. Carstensz in the end of 1936, where he had to climb 15,000 feet over a distance of about twenty miles. Air-survey showed him the best route of access.

† The American scientist Archbold, flying over them in Papua near Mt. Leonard Murray, called them "haycock-limestones."

sees where the passes are lowest, which remained unknown in the case of the Snow mountains, notwithstanding the numerous expeditions; in grassy or rocky areas one can easily recognize on big-scale photographs the small footpaths of the natives. I saw this myself in Australian New Guinea; moreover, patches of thin jungle in the midst of thick and grassy portions can be located; they facilitate travelling if such air-survey data are known and perused.

Last, but not least, one can observe the places containing population and their cultivated areas, which can eventually be used to replenish the supplies of land-parties. If certain valleys, probably after much flying to and fro over a series of adjoining water-courses, are definitely selected as an expedition-route, a few oblique photos instead of numerous vertical ones, which are more expensive, though preferable, will be of great help to subsequent surface-explorers. If they are well made, the leader probably can mark each evening in his camp his location on such photos and study on them the difficulties for the next day in the way of rapids, waterfalls, steep cliffs, rugged limestones, sharp ridges, etc.

We can subdivide the aerial observations into the following groups and probably all these groups will be tried out on the Dutch side:

1. MINING.—If mines are located, the best course of future roads to reach them can be studied. In the exploration phase in the Snow mountain gold concessions, a rough outline of the geology can be obtained, and if big areas are purely sedimentary, this may be definitely determined. For gold-washing purposes the explorers look for valleys with a wide stretch of alluvials and not for V-shaped valleys; this is all easily discernible from the air. Moreover, the best sites for small auxiliary landing-grounds can be selected, especially in grass-covered areas, which are plentiful on the north slope of Mt. Wilhelmina. If there is one means to make land-parties cheaper and more mobile it is the replenishment of their food through the air; that the big Dutch expeditions, especially those north of the Snow mountains, required between two and four hundred persons was mainly owing to the necessity of carrying supplies for many months and making base camps, etc., having regard to the lack of knowledge of the strength of the population to be encountered and the abundance of their food.

Also messages, maps, tools, articles for barter, arms, and police\* or soldiers, and also sick people can be conveyed immediately through the air. Preliminary aerodrome construction may not be necessary if a lake can be located in the centre of the unknown

\* Recently a party of the above-mentioned oil company on Bloemen River (south coast) was seriously menaced by six hundred natives. Ten armed constables were sent at once by means of a Sikorsky plane to assist them.



area.\* Food, messages, and arms can be dropped where landing-grounds are lacking.† For a good air-survey it is essential that the persons in the 'plane co-operate well and each have their own place and task and make their own minute diaries (logs); as a rule, the observations are then ten times as valuable as in the case of haphazard flying round by a large number of people. The same persons that later on carry out the land-survey have to man the 'plane and only after some four or five flights can the full benefit of useful co-operation be obtained. Dr. Colijn and Mr. Archbold, of the American Museum of Natural History, both adopted this system, the former around Mt. Carstensz, in 1936, the latter in West Papua in 1935.

In the case of the gold exploration‡ that is just now being started, the above remarks concerning topographical data to be obtained by cursory air-survey will hold good; the oil explorers of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Company follow another air-survey method. In their case a systematic map 1:40,000 is photographed from the air at the constant altitude of 14,000 feet. The whole area of their licence (which is to be converted later into smaller concessions) is thus mapped on this scale, and out of the photos a rough fragmentary geological 1:40,000 mainly structural map, as well as an accurate topographical map, is obtained. The former, of course, has to be completed where soft rocks, due to lack of any clear erosion forms, do not indicate strike or dip of the strata and also in alluvial or landslide areas.

2. FORESTS, INCLUDING SAGO. AGRICULTURAL AREAS.—On the photos obtained in Dutch New Guinea one can distinguish between dry forests and those growing on swampy or often inundated ground, even if the latter is dry at the time of survey. The most useful trees—i.e., gum-copal trees and sago-palms—can often be detected. It may be that the future experience of air-survey by the forestry officers in Dutch New Guinea§ will lead to far

\* Recently the navy pilot Wissel discovered the Wissel lake in the unknown portion of the west part of the Snow mountains. It measures 10 miles in length and has an elevation of 6,000 feet. A navy Fokker T4 'plane landed on it. South of this lake there are two others, one of which has a length of 5 miles. The whole lake area is well populated.

† A. H. Colijn, Director of the Dutch New Guinea Petroleum Co., climbed the summit of the snow-capped Mt. Carstensz (5,040 m. = 16,800 feet) in one and a half months. This was possible (1) thanks to the use of air-survey to locate the most suitable valley to approach it and during which twenty-five oblique photographs were made; (2) by throwing food down to pre-arranged points by means of the Sikorsky 'plane (type S 38C), which was very generously made available for this purpose by the Dutch New Guinea Petroleum Co.

‡ To be carried out in a plot of 6 million hectares (about 25,000 square miles) by a Dutch-British group (Billiton Co., Erdmann and Sielcken, Oroville Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., etc.).

§ The first one, Mr. Salverda, recently arrived in Manokwari.

more observations from the air being possible, as their experiences will probably be enlarged during the first months of flying, studying the photos, and comparing the results of photos afterwards with observations on the ground. Rough boundaries of forest leases to be applied for can be drawn for gum-copal, sago, or mangrove right away on the mosaics of the photos. Captain Kint, of the Topographical Service of the Dutch East Indies, has more experience in unravelling the forestry data on aerial photos than anybody else, and has published his results in various papers (however, only in the Dutch language).

Areas for *agriculture* can also be provisionally located from the air. If one wonders how, it has only to be remembered that—*e.g.*, in volcanic areas where the fertility may be supposed to be sufficient—the most suitable areas are those which are not steep, nor dissected by numerous deep valleys, and not full of patches of bare rock, but well covered with soil.\* This holds good in many parts of the certainly not unfertile basaltic areas south and south-west of Manokwari and of the andesitic areas along the whole of the north coast west of Manokwari. In plains, as stated above, the dry portions indicated by dryland-forest can be located, and this is important if one realizes how many plains have been described as entirely marshy because the small portions seen from them near rivers or sea or lakes were swampy. Also many a plantation has been laid out where later on inundations occurred and showed that a wrong site had been selected.†

#### AIR-SURVEY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ADMINISTRATION, MISSIONS, ETC., AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, AERODROMES, ETC.

It will be clear from the above that the question, thickly, thinly, or not populated at all, can be solved by air-survey for many unknown portions of both Australian and Dutch New Guinea, and the first of the two countries has shown brilliant examples of actual air-survey by Government and companies that disclosed the populations. The unexpected discoveries that were made are too well known to need repetition in detail for British readers, and their description is, moreover, available in books. I might refer here to the lectures delivered by Leahy Brothers, by Mr. Hides, and Mr. Taylor, and to the publications by E. W. P. Chinnery, Mr. Spinks, etc.

In the territory of New Guinea the gold exploration flights were mostly the first that were undertaken, and the Government

\* The search for similar portions of land on the volcanic island of Halmahera east of Celebes was carried out in this way by the Dutch Naval Air Force on behalf of the Handelsvereeniging (Trading Co.) "Amsterdam," a big Dutch agricultural firm.

† This happened with cotton land near Merauke.



was induced to follow quickly on account of attacks made on exploration parties. In that case both peaceful and hostile populations, and even the location of attacked exploration parties of Europeans which had lost contact with their bases, were determined from the air.

At the same time the site of a temporary aerodrome was selected near the base chosen for a temporary or permanent Government post that was to protect the parties. Chinnery's papers describe this method of air reconnaissance to assist gold explorers.\*

Future Government posts in the interior, south of Hollandia and south and west of the Meervlakte (Lake Plain and Upper Mamberamo Plain) will, of course, have to be dependent on the amount of population in their hinterland. At present nobody can say whether it is south, south-west, or south-east of Sarmi, Bonggo, Demba, and Hollandia† that the bulk of the inland natives is located; the innermost post there is that of Genjem. If the Government wants to push forward from that point into the interior, it will have to rely on rumours about nearby villages if it does not resort to air-survey, resulting in extensive knowledge of the main centres of population not only nearby, but also much further away, from where no reliable rumours would transpire.

Another example: we have on the east coast of the Geelvink Bay small Government posts at Demba and Wainami. If the Government intends to go into the interior, as it certainly has to do soon on account of the oil prospecting that will begin there, it could only guess, on the strength of rumours, whether it has to go east, south-east, or south of these places. If far away, there are plains and lakes with populations on their shores, as hearsay evidence has it, one can only deliberately approach them and select the most convenient way thither if air-survey has preceded.

Expeditions of the last fifteen years discovered a lake with population around it to the east of Demba (the Nisa-lake). Air photographs of it are only now being made, and this lake is still missing on the most recent maps,‡ although Sikorsky 'planes have already landed on it.

\* See *Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXXLV., No. 5, November, 1934, E. W. P. Chinnery: "The Central Ranges of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mt. Chapman to Mt. Hagen."

† Except the one by Mr. Le Roux in Vol. I. of the handbook *New Guinea*. It is, however, striking that Australian New Guinea with its big number of 'planes has not made use of these for a systematic aerial reconnaissance of the unknown and uncontrolled areas like those south of the Sepik. The Government has refused to grant concessions for oil and gold exploration, and wants to have the area first explored by the Civil Service. The best way to do this would be to start with a systematic air reconnaissance of the whole area.

‡ All these posts are from west to east between Cape d'Urville and Humboldt Bay. See map published in *ASIATIC REVIEW*, July, 1937, p. 3.

Whether there are much bigger lakes more to the south, with, perhaps, populations of many thousands on their beaches, was until recently entirely unknown. However, statements about lakes were recorded by Mr. Le Roux when he visited the Upper Rouffaer River north of Mt. Carstensz (1926), and by Dr. Bijlmer when he investigated the Charles Louis Mountains in 1935. In 1937 Mr. Wissel located one of these lakes, which constitutes an excellent base for the first ground expedition. The New Guinea Committee would like to see the latter started in this western part of the main body of the Dutch part of the island, after completion of the suggested air-survey.

There are several cases where military parties, with their heavy, inert trains of carriers, were led through the country by guides, who took great care to avoid touching any village. When I urged the Roman Catholic missionaries during my New Guinea trip in 1935 to explore the country west of the Mappi River and north-east of the Casuarina coast (north of the Digoel mouth), they said that the area was unsafe. On my remark that military parties might go ahead of them they expressed the conviction that these would be led between the villages instead of through them, and they much preferred the aerial survey.\* As a matter of fact, this area east of the Casuarina coast is one of the least known parts of south-west Dutch New Guinea. East or south-east of the Casuarina coast (this part of coast is between Yapero and Kawarga) there were many big villages showing a hostile attitude; even the name given to one of them indicates this (*djahat*—hostile), and so the map remained blank, or was—hypothetically—filled in with the marsh signature. The fact that along this Casuarina coast only very few small rivers reach the sea, whereas to the west and east very numerous and big streams are known, is an indication that perhaps higher ground might prevail instead of the hypothetical marsh.†

#### LANDING AREAS FOR LAND- AND SEAPLANES

These can be more or less selected from the air and all the lakes, for instance, quickly disclosed. As the latter are very useful if seaplanes or amphibians are used, they should be sought for first of all, and they number perhaps more than we imagine.

Le Roux saw two unknown lakes in 1926 near the rapids of the

\* Navy 'planes have now made a beginning with it at the request of the Resident at Amboina, Dr. Haga.

† Recently the naval flying officer Mr. Dusseldorp confirmed this assumption by locating a range of hills.



Mamberamo in one and a quarter hours of flight;\* on the first flight around Mount Carstensz at least three lakes were seen east of it; the Australian party that flew over the interior of Papua over the country of the Tarifurore and the Wagafurari tribes located several lakes which the land party had not heard about, and there are many similar examples, like the recent discovery of the Lake Kutubu and the Lake Campbell by Mr. Archbold in Papua, west of the Fly River.

#### AIR TRAFFIC IN NEW GUINEA

Aviation in Australian New Guinea started with freight transport, and not with aerial photographic survey, as on the Dutch side. As here, it started in the Australian part in connection with mining, but there it was gold and here oil. When gold on a commercial scale was discovered and a company took over the holdings from the miners, the question of transport—road of thirty-five miles *versus* air traffic—was solved in favour of the latter. The direct cost of a road was estimated at 1,075,000 dollars and the transport of the projected plant along this road at 125,000 dollars, whilst the equivalent expense for air transport was 750,000 dollars.†

I do not know whether the real expenditure on air transport came up to these expectations; at any rate, there is another argument in favour of air transport that seems to me very decisive. It is the fact that profits, which were estimated at twenty millions, are made available by the air transport solution one year earlier, which means a gain in interest (at 5 per cent.) of one million dollars. Time is money, and this should also be realized by the Governments, missions, etc., especially those on the Dutch side, when they want to penetrate into the interior. In that event they will be able to either create certain posts when the road construction has reached that point after very many years, or very much earlier when they make a start with air transport, as is done by the Government of the Mandated Territory on a large scale in the Upper Purari-Mount Hagen area, and as will probably be done soon by the Papuan Government in the Tarifurore-Wagafurari area, recently discovered by Hides and O'Malley, the two well-known administration officers of the Papuan Government.

The *history of aviation* in Australian New Guinea was at the beginning also a history of freighting, and it is interesting to read

\* Le Roux stated that his flight has increased his geographical knowledge just as much as half a year of patrolling.

† Because the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., is practically American, the estimates concerned were made in dollars.

the story on account of the phenomenal growth of this commercial flying. I will not include many figures in this résumé, as my British friends have supplied me very kindly with these data themselves.\* Moreover, the British public is familiar with New Guinea aviation.† I will, to begin with, quote a few historical data. In 1897 Australian prospectors found gold in German territory in the Waria River; 1908, they still worked there; 1909, the German Governor, Dr. Hahl, created the administration post of Morobe (south-east of Salamaua) with the specific purpose of encouraging and supporting gold exploration. He tried, of course, to interest Germans in this work, but followed a very wise course by inviting three Australian prospectors to work in the German area with good prospects of reward, when gold-mining by the Germans would become possible as a consequence of their discoveries.

As a matter of fact, the prospector type was rather rare in German New Guinea at the time, just as it is now in the Dutch East Indies. Two Dutchmen who visited Australian New Guinea, Mr. Coenen in 1913 and the writer in 1935, both recommended to us Australian prospectors on our side and, without knowing it at the time, we both recommended a measure which had already been carried out by Dr. Hahl.

The subsequent foundation of the Morobe Government post in that area by Dr. Hahl did not fail in its purpose, for gold concessions were granted to German groups in 1913 and 1914. Then the war came, during which the explorations came to a standstill.

In 1921 the work was resumed under the Australian Government and the much richer *Koranga* goldfield was discovered, but in 1925 a mining engineer declared the transport difficulties to be insurmountable. The energy of the ex-magisterial officer, C. J. Levien, and the discovery of the extremely rich goldfield of Ediecreek, were necessary to give an impetus to *dredging-projects*, and the use of *aeroplanes* to transport all the requirements, including the dredges. In 1927 the first machine had already arrived, but the heavy three-engined freight-planes for the dredge transport came only in 1931. The first plane, piloted by the famous Mustar, charged a freight rate of 1 to 1½ sh. for the pound over a distance of about fifty miles, and £1 per pound when transporting passengers. These rates have now been reduced to less than 2d. per pound for either. Out of this first machine resulted later the

\* For instance, Mr. Allen, Inspector of Civil Aviation at Salamaua, Guinea Airways, Ltd., and Pacific Aerial Transport, Ltd.

† It is regrettable, however, that none of the numerous capable pilots in New Guinea has ever written a comprehensive technical publication on aviation in an area that arouses such world-wide interest, and that was mostly described by laymen only—for instance by Banks, Taylour, Morley, etc., in papers on mining.



Guinea Airways Co., Ltd., and three other aviation companies sprang up in the course of the next years. For the Government of Dutch New Guinea it may be interesting to consider that the air transport of Government goods and servants (coolies, police, civil servants, etc.) was not paying in the beginning (if only money and not time is considered), but later on became very advantageous. In the annual report of the Treasurer of the Territory of New Guinea for the year 1928-29 it is stated that air transport required an extra expenditure of £7,200, whereas the cost of carrier-transportation through the jungle, which then could not yet be abolished altogether, decreased only with an amount of £6,400. The freight rates for air transport were, of course, too high in the beginning, as they will be in Dutch New Guinea when air traffic starts there. But the wise initiative of the New Guinea Government was rewarded, because in the following years the rates dropped and it became eminently clear that the cost of surface transport was so much higher, that not only the Government soon transported everything by air, but also the missions started to provide their European posts in the interior Mount Hagen-Purari area with the necessary provisions in the same way. It was first the *Lutheran mission* at Finschhafen that ordered a Junkers 'plane (F. 13, similar to W. 34) in 1934, and the wealthier *Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost* at Sek (Alexishafen) followed soon with two Klemm machines in the year 1935. In 1937 they decided to buy an additional third machine, viz., a De Havilland Dragon Fly.

The 'planes flying between the coast at Salamaua and Lae and the Bulolo-gold area (Wau, etc.) rarely leave with passengers only; mostly passengers and goods are mixed, at the expense of the comfort of the former, but the flight takes less than half an hour. In 1932 the passenger and mail service Wau-Port Moresby started. On this line there is practically no freight, allowing the companies to use ordinary passenger 'planes with beautiful seats, upholstery, etc., as we are accustomed to in the Dutch East Indies and Europe.

In January, 1937, there were about forty aeroplanes and fifty-three aerodromes in Australian New Guinea. As the Bulolo Valley has no big water surfaces seaplanes have been out of the question, and their use has not been considered for the small transport along the coast between the ports of Salamaua and Lae. The presence of landplanes only is probably the cause of Rabaul, the capital of the mandated territory having no air communication with the gold area as yet, although the traffic between these two centres is very important since about 1930. In the Dutch East Indies the capital of the Moluccas, Ambon, will probably get its air communication with New Guinea not very long after, if not before the establishment of regular air traffic between Rabaul

and the latter island.\* As yet the extensive aerial survey on the Dutch side has only occasionally allowed Government officers and missionaries to avail themselves of the advantages of air transport. As to the Government officers, it is thanks to the stationing of a few seaplanes of the Dutch Navy in the Moluccas that many official trips by civil servants were made by 'plane. They used the Dornier Wal, and also, later on, Fokker T<sub>4</sub> seaplanes.

\* It will be known to some readers that the Sydney firm of W. R. Carpenter and Co., Ltd., has now obtained a concession to establish a regular weekly air service between Sydney—Cooktown—Port Moresby—Salamaua—Rabaul, and will use on this line three De Havilland 86C 'planes carrying fifteen passengers. Early in 1938 the service will start with these four-engined 'planes.



## THE NEW UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

BY MARCIA DODWELL

HIS HIGHNESS SIR RAMA VARMA, the Maharajah of Travancore, announced on his birthday this year the inauguration of the new University of Travancore. Though not exactly a bolt from the blue, it was received with rejoicing and a certain satisfaction that it should come on the anniversary of the day on which His Highness had opened the State temples to the Harijans. It was also announced that His Highness, H.H.'s mother, the Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, and the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, had generously founded scholarships and other endowments.

The new University starts its life as something of a rebirth of older, existing institutions. There are a number of colleges in Travancore, and the State is deservedly renowned for its education and the high degree of literacy amongst the population. Hitherto the colleges have been affiliated with the University of Madras, but with the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on April 1, 1937, the connection was severed. Under the new *régime* the Madras Government will be responsible only for colleges in the Presidency. This left Travancore with a number of first-grade\* and second-grade colleges, not only in Trivandrum, the capital, but in other parts of the State. Foremost amongst these are H.H. the Maharajah's Science College (the oldest and original University college), H.H. the Maharajah's Arts College, and H.H. the Maharajah's Law College. H.H. the Maharajah's Women's College, the first of its kind in the State was, until recently, a first-grade college, but in 1936 it was decided that the women students should enter the Arts and Science Colleges for their later years of study and only do their Intermediate B.A. and B.Sc. examinations at the Women's College. There is also a Teachers' Training College which offers graduates a course in Education and has its own model school.

Missionary effort has been responsible for the founding of a number of colleges in the State. The Union Christian College, Alwaye, in North Travancore, is a first-grade college, and so is the Roman Catholic St. Berchman's College at Changanassery. Such institutions are "fed" by a number of second-grade colleges. These have almost invariably grown out of the best high schools. The pupils, after passing the Secondary School Leaving Certifi-

\* A first-grade college is one which prepares students for the degrees of the University; a second-grade college only prepares them for Intermediate Arts and Science examinations.

cate, stay on for two years to work for Intermediate B.A. or B.Sc. The Scott Christian College at Nagercoil (founded by the London Missionary Society), the Kottayam College, the College of the Holy Angels' Convent in Trivandrum, and the Women's College in Trivandrum are the largest second-grade colleges in the State. So that, from Alwaye in the far north to Scott College at Nagercoil, in the south of Travancore, there is a chain of colleges which forms a very substantial basis on which to build the new University.

About a year ago His Highness appointed Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan Iyer, a graduate of Oxford, and an officer who has proved his worth as Principal of the Science College and Director of Public Instruction, as special officer to work out plans for the new University. Mr. Chandrasekharan spent some time studying the organization of the Osmania University in Hyderabad as one typical of a modern Indian State. He also attended a number of educational conferences in different parts of India. He had also had considerable experience on boards of studies and other councils of Madras University, so he was well prepared for his task. The new scheme is very largely his creation.

The foundation of the University of Travancore will fulfil, in part, a dream that has long been cherished in Kerala.\* Kerala feels herself to be, and indeed is, a cultural unit. But she has been divided by political frontiers for hundreds of years. South Kanara and British Malabar now belong to the Madras Presidency and the States of Travancore and Cochin are ruled by their own Maharajahs. Nevertheless, this fundamental unity finds expression sometimes in the suggestion for an All-Kerala University. That this unity is a reality can be seen from the many different All-Kerala cultural institutions that exist. Foremost of these is the All-Kerala Academy of Arts, founded in 1928 with the object of preserving and furthering the culture of Kerala. Whether this dream of an All-Kerala University will ever materialize it is impossible to say. There are first-grade colleges at Ernakulam, Cochin State, at Palghat and Calicut (the Zamorin's College) in British Malabar, and at Mangalore in South Kanara. However, by the foundation of the University of Travancore His Highness has established a self-contained cultural unit in Kerala, and it will be interesting to see how, divorced from the tutelage of Madras, this young University will develop.

H.H. the Maharajah and the Dewan have, from time to time, made a number of pronouncements with regard to the opening-up of the natural resources of the State, especially the water-power on the Western Ghats. They envisage a time when a number

\* Kerala is the name of the old west coast kingdom, extending from South Kanara to Cape Comorin.



of cottage industries may be worked by local power. The Technical Sciences taught in the new University will further these schemes considerably. Great stress is at present being laid on "vocational training," both in the schools and with regard to University work, as a preparation for life. The intention has been very clearly expressed more than once that the education given in Travancore University should enable students to be confident of a means of livelihood later on. There is much dissatisfaction in India today with the usual college course. Bookishness and examination fever tend to crowd out real culture, so that it is no exaggeration to say that some of the finest branches of culture are scarcely able to influence the educational system at all. The strong reaction to this, and it is a reaction which is apparent in Kerala today, finds expression in the demand for increased technical education and the desire for a type of literary education more in touch with all that is best in Indian culture. There is ample scope for this to develop in Kerala.

One can picture these colleges as long, pillared, white buildings with red-tiled roofs, set in a landscape of palm trees and emerald paddy. Wide lagoons, the backwaters of Travancore, with their picturesque boats, their flying-fish, and their wealth of bird life are in the background. In the distance are the blue ranges of the Western Ghats, and here and there a lotus tank. Though none of the buildings are very remarkable architecturally, yet grouped in their own setting of blue sky, green foliage, and red earth, they have a charm quite their own—one which is easily felt by all who visit Kerala. The climate is perennially warm and moist and is able to support the luxuriant vegetation of Travancore's rich coastal plain.

In the many reforms that he has inaugurated, His Highness has ever sought to preserve everything that is useful from the past and to find the right way in which it can persist in the future. He now stands at a parting of the ways. Travancore University can loosen the ties which, in the past, have bound her colleges to the existing system of higher education. What will she create for the future?

This question may come to the fore over the problem of medical education. Hitherto all students from the west coast have had to seek instruction for medical degrees outside Kerala. They complain bitterly of the difficulty in obtaining admission to the Madras and other medical schools. In fact, one student said to me recently, "It's almost impossible for a Travancorean to get admitted to a medical course in Madras unless he has already a first-class degree in pure science."

Trivandrum has a number of good hospitals, including one for women and children. These may form the nucleus of a medical

school. The Hindu system of medicine is already established in H.H. the Maharajah's Ayurvedic College in Trivandrum. Whether the two systems of medical science will be able to go on side by side, or whether some attempt will be made to bring them closer together, only the future will show. Suffice it to say that just by the founding of a new University at a time of great change, a time when the wisdom and knowledge of the East and West are being increasingly appreciated and understood by one another, His Highness has created the possibility of great reforms and real advances in education. If Travancore University can foster, and I believe that it is His Highness's wish that it should do so, if it can foster real culture as against the mere acquisition of knowledge, if it can inculcate the great moral and humanitarian impulses in its students while teaching them Western technology, then indeed Travancore will have given a rich gift to India.



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## INDIA

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER: A BIOGRAPHY. By K. M. Panikkar. (*Oxford University Press*.) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by the RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT SANKEY.*)

The Maharaja of Bikaner said in a well-known speech: "I have humbly endeavoured in all earnestness to live up to the ancient Hindu ideal of Kingship. Etymologically a Raja is only he who pleases his people and keeps them well content; protection is the very kernel of Kingly duties according to the Mahabharata, and of the six citadels of a Kingdom mentioned in our Holy Scriptures, the citadel of 'Ready Service and the Love of the Subjects' is the one most impregnable."

His Highness has the mind of a dreamer joined to the temperament of a soldier. But his dreams have come true, and how nobly he has realized his great ambition is admirably told in his biography by Mr. Panikkar, who was Secretary to the Indian Princes' Delegation to the Round-Table Conferences, and who, as Secretary of the Chamber of Princes for many years, has had occasion to know the work of the Maharaja intimately.

It is a commonplace that no other period of the world has seen such an advance in science, scholarship, philosophy and thought as the last fifty years, and probably in no other country has the contrast between the old and the new been so vivid as it has been in India. This period has witnessed the growth of Indian Nationalism, the entry of India into the Councils of the Empire, and the emergence of the plan of Indian Federation. In all of these the Maharaja took a leading part.

A Rajput of the Rajputs, he was born in 1880, succeeded in 1887, and was invested with full ruling powers in 1898. Since then in many walks of life he has gone from success to success, and from honour to honour. One who knows him best has described him as tall, of striking appearance; in his private life a brilliant polo player, a marvellous shot, a keen pig-sticker, a perfect host, and in his public life passionately devoted to his State and its interests. A mere recital of what he has done would occupy too long a space for a short review.

When only twenty years of age he proceeded on active service to China in command of the Ganga Risala to take part in the Boxer War. He officially attended the Coronation of King Edward VII. in 1902, of King George V. in 1911, and of King George VI. in 1937. He fought in Europe in the Great War: represented the Ruling Princes of India at the Imperial War Cabinet, and was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet and Peace Conference, 1918-1919. He was the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University. He attended the Assembly of the League of Nations as leader of the Indian Delegation in 1930, and represented the Ruling Princes of India at the Imperial Conference in the same year. He was one of the most distinguished members



of the First and Second Indian Round-Table Conferences. Now he has been celebrating the Golden Jubilee of his reign amidst the applause and congratulations not only of his own people but of all those who have seen or read of his activities.

To write the biography of a ruler who has travelled so far and done so much was a very difficult task, but Mr. Panikkar has performed it with great skill and accuracy. He has produced a book of which the Oxford University Press may be proud, for it is one of outstanding importance to students of contemporary Indian and Imperial history.

Mr. Panikkar gives an interesting summary of what His Highness had done at the end of twenty-five years of his reign. At page 124 he says in 1912 the Maharaja completed twenty-five years of his reign; in actual fact, he had exercised effective powers for barely thirteen, but those thirteen years had been crowded with activity, and had seen Bikaner transformed into a modern State. When the Maharaja assumed the administration, revenues stood at Rs. 20 lakhs; in 1912 it had jumped to Rs. 44½ lakhs; the State was served by 87 miles of railway in 1898, and in 1912 it had nearly 400 miles. Coal and other available minerals were being worked; the condition of the ryots had greatly improved; encouragement had been given to *rabi* (spring) cultivation, cotton had been introduced in suitable areas, and steps taken to improve livestock. The State had been provided with a strong executive machinery and an up-to-date judicial organization, and in other fields the achievements were no less striking. The number of schools in the State had steadily increased; education was also provided for girls, and great advances made in regard to hospitals and medical aid.

Even more striking is the record at the end of fifty years, well set out by Mr. Panikkar at page 379. It would take too long to refer to it in detail, but the contrast between the beginning of the period and its end he states as follows:

"Naturally for all its fine historical tradition the Bikaner State counted for little in Indian affairs, and was hardly known outside the borders of Rajputana. The position today shows a remarkable transformation. Acknowledged as one of the premier States of Rajputana, the voice of Bikaner counts not only in Indian State affairs, but in the general politics of India and the Empire. The State itself has been changed beyond recognition. A modern administration looks after the welfare and prosperity of the State; nearly 1,000 square miles have been recovered from the grip of the desert and changed into pleasant grounds."

This last sentence refers to one of the greatest events of the Maharaja's reign, the irrigation scheme of the Gang Canal. The vast and sandy expanse of Bikaner (page 288) in the middle of the Indian desert is perhaps the driest and most arid portion of India. Its average rainfall is 12 inches a year, and in certain areas even less. No river flows through it. For generations the ambition of the Rulers of Bikaner has been to find some source of water supply which would convert this barren desert into smiling fields. The present Maharaja has been able to accomplish this, and Mr. Panikkar continues (page 306): "What wonder that the people of Bikaner should show reverence to Maharaja Ganga Singhji, who, from far distances,

brought to his parching and ever-thirsty land water sufficient to irrigate 1,000 square miles, and in his own lifetime witnessed the wonderful transformation of the desert into ploughed fields and smiling gardens." As Burke has said :

"These are the monuments of real kings, testators to a posterity which they embraced as their own, who strained to expand the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themselves through generations of generations the guardians, the protectors, the nourishers of mankind."

The writer of this review may be permitted to pay his own tribute to the great work of the Maharaja at the Round-Table Conferences. His look drew audience and attention. His first speech at the Conference will not easily be forgotten, for, as Mr. Panikkar says, "it was truly epoch-making." At the end of it he quoted the well-known words of Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address : "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in."

It is difficult to decide in which of two things he most excelled—the common sense of his own views or his toleration for the views of others. Perhaps it is to the latter that most credit must be given, and certainly all he did and all he said was a vital factor in smoothing over difficult situations.

Many great cities have honoured the Maharaja and themselves by conferring their Freedom upon him : many ancient Universities have done the like and granted him honorary degrees, the British Sovereign has showered upon him the Grand Crosses of different Orders of Knighthood. He has solved the difficult problem of building a modern State on ancient foundations, and in return has been blessed both in his private and public life with all the good things that any man can desire. For fifty years he has been the guiding star of a brave nation, has set an example for his successor to follow, and created a record which will live long in the grateful recollection of his subjects.

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HINDU CUSTOMS. By Stanley Rice. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by RAM CHANDRA KAK.)

It is not easy to review a book of a highly speculative character such as Mr. Stanley Rice's *Hindu Customs*. Though it contains a chapter on "Some Maratha Customs," the book is really devoted to a discussion of the origins of such important features of Hinduism as caste, untouchability, and veneration of the cow. These features, Mr. Rice argues, are not really Aryan in character, but were adopted by the Aryans from the people who were already living in India at the time of their immigration. It is generally agreed that the Dravidians were living in India and had attained a high degree of civilization when the Aryans came sometime between the third and second millennium B.C., but that there were living, side by side with the Dravidians, tribes of a very primitive culture, whose religious ideas



were confined to totemism of various kinds. Mr. Rice thinks it more probable that caste, untouchability, and veneration of the cow, which are characteristic features of the Hindu religion, originated with the aborigines from whom the Dravidians borrowed them, the Aryans subsequently adopting them from the latter. When we remember that the Aryans are assumed to have entered India about 2500 B.C., that the Dravidians who preceded them as immigrants into the country presumably arrived there centuries before, and lastly that there is hardly any evidence, monumental or literary, directly bearing on the question, we can at once realize the speculative character of anything that may be written on the subject. That does not mean, however, that any deductions made from such data as are available, however indirect, are without value. On the contrary, any light thrown on such extremely obscure matters, as are the subject-matter of this book, is valuable, and Mr. Rice's insight, sympathy, and breadth of knowledge has given us a book which is a real contribution to an understanding of these important features of Hinduism, whether we agree with his conclusions or not.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda remarks in his preface to the book: "The theme of this book is highly controversial. No one can adduce exact proof, for many of our customs have arisen silently and there is no record of their inception or exact growth. Mr. Rice cannot, therefore, expect everyone to agree with him or to accept all his conclusions." This is a very fair and accurate enunciation of the position. But it must be admitted that Mr. Rice has brought together a mass of material, which, though it may not be considered proof conclusive of the propositions put forward by him, is nevertheless valuable, illustrative guesswork relating to the trends of early Indian thought.

While the main theme of the book is practically incapable of proof in our present state of knowledge, there are certain matters of detail in regard to which it might be worth while to state the traditional point of view.

On page 209 Mr. Rice, referring to the repetition of the name of God, says, "It means little to them beyond a name and an ecstasy." This does not seem to us to be a complete presentation of the case. The actual term is "namasmarana," which translated as nearly as possible is "remembering the Name" (of God). Now "remembering," as used in this context, is not merely an intellectual process, but an emotional one also, so that the person "remembering" or meditating upon the Name with all his heart and soul actually loses his identity and in spirit merges himself in the object of his meditation, so much so indeed that he even loses consciousness of the fact that his tongue may actually be uttering the Name. While it may, therefore, be correct to say that "namasmarana" means "a name and an ecstasy," it is so in the sense that remembering and repeating the name of God in the manner prescribed results in bringing about an ecstatic state of mind when the individual spirit is merged in the Infinite.

Page 177. "The next step is to inculcate the path of virtue and right living. The teacher touches the boy's breast with his finger and repeats a prayer which is in effect that the boy may become one with himself." Mr. Rice remarks, "There is here more than a hint of primitive practices." We are told "that among certain uncivilized or primitive tribes the

teacher touches the breast of the novice and thereby transmits to him a portion of his own spirit. The practice seems to be more or less connected with what Fraser calls 'the doctrine of the external soul,' which conceives that besides the soul which is part of himself, a man has another soul which can be parted from him and can enter into another envelope, perhaps a bear or a wolf. The whole idea is not unconnected with totemism." It is true that the idea underlying the ceremony of the teacher touching the boy's breast with his finger is that he is supposed to be imparting something of himself to his pupil. This may be reminiscent of totemism. On the other hand it may have no such connection. The traditional explanation is that the teacher was presumed to be possessed of high spiritual power, which it was believed he imparted in some degree to his pupil when he initiated him. Now this power is psychic as well as ethical, and is taken to be inherent in every human being and capable of being developed by proper training. It is possible that the psychic forces may be developed without corresponding ethical development. Such people were the Danavas—e.g., Ravana—but their power could not be called spiritual. It is also believed that a man of highly developed psychic powers can by an act of will, outwardly expressed by a gesture or a hypnotic pass such as placing the finger on the breast of his subject, influence other people not possessed of similar powers. In medical therapeutics it is agreed that it is possible to treat certain diseases by hypnotic influence. On the same analogy it was possible for a man of highly developed psychic power, as the teacher would presumably be, to bring a boy under his personal influence by an act of will, the visible expression of which was the gesture of putting the finger on the breast of the latter. In other words, he gave some of his own strength and power to his pupil and thus in the spiritual sense gave him a part of himself. While, therefore, it may be possible that the particular act mentioned by Mr. Rice may be reminiscent of totemism, there does not seem to be any reason to reject the traditional explanation, which has a rational basis underlying it. It is probably true that the Ancients, whether Aryan Indians, Egyptians, or others, possessed considerable psychic knowledge of which we moderns are only beginning to discern the outline, and what we today consider totemistic and primitive may in reality have had profound psychic significance, as indeed tradition asserts it had and has, if the ceremonies are performed by competent persons in the appropriate manner.

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INSIDE INDIA. By Halidé Edib. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by E. ROSENTHAL.*)

Anyone interested, even if only superficially, in present-day India, would profit by the perusal of this eminently readable book. Halidé Edib, one of the most distinguished Muslim women of her time, depicts with fine impartiality and insight not only the human triangle—British, Hindu and Muslim—but also Hindu-Muslim relations with all their implications. The author has a rare capacity for grasping the other man's viewpoint, and



during her visit to India she was afforded unique opportunities for penetrating beneath the crust, opportunities by which she profited to the full.

Halidé Edib's Indian tour began in Delhi, where, in 1935, she delivered extension lectures at the Jamia-Millia-Islamia, the Muslim University. She has a wonderful gift for lightning sketches of both men and matters. Here is her succinct summary of the Jamia's *raison d'être*:

"The institution has two purposes. First, to train the Muslim youth with definite ideas of their rights and duties as Indian citizens. Second, to co-ordinate Islamic thought and behaviour with Hindu. The general aim is to create a harmonious Hindu nationhood without Muslims losing their Islamic identity. In its aim, if not always in its procedure, it is nearer to Gandhian Movement than any other Islamic institution I have come across."

Her comprehension of Mahatma Gandhi's idealism is remarkable, and she describes with real insight his attempts to abolish Untouchability, to regenerate the village as a unit of Indian society, and to achieve communal unity. She regards him as a practical reformer rather than as a visionary, and ascribes much of the success of his experiments to the permanent spirit of trial which permeates them; to his repeated assertion that there is no finality in his conclusions. Her comparison of the motivations of Gandhi and of Jawaharlal Nehru, the socialist leader, is clean-cut, convincing. While Gandhi bases the art of living on religion or spiritual values, economics constitute the hub of Jawaharlal's concepts. Gandhi "proposes to keep the original pattern of Hinduism with some alterations, but he aims at giving it a new spirit, and working out a new *modus vivendi* to ensure equal rights to all." Nehru, on the other hand, is an iconoclast. He would abolish the old system, root and branch. Yet Jawaharlal would not break with the Mahatma, even if he could, for not only is he sincerely attached to Gandhi, but he realizes that such a break would loosen his hold on the Hindu masses and other groups.

Halidé Edib may arouse controversy when she states that she considers the occult side in India negligible, and when she remarks, "One can safely say that negative mysticism and occultism are on the wane in India." Few will cross swords with her, however, when she condemns those men and women who seek publicity while expressing a desire to live remote from the world, and when she dubs the Indian hermit searching for an audience "a spiritual acrobat."

Treating of the emancipation of women, Halidé Edib likens the respective tempos of *purdah* and modern life to *Largo* and *Prestissimo*. "To dance with one foot to slow music and with the other to quick"—thus she characterizes the obligations of Indian girls who, having advanced along Western lines, are in danger of treading on the mental corns of those mothers who remain entrenched in conservatism.

In the second section of her book Halidé Edib deals with the cities which she visited, in all of which she made it her business to study sociological problems. She holds the attention of the reader from cover to cover, and the skilful picturizations of the prominent personalities with whom she

came in contact reinforce the human interest. One of the first whom she met was Sarojini Naidu, whose chief interest to Halidé Edib "lies not in her importance in the political arena, but in herself." The author is of opinion that Sarojini "would have stood out in any society, under any circumstances. Her sex would never have prevented her from doing what she wanted, or achieving anything wished. In ancient India she would have been a queen. In the India of 1935 she was a member of the Shadow Cabinet."

From Delhi Halidé Edib proceeded to Aligarh, where her first act was to visit the tomb of Sir Saiyid Ahmad, the founder of Aligarh University. She regards a knowledge of his work, and what he stood for, as imperative for comprehension of the Indian Muslims of today, and likens this great thinker to "a huge stone thrown into the hitherto stagnant waters of Islamic Society in India. The waves it set going are still in motion, though not always in the direction he would have chosen."

To the author "Lahore stands between the Frontier and the rest of India, not only geographically, but in mentality as well. It contains both, as well as its own peculiarities of thought." She records various illuminating conversations which she had in Peshawar and noted that "the Frontier was the only place where no one talked of independence and future freedom. Yet each and all gave one the impression of being absolutely free men."

At Lucknow Halidé Edib came in touch with the darker side. She was horrified at the poverty prevailing in the villages under the *Zemindari* (landlord) system, and puts the cogent question, "What sort of India would there have been if the Western rulers had given their energy and applied their science to the benefit of the peasant, instead of heaping it on the middle or ruling classes?"

After visiting Benares and Sarnath, Halidé Edib proceeded to Calcutta. In her chapter on that city she incorporates highly informative notes on the Brahma-Samaj and Arya-Samaj movements, and expresses her admiration for Calcutta University, where she found the double impact of tradition and progress to be very marked.

In her remarks on Hyderabad, Deccan, the writer includes thoughtful appreciations of her host and hostess, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, the distinguished Prime Minister, and his no less distinguished wife. After paying tribute to Sir Akbar's "unique cultural synthesis," the writer refers to Lady Hydari's magnificent poise, and to her amazing serenity, which enabled her to listen undisturbed to "any enthusiast of Hinduism or to any depreciation of Islam, and in their midst rise and go to her prayers if it happened to be the time." At the house of Lady Hydari the author met her countrywoman, Princess Durru Shehwar, wife of the heir-apparent. "She happens to be an Ottoman Princess, but she has ceased to be anything but an Indian Princess, so well does she seem to have adapted herself to her environment, and taken to heart the duties that go with her high position, both as a wife and mother and as a woman of an unusually deep culture." Halidé Edib was astounded at the maturity of the Princess, who, although still in her early twenties, possesses the balanced judgment and breadth of vision of a much older woman.



In Bombay Halidé Edib was fortunate enough to attend several functions where the barriers of caste and community were ignored, and on the eve of her departure from India she was entertained at an International Dinner, at which hundreds of men and women of all colours, classes, creeds and races sat and ate together. No one present was more aware than the author of the import of such a gathering in such a land as India.

And so Halidé Edib's tour ended in an inspiring atmosphere of fraternal peace auguring well for the future, and her account of her many-faceted travels inside India should prove popular with a vast and varied public.

CO-OPERATION AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA. By Karamullah Khan, B.A., LL.B. (Hyderabad-Deccan: *Farhat Manzhil, Somajiguda*.)

(Reviewed by SIR SELWYN FREMANTLE.)

In a paper published in the last number of this magazine Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee pointed out that the population supported by industry (35 millions) is actually less than the increase in the total population of India during the last decennial period (38 millions). Hence it is clear that only a minute proportion of the increase can be absorbed in industry and that a greater burden than ever is thrown on agriculture. And though agricultural production seems to have nearly kept pace with the population, the law of diminishing returns must soon begin to operate, and there will be a tendency to a further decline in the standard of living of the masses.

But that standard must go up instead of down if the people are to be induced to adopt a reasonable attitude towards birth control and the limitation of families without which bounds cannot be set to the increase of population.

And for the raising of the standard of living the development of the agricultural resources of the country is essential.

The writer of this thesis speaks of rural India as steeped in ignorance, superstition, poverty and debt, and though this proposition is not universally true it is broadly applicable to the greater portion of rural India. He sees the necessity for rural reconstruction, a process too long delayed by the absorption of the Indian intelligentsia and of Government itself in politics and by the greater interest shown by the politicians in industrial than in agricultural progress. And he records some of the wholly laudable efforts made for rural uplift in various parts of the country, each with resources insufficient to influence more than a small area. He does not, however, mention the campaigns recently inaugurated by Government itself in some provinces which are designed to attack the problem systematically and completely with the aid of their technical staff, though these activities, as well as other schemes adopted by non-official agency, are excellently described in Mr. Strickland's booklets on *Rural Welfare*, issued by the Indian Village Welfare Association.

In accordance with the dictum of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, "If co-operation fails, then will fail the best hope of Rural India," the

author's panacea for all ills is Co-operation, and the larger portion of his thesis is taken up with an account of the origin and progress of co-operation in India, of the forms it has taken, and the manner in which it has been organized in various parts of the country. The account is not complete, nor is it always correct. District Co-operative Banks, for instance, do not engage in ordinary banking business, and it was not Provincial Banks which led the way, but the Central Banks constituted one or more for each district, which in time required an apex bank to even out their balances. Nor is there any mention of the Guaranteeing Unions which fill so great a part in the financial organization of several provinces.

What suggestions are put forward to further the rural reconstruction which is admittedly essential? An All-India Enquiry Committee, a permanent Information Bureau, a Research Institute to include in its activities experimental work in regard to the formation of new co-operative institutions. Such things are quite unnecessary. Most provinces, but especially the Punjab and Bombay, have been fortunate in having had the services as Registrars of men who have made careful studies of co-operative methods and institutions the world over. The types of societies suitable to India have been tried out, and the best advice on the subject is available to the Government and to all interested persons. The stage of experiment is past and it is the time for action.

The writer, who rightly laments the decay of the village organization, believes, as I do myself, in the revival of the Panchayat to take care of education, sanitation, water supply, drainage, roads, and the development of agriculture. He calls them co-operative panchayats and connects them up with district and provincial co-operative councils with a national co-operative council at the top to deal with the matters of general policy. The village panchayats are, he says, to be supplied with funds by allotting to them local rates and cesses and by grants and loans from Government, and they are also to receive aid from co-operative societies and central banks out of their profits.

Surely this is confusion of thought. The organization of the village as a unit of Local Government is an essential item in a programme of reconstruction, and the same is the case with co-operation for the supply of credit, the marketing of crops, and for the organization of agriculture generally; but we do not yet live in a co-operative world, and the institutions required for administration and for co-operation cannot be combined. The attempt to amalgamate them could end only in confusion.

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THE LIFE OF CHARLES, LORD METCALFE. By Edward Thompson, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; former Leverhulme Research Fellow. (*Faber and Faber, Ltd.*) 21s.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

In 1854 appeared a biography of Charles Metcalfe, who twelve years before had closed a varied and strenuous life after holding the highest offices in



India, Jamaica and Canada. It went through two editions, and was followed in 1855 by a volume of selections from his minutes and correspondence. The author of both books was Sir John Kaye, to whose long labours students of British Indian history are greatly indebted. Here we have a second biography of Metcalfe written without most of the material that was available to Kaye, but with the assistance of fresh papers and after researches in England and India. In his preface the author has explained his position. He has given us a very interesting book.

Born at Calcutta in January, 1785, a month before Warren Hastings ceased to be Governor-General, son of a major in the East India Company's service who came of an old Berkshire family, and while achieving no prominence in India, collected a comfortable fortune there and married a Miss Susan Debonnaire, a lady of considerable character, Charles Metcalfe was taken to England by his parents when an infant and carefully educated, passing from a preparatory school to Eton, where he spent four happy years. He displayed remarkable intellectual promise and was popular with boys and masters. As he wrote later, his "youthful and ardent imagination planned to itself a life of greatness, glory and virtue." But this life was not to be in India; and when his father, who had been elected a Director of the East India Company, procured for the fifteen-year-old boy a nomination to a writership in Bengal, Charles parted with a sad heart from the scenes and friends of his early years. He arrived in Calcutta on January 1, 1801. Mountstuart Elphinstone, his senior by nearly five years, had in February, 1796, gone at once up-country to join the Resident at Benares; but Metcalfe was the first student admitted to Lord Wellesley's new college, where he speedily won distinction and the lasting favour of the Governor-General, whom ever after he regarded with warm gratitude and admiration. Unfortunately, however, he had no taste for the horse or the gun, and considered himself a social failure. Yielding to nostalgia, after six months he wrote to his father begging for permission to return to England. Before the end of 1801 he received from his godfather, Jacob Rider, Collector of Benares, advice to apply for admission to the diplomatic or political line and a caution against the judicial and revenue branch. He took this advice, although in fact preliminary training in the regular line would have fortified him for dealing with the administrative problems which he encountered later on. He was posted to Ujjain, the capital of Daulat Rao Sindia, as assistant to Colonel Collins, the Resident, with whom his relations were unhappy. Before the end of 1802 he was back in Calcutta and one of Lord Wellesley's personal secretaries. At Ujjain he received letters from his parents rejecting his petition to return home. His mother's letter contained the sound advice: "Ride on horseback. When intense thinking is joined with want of exercise, the consequences must be bad." She sent him a box of pills "as obviously he must be bilious."

He had been somewhat given to morbid introspection; but now, in Wellesley's school of "honour, zeal and public spirit" (p. 311), he was swept up into the excitement and passion of a crisis.

In 1803 Elphinstone rode beside Arthur Wellesley at Assaye and Argaum; and in 1804 Metcalfe joined Lake's camp as political assistant. The final

campaign against Jaswant Rao Halkar had begun. At first slightly esteemed by his new chief, he volunteered to join the storming party at the siege of Dig and was "one of the first in the breach." Mr. Thompson observes, I surmise from personal experience: "There is no generosity like that of soldiers to a civilian who has wilfully shared their risks; for endurance of danger which to them is a matter of routine they will shower praise on him." Metcalfe became Lake's "little stormer," was afterwards present at the disastrous siege of Bharatpur, took part in galloping chases of Holkar and Amir Khan, and, when barely twenty-one, successfully negotiated peace. "He never wrote such letters again, so full of normal human enjoyment and exercise." But in 1806 he informed a friend that he had not acquired "a grain more enterprise on horseback." He would have been happier had he resembled Elphinstone in sporting as well as in scholastic tastes.

From August, 1806, to August, 1808, he was assistant to Archibald Seton, Resident at Delhi. He was then selected to conduct a mission to the court of Ranjit Singh, and before leaving for the Punjab met Elphinstone for the first time, whom he impressed as "a mild, good-natured, enterprising fellow, able and willing for anything."\* The treaty with Ranjit Singh of April 25, 1809, which proved of lasting value, was Metcalfe's work. Assisted by that potentate's impressions of the Company's military strength, he had successfully carried through extremely difficult negotiations. Chapter VI. describes the course of these, and states the case for Ranjit Singh. It is particularly interesting. From this time dates Metcalfe's union with the mother of his three sons, which lasted for at least eight years. Mr. Thompson is severe on Kaye for not mentioning the matter; but from the prefaces to both biographies it appears that Kaye's silence was inevitable. Boxes of papers had been placed at his disposal by the family, who can have given him no option in this respect, although the youngest son, afterwards Colonel James Metcalfe, c.b., was serving in the Indian army at the time. It was very unfortunate that these papers, which had been carefully preserved by Charles Metcalfe himself, were destroyed after his son's death in 1888, for although Kaye made good use of them and Mr. Thompson has unearthed fresh materials and more letters, the latter were partly mutilated, and Metcalfe's own papers were clearly the best original authority on his life and work. Mr. Thompson holds that Kaye disliked Metcalfe. After reading Kaye's book, which was "affectionately dedicated" to one of Metcalfe's most valued friends, I am unable to understand this view.

In February, 1811, Metcalfe succeeded Seton as Resident at Delhi, where he remained for eight years, again distinguishing himself as a wise, vigilant and courageous political officer. His charge was the British Indian frontier; the people were very turbulent, and the district was criss-crossed with contentious and disorderly Rajput states. He longed to see these neighbours under the Company's protection. "People," he wrote, "do not scruple to say that they have a right to the protection of the British Government. They say that there has always existed some power in India, to which peaceable

\* Colebrooke's *Elphinstone*, I., 154.



states submitted and in return obtained its protection. The Company are shamelessly neglecting their manifest obligations." Politically and administratively he was embarrassed by the nominal King and his entourage in the Delhi Fort. Within its precincts he had no jurisdiction. And even in the city and outlying territories which stretched from the vicinity of Muttra to the Sutlej,\* government was theoretically in the King's name. Capital sentences went to this "attenuated majesty" for confirmation. Metcalfe wisely avoided passing such sentences, partly because they would "open the door to endless intrigue and worry." Mr. Thompson describes the difficulties which he encountered and claims that his achievement was the greatest single administrative work ever put through by a British officer." This assertion is too sweeping. From the Delhi Residency Metcalfe passed to that of Hyderabad, where, in combating and smashing the abominable Palmer ramp, in spite of the Governor-General's discouragement, he showed a fine and resolute spirit. Mr. Thompson writes that this great and fruitful achievement cost him "the final loss of his dreams and his belief in his fellows." This view is perhaps suggested by the letter to his sister quoted on pages 230-1; but on page 239 we read: "This triumph over Rumbold and Hastings made Metcalfe again the unquestioned head of the little community, where he wielded the patriarchal authority in which he delighted." We learn, too, that on the eve of his re-transfer to Delhi he recorded his satisfaction in his victory over peculation, corruption and oppression, and his grief over the approaching separation from his "beloved and affectionate friends." His cynicism had evaporated, and the letter quoted on page 314 shows that his keen ambition to be permanent Governor-General remained in full force until all possibility of its fulfilment had passed away.

Mr. Thompson, however, thinks that his Hyderabad experiences and the controversies in England resulting therefrom eventuated in "a lasting wretchedness" (p. 188), and describes him as "lingering on through his last twelve years, always under sentence or half-sentence of removal, with his eyes fixed elsewhere" (p. 256). On page 291 he writes: "His days of happiness ended when he gained the Supreme Government. From now on to the end he had nothing left but extreme loneliness and a world that steadily darkened within and without." But from other passages in this book and from Kaye's pictures of Metcalfe's life in Calcutta I draw less melancholy conclusions. Metcalfe's temperament was exceptional. From boyhood onwards he was emotional, susceptible, extremely sensitive, given to introspection and to habits of "intense thinking joined to want of exercise." At Calcutta he was working continuously after many years of service unrelieved by any holidays in England. He had abundant means, but no wife to share his anxieties or relieve him of social duties. Memories of the private side of his life at Delhi saddened him (pp. 114, 179). The future of his sons in England often burdened his mind. With his temperament it was easy to be convinced that all was going wrong. On the other hand he could shake off these gloomy forebodings. He had abounding courage, moral and physical, and in society was cheerful and bright. Whatever he might write, he really

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\* *Papers and Correspondence* (Kaye), p. 66.

enjoyed his popularity, position and responsibilities, the power which he was able to exercise at the centre of affairs. He was not seriously worried by remnants of the struggle at Hyderabad, where his victory had been so notable and fruitful of benefit to his Service\* and to the British name in India as well as to the people of the country. He was gratified by the exceptional regard of attached friends which he warmly returned. He was able to accommodate himself to the give-and-take of public life.

"His intellectual roots were in the eighteenth century," but he moved at first with and then generally before his times. At a tender age he had entered on "a scene of shifting empires." He had been bred in the school of Wellesley, and was enthusiastically grateful to his early patron; he had played a prominent part in the final capture of Bharatpur. Yet later on when further enterprises were in the air he condemned the imperious spirit that offered war as the sole alternative to submission and was strongly opposed to any policy of Central Asian or Afghan adventure. He had been censured for extravagance at Delhi by the Directors and ordered to refund a large sum spent on furniture for the Residency; but at Calcutta he became so excessively cautious a guardian of the public finances as to question the benefits to India of railways, telegraphs and roads.† He was always ambitious; and his ambition was largely gratified, for he became first provisional Governor-General, an honour which he prized above a Governorship (p. 308), then a Governor, then acting Governor-General. In that capacity he carried a far-reaching measure which he had much at heart. When relieved by Lord Auckland he was invested with the G.C.B. amid general applause which brought him "great happiness and restfulness of spirit." When, after a short tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, he resigned and embarked for England in February, 1838, he had a magnificent send-off which he warmly appreciated. Bentinck's letter to Lord Melbourne, quoted in full by Kaye (II., 361), gives accurate measure of the value of his services. After a very short spell of retirement he "hankered after" return to an Indian Governorship. But it was not to be. He went elsewhere. When he returned from Canada and was slowly dying of a very painful and lingering disease, he showed himself the same courageous, warm-hearted Metcalfe who had won so many friends. If in later years his happiness had been but wayside campings, his soul had all the time been in the journey.

His two biographers have done his memory good service. Kaye must often have seen him in Calcutta. Mr. Thompson's standpoint is the present day. He has taken great pains; his descriptions of the scenes and surroundings of Metcalfe's early career are admirable and the humorous touches are enjoyable. Then the shades begin to close over Metcalfe; his responsibilities become more harassing; and his biographer's task is harder as he sets himself to deal with a variety of subjects, some of which cannot be adequately discussed in two or three pages or paragraphs. Particularly is this the case with land revenue. No reference is made either by Metcalfe or the author to the Holt Mackenzie minute of 1819, which was the first document to point the way to clear

\* See Kaye, II., 203.

† Kaye, II., 188-9.



understanding of agrarian tenures in North-Western British India, and of the requirements of land revenue administration there. In his views on that subject and in his impatience with his judicial officers at Delhi (p. 124) Metcalfe did not allow sufficiently for the dense confusion still existing in a city and country which had so lately been "a theatre of war and brigandage."\* The state of affairs which the British inherited is vigorously and accurately described on pages 67, 117, and 143 of this book. But the residual effects of such conditions and of the administrative systems which obtained in the remoter past are less clearly appreciated. An instructive paper on "The Indian Peasant in History" was read to the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts in March, 1929, by Mr. W. H. Moreland, which illustrates this point. The remarks on the slow beginnings of a definite famine policy (pp. 326-7) seem to me needlessly sardonic. The absence of efficient transport and of roads and railways deserved at least some mention in this connection.† Mr. Thompson's occasional references to subjects of recent controversies come abruptly into a work of this character.

The style is vivid and in passages poetical. The book contains a map and interesting portraits.

TRADE IN THE EASTERN SEAS (1793-1813). By C. N. Parkinson. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 16s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.)

The title of this interesting work is somewhat misleading. In the period it covers the East India Company had a monopoly of trade from England to the East, but the volume is not so much concerned with its commerce in India, China, etc., as with the shipping of goods and passengers that was an essential part of its operations. Thus the main chapters are devoted to an elaborate survey of the ports to which the Company's ships went, the kinds and quantities of the goods they carried, the routes they followed in the Eastern Seas and the weather conditions governing their navigation, the method of building and equipping East-Indiamen, the "shipping interest" that grew out of the arrangements for providing and manning the Company's fleet, the conditions of its maritime service, and the main facts or interesting details concerning the voyage of an East-Indiaman, including the treatment and behaviour of the passengers and the naval protection given to it in time of war. It thus breaks new ground, for though East-Indiamen have been the subject of previous publications, it can safely be said that none of them treat it with the completeness of scope and research that characterizes this volume. Mr. Parkinson can, therefore, rightly claim that his work is real "maritime history," supplying, as it does, concrete information that enables the reader to visualize the human activities by which the Company brought men and goods to and from the Eastern Seas; and that it will furnish a proper historical and geographical setting for the naval

\* Jathar and Beri, *Indian Economics*, I., 49.

† See *C.H.I.*, VI., 296, on this point.

campaign between the English and French in those waters, which he proposes to describe in a second volume.

The reader will find much to interest and fascinate him in the book. Thus it brings home the extreme discomforts suffered by passengers of those days in voyages to and from the East, for which they had to pay very big sums, if they were not Company's servants—William Hickey, for instance, paid the equivalent of £1,000 for his return to England in 1808. All furniture for the voyage had to be supplied by the passenger, including a coffin-like cot to sleep on in rough weather. This was suspended from the deck-beams overhead and was useful after a sea had been shipped. Noises (including those of the livestock kept on deck), "stinks," perpetual creaking of bulk-heads, and absence of adequate air and light in most of the cabins were other serious inconveniences.

The first chapter contains a good account of the Company's headquarters, India House, the general character of its directorate, and the way in which the machinery for carrying on its business worked. But some of the disparaging remarks about the Company are apt to give an incautious reader a distorted view of the real facts. Its business was, of course, not purely philanthropic, and its management was tainted with the prevalent corruption of that epoch in English history; but it did strive to obtain industry and integrity from its agents in India, and if it did not succeed in bringing good government to its territories during this period, it at any rate made an improvement that later on developed into this. To say, as Mr. Parkinson does (p. 17), that patronage was the chief concern of the Company in its London aspect gives undue weight to one part of its business as against the large amount of financial, commercial, maritime, administrative and judicial work that it had to transact and correspond about with its servants in India. The military and political parts of its affairs were, no doubt, subject to the opinions of the Board of Control, but their consideration and the submission of draft orders about them to the Board necessarily took up its time. A perusal of the Company's Minutes and Letter-Books of this period will suffice to disprove a one-sided statement of this kind. Again, to compare it with a private Company deliberately "paying unnecessarily large salaries and pensions to a crowd of idle officials" (p. 8) ignores the necessity for Clive's reforms in this matter, which successfully stemmed the tide of corruption and led to the high standard of integrity that distinguished the European services in India. The big salaries that are cited as examples on page 34 were mostly fixed by Act of Parliament. Nor were all the Company's servants idle and inefficient: many names and events could be cited to the contrary, and the author himself gives them credit for showing "capacity at times" (p. 21).

It is no doubt the case that after the Company's acquisition of territory in Bengal its finances were sustained more by tribute than by trade, but Mr. Parkinson is inclined to overdraw the stress he lays on the Company's export of men and "courage" to India as opposed to the export of goods for sale to natives of India. The latter continued during these twenty years, and the exaggerated assertion (p. 6) that "the Hindoo desired nothing" in the way of goods from England was never true in the extensive sense given



to it. Even woollens, which the climate made it difficult to dispose of—and then generally at cost price or lower—were being exported in considerable quantities (pp. 75 and 87), and the Company's motive in doing so was a desire to help British manufactures rather than to make a profit.

This undue depreciation of the Company does not, however, affect the excellence of the main part of the book, which is replete with facts and figures on the subject it deals with. Future students of the history of the Company will owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Parkinson, which would have been enhanced if he had given more detailed references to the authorities for his statements. He has adopted the plan of having a bibliography for each chapter: in this he follows the example of the fifth volume of *The Cambridge History of India*, but he has refrained from adopting its addition of occasional footnotes, giving authorities in cases where they cannot otherwise be traced without some difficulty and trouble.

ON THE BOMBAY COAST AND DECCAN: THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY DIOCESE. By the Rev. W. Ashley-Brown. (*S.P.C.K.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.)

On November 19, 1837, Thomas Carr, then Archdeacon of Bombay, was consecrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace to be the first Bishop of Bombay, and his diocese is celebrating this centenary. It was a good idea to have this account of the diocese written in connection with the celebration, and the present Archdeacon has done his task with admirable thoroughness. It covers not only the time since 1815, when a Bishop of Calcutta first arrived in India, but deals with the development of the Church of England (now the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon) from its beginnings as a Chaplaincy of the East India Company at Surat. It also includes the field of missionary enterprise in India from the traditional founding of the Syro-Nestorian Church in Southern India by the Apostle Thomas to the present time. Important events contributing either to the hindrance or to the progress of the spread of Christianity in India are embodied. In covering this extensive ground, the author shows that he has made a careful study of the numerous authorities on the subject, and his story is throughout lucid and interesting. The book, which has some good illustrations and a map of the diocese at each end, can be recommended for perusal not only by those specially interested in the Western Presidency, but by others.

DYARCHY IN PRACTICE. By Dr. A. Appadorai, M.A., Ph.D. (*Longmans.*) 9s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.)

This book supplies a useful compendium of the history, working, and general results of the experiment in government, known as dyarchy, in the Indian Provinces between 1921 and the introduction of the new constitution in the present year. The material for it is abundant and has been well

sifted and arranged. As Professor A. B. Keith says in his foreword, the work shows not merely great industry, but also soundness of judgment and discrimination between essentials and minor details.

Dr. Appadorai has well brought out the defects of dyarchy in practice. He rightly observes (pp. 162, 164, 376) that incomplete self-government of this kind is the most difficult form of government; and attention was fixed more on hastening its end than on exploring its full responsibilities. Nor does he consider that it succeeded as a training in responsibility (pp. 365-73). It is, he says on p. 376, "a trite remark that where it succeeded it succeeded only because the principle of dyarchy was largely ignored." But he credits it with some good results and (p. 372) anticipates its adoption as an experiment in the Indian States.

The reader will probably agree with Professor Keith that the author's judgment in discussing the questions arising are sober and well balanced. On the other hand, he has not perhaps given sufficient weight to the fact that the scheme never had a fair trial owing to various circumstances, particularly the racial bitterness engendered by the Punjab disturbances of 1919 and the post-war financial stringency. Dyarchy has undoubtedly been a useful prelude to the grant of full responsibility to Indian ministers; and, with the guidance of their Presidents, the Legislative Councils established under it have spread effective knowledge of proper parliamentary procedure.

OUR CAUSE. Edited by Shyam Kumari Nehru. (Allahabad: *Kitabistan*.)  
Rs. 6.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This book is a portent, and as such is to be treated with all respect. Ten years ago it would have been unthinkable; now it seems quite normal, and we even wonder why it has not been done before. Here are some thirty Indian ladies—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, and Christian—contributing to a symposium which sets forth the cause of women in India. In groups of two and three they deal with the Home (including House Decoration and Furnishing); Health (Hygiene, Child Welfare, the Indian Mother); Education; Arts (Woman as Artist and Indian Dancing); Industry (Women in Industry, Women and the Films); Rural Life (Our Village and Rural Reconstruction); Social Evils (Purdah, Seclusion of Women); Marriage and Divorce (Legal Forms of Marriage, Early Marriage, the Hindu Widow, Divorce in India); Legal Rights (Women and Property, Hindu Woman's Struggle; Political Struggle (Women and the Political Struggle, Women's Suffrage in India, Women under the New Constitution). These essays are prefaced by a Retrospect dealing with the position of Hindu and of Muslim women in the past, and are concluded with a survey of the future.

As might be expected, the contributions are somewhat unequal in value, though all are worth reading. The legal sections tend to repetition; but though elsewhere the same ground is covered more than once, it is generally approached from differing angles. On the whole, the editor must be con-



gratulated upon having performed her task with competence. There are a few contradictions, notably between pages 212 and 256, but these are of little importance except to the scholar; there are very few misprints, though one of these ("Anti-natal" for "Ante-natal") is quite peculiarly *mal-à-propos*.

The contributors seem to belong mainly to Northern India, Bombay, Bengal, and Maharashtra. The Frontier and Madras, with problems of their own, seem imperfectly represented. Also we miss contributions from such notable figures as Mrs. Naidu and Begam Sham Nawaz. Can this be because controversial politics are deliberately omitted? For indeed a dignified, almost Olympian, serenity pervades even the most clamant sections—a most interesting and instructive contrast with feminist literature in the West.

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### NEAR EAST

YEMEN ET SAOUDIA. Par General Edouard Brémont. (Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle.)

(Reviewed by KENNETH WILLIAMS.)

The late T. E. Lawrence has had his detractors in this country, but no one, I think, has so trenchantly sought to "de-bunk" the formal "Revolt in the Desert" as has General Brémont, who was the head of the French Military Mission in Arabia during the Great War. In a footnote in this little book he dismisses the Revolt as consisting "à payer pour détruire la voie ferrée du Hedjaz les tribus que les Turcs payaient pour la garder." Of Arab problems, therefore, General Brémont takes a realist, as distinct from a romantic, view.

But this is no profound book. The author is largely concerned with tracing the past, and especially the recent history of relations between the Hijaz, now part of the vast kingdom known as Saudi Arabia, and the south-west corner of the Peninsula, known as the Yemen. There is in his account little that is new to the student, though it may well be useful to those who approach the matter for the first time.

Certain bees buzz noisily, moreover, in the General's bonnet. The British Intelligence Service in Arabia is to him something stupendous. He appears to be convinced, for instance, that Mr. St. John Philby is still a member of it, and that Ibn Saud ever has this Muslim Englishman at his elbow with ready advice. The truth is far different, and is exemplified, if exemplification were necessary, by the fact that when Mr. Philby supports the principle of Partition in Palestine, Ibn Saud's Minister in London has to publish a denial of the assumption that the Englishman has any official status in Saudi Arabia!

Much of the later chapters in the book repose on newspaper cuttings which have unequal value. It will be news to most observers of Arab politics that the ambitions of Nippon in the Peninsula have to be taken into serious account, and an equally novel point of view is expressed in the opinion that Hans Hellfritz, the brave but ill-equipped German traveller, who was the first European traveller to reach Shabwa, owed his good

reception to the efforts of Germans in Arabia during the war. Actually, Hellfritz barely escaped with his life, and, having libelled the Hadhramaut by asserting that it harboured cannibals, is unlikely to return to South-Western Arabia!

On balance, General Brémond prefers the chances of the settled Yemen to those of the nomadic Saudi Arabia. He predicates the disintegration of the latter country.

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LA RÉVOLTE DROUZE ET L'INSURRECTION DE DAMAS, 1925-1926. By General Andréa. (Paris: Payot.) 25 fr.

(Reviewed by KENNETH WILLIAMS.)

Here is a soldier's account of the bloody revolt against the French mandatory authorities in Syria which broke out in the Jebel Druze in 1925 and subsequently shook the whole of Syria to its foundations. To the English reader who has met both Frenchmen and Nationalist Arabs in Syria it is always a matter of wonderment that, whereas the French are nearly always convinced that, but for the connivance of the British and Arab authorities in the neighbouring mandated territory of Transjordan, the revolution could easily and quickly have been stamped out, the Druses and Arabs are convinced that, but for the hostile attitude of those same authorities, the revolt would have been successful! General Andréa, writing from a somewhat narrow point of view, subscribes wholeheartedly to the former thesis.

The actual course of military operations, alike in the tortured mountain country of the Druses and in the flatter ground of Syria proper, particularly in the gardens around Damascus, is vividly traced, and the formidable obstacles which the mandatory authorities had to overcome are clearly and convincingly set out. The purely military part of the narrative, indeed, illustrated by several useful maps, is admirably done, and the author deserves the thanks of students to whom this important rebellion of a decade ago may be forgotten history.

But the reader is not likely to obtain from this direct narrative a very detailed idea of the causes of the revolt. He will find little, for instance, of the shortcomings of the French High Commissioner, General Sarrail; nor will he think that the appointment of Captain Carbillet as Governor of the Jebel Druze was aught but a brilliant idea. Of the intense unpopularity of these two men he will have, unless he has had access to other sources of information, scant notion. On the contrary, he will imagine that the whole rebellion was staged, with the backing of external forces (*i.e.*, perfidious Albion), by treacherous and ambitious shaikhs who merely wanted to consolidate and preserve their feudal privileges. This is not the correct picture. The revolt primarily was due to French maladministration.

This is by no means to deny that the peoples under French charge in Syria have been extremely difficult to govern. It was, in fact, fortunate for Great Britain that that charge did not fall to her. The French may occasionally have been misguided in Syria, but their heroism and their tenacity are qualities which their European neighbours in mandated territories would be the first to admit.



## FAR EAST

HONG KONG, 1841-1862. By Geoffrey Robley Sayer. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM SHENTON.)

Today the Far East takes a permanent place in the news of the world and the public thought; consequently Mr. Sayer has published his book *Hong Kong, 1841-1862*, at an opportune time.

Although the work is entirely historical and only deals with the early years, it brings out in clear perspective the early struggles of the British to participate in the China trade. It also portrays in no uncertain manner the great importance of Hong Kong as a Colony and a centre from which the inward and outward trade of China conveniently radiates. It reflects undeniably the security the island provides, which is periodically so badly needed.

Dr. Eithal, writing in 1895 in the preface of his book, *The History of Hong Kong from the Beginning to the Year 1882*, stated: "I entreat for a reconsideration of the popularly accepted view, that but little importance, beyond that of a curio, attaches to Hong Kong its community and position, or indeed to European relations with China."

Mr. Sayer might echo these sentiments with much greater force today. Mr. Sayer is in a peculiarly fortunate position; he is a classical scholar of no mean order, a Hong Kong Government cadet, and at present the Director of Education in that Colony. He is by nature a research student and has had access to archives not usually available to the ordinary individual.

When perusing the book one is lead to ask oneself whether China and life in that part of the world has changed so very much during the past hundred years—there is the same opposition from China to outside influences, a similar exterior pressure to participate in, and possibly monopolize, the advantages of the China trade, leading ultimately to war; and one wonders whether history will assist the prophets in foretelling the future upon lines similar to that of the past.

On page 100 we get what amounts to almost original research, because the hauling down of the flag and the transfer of the bazaar to another island has nowhere been chronicled, and it does emphasize the slender thread on which the future of the now prosperous Colony at one time hung.

On page 105 and the following pages there are interesting extracts from the Canton Press, ridiculing the choice of Hong Kong, and it must have required great courage on Captain Elliot's part to continue with his project.

From time to time Mr. Sayer gives us a peep into the official mind, and he brings out in clear relief the periodical antagonisms between the governing and the governed.

To those who are interested in the Far East, and Hong Kong in particular, Mr. Sayer has produced a very useful work, which will appeal to the historian, the research student, and the general reading public. It is to be hoped that this effort of his will be followed by a history of more recent years along similar lines, in regard to which the literary world is

signally badly served. The fast approaching centenary of the British occupation of the Colony might be a fitting occasion for a further publication.

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JAPANESE MUSIC.

(Reviewed by DR. A. A. BAKÉ.)

The booklet on Japanese music, edited by the Japanese Board of Tourist Industry as No. 15 of their series of pamphlets relating to Japanese culture, certainly indicates the broadness of view with which this body tackles its task. If the other volumes are as illuminating as the number under review, the whole series must give a delightful introduction to Japanese culture at its best.

Mr. Katsumi Sunaga, the author, has the gift of imparting useful information in a very concise form, and the picture he draws of Japanese music in our day, the conflict between the traditions of old and the recently imported Western forms of music, makes interesting reading. Let us hope that the West and its methods—ill-adapted—will not succeed in killing Japanese music as it has apparently done with the old Japanese ideals in some other spheres. For the history of the music of Japan before the Western influence makes a fascinating study. Very important is the fact recorded in the introduction and in the account of the "gagaku," or music at the Imperial Court—namely, that forms of ritual singing and dancing that were introduced from India via China have survived in their adopted country where they have disappeared in their country of origin. This statement agrees with what the late French scholar, Professor Sylvain Lévi, noticed with regard to dance-postures. With the growth of interest in the spread of Indian culture to the Far East it would be of the greatest importance to have further investigation and faithful records of these survivals in music and dance, which may give much enlightenment. It is a well-known phenomenon that cultural treasures have a habit of surviving along the borders of their original domain. Naturally the influence of China, Korea, and Manchuria is discernible in Japanese music just as in the rest of Japanese culture. The intermingling of these different elements and their gradual absorption by the genius of the country, and the development of popular and art music, must make a most interesting study, and one well worth-while for its musical value alone, for it appears from Mr. Katsumi Sunaga's account that the Japanese are a musical nation, having music in their homes and in their public and religious life on all occasions.

It is to be hoped that the wave of nationalism and imperialism now sweeping over Japan may recede soon, so that the people will have the leisure and opportunity again to devote their minds to matters of cultural importance before it is too late. For the danger is imminent that the changes in musical development will be so sweeping that the original is altogether lost. One shudders to think of what may be the result when Japanese music becomes, in the words of the author, "for the most part in musical form of a general Western character. At the same time it will still preserve those traditional delicate qualities which so appeal to the sensi-



bilities of the Japanese people. This new music in its form will have an international character. This will make it easy to be understood by Westerners."

May these days still be very far off.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE JAVA BANK AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR 1936-37, being the One Hundred and Ninth Financial Year of the Company. (English Version: G. Kolff and Co., Batavia-C., 1937.)

(Reviewed by P. K. WATTAL.)

The "Annual Report of the President of the Java Bank" is a document of great importance and is read with great interest by students of economic and financial policy, apart from those interested in the economic position of the Netherlands East Indies and more particularly with the financial position of the Java Bank.

The Report under review sounds a definitely more optimistic note than in previous years regarding international economic conditions. There has been, owing to various reasons, a rise in prices and expansion of international trade during the year under review, so much so that some people are apt to ascribe it to purely temporary causes, such as rearmament, and look with scepticism upon its continuance. The President is not of this opinion, as he holds that this rise in prices is not brought about by currency manipulation, and is due to the normal operation of demand and supply, which is likely to be more or less permanent. He, however, states that there are one or two danger signs in the monetary situation—namely, the enormous quantities of short-term money, which have still failed to find a resting-place, and in the attendant continuous accumulation of gold in a limited number of countries. To persons interested in Indian economic and Indian currency questions, there is a special significance in the view that regulation of price-levels by monetary policy is impracticable. We have had for so many years the rupee-ratio controversy, and quite recently Lord Linlithgow had to tell the Punjab Chamber of Commerce that he was not in favour of lowering the sterling value of the rupee.

The economic position of the Netherlands Indies is very lucidly explained in the Report, and it is very gratifying to note that the year under review witnessed an increase in the world demand for Netherlands Indian products and there was an appreciable rise in the prices of raw materials and agricultural products in the country. This is reflected in the increase in the export and import trade. The export surplus, which from 1934 to 1935 declined from f. 240 millions to f. 221 millions, rose during the past year to no less than f. 326 millions. Holland was at one time as great a believer in Free Trade as Great Britain. There was no Imperial preference and the policy of the Open Door was actively pursued. But latterly this policy has been abandoned and Holland now enjoys a considerable degree of preference in the Netherlands Indies market. This is reflected in the

pre-eminence which Holland enjoys in the imports into the country. The share of Holland in the import trade of the East Indies has been increasing from year to year, while that of Great Britain is steadily on the decline.

In the portion dealing with the finances of the Government of the East Indies, the President states that though the year 1936 did not witness a balanced budget the situation nevertheless improved to such an extent that the deficit for that year was for the first time considerably lower than the amount appropriated for debt redemption. The deficit on ordinary services declined from f. 33.3 millions in 1935 to f. 19.2 millions in 1936, and that on the total budget from f. 22.6 millions to f. 8 millions.

Coming now to the financial results of the Java Bank, it is equally a matter of gratification that the one hundred and ninth financial year was more satisfactory than the preceding year. In spite of a slight decrease in the total of advances and a decline in interest rates the net profits for 1936-37 were higher than for the previous two years, and the Board was able to declare a dividend of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the year, as against  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for 1935-36 and 8 per cent. for 1934-35.

The Report discloses a highly satisfactory condition of affairs on which the Board of Directors deserve to be warmly congratulated.

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#### GENERAL

CIVITAS DEI. By Lionel Curtis. (Macmillan.) Volume Two (12s. 6d.).  
Volume Three (5s.).

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The first volume of *Civitas Dei*, published last year, was, as Mr. Curtis explains, intended to be complete in itself. It represented an attempt to discover and to expound "a guiding principle in public affairs." This principle, broadly stated, is that each man has an infinite obligation to his neighbour; and that the institutions which direct public affairs are good in proportion as they encourage, and give scope for, the operation of this principle, which itself depends upon men's recognition of the infinite difference between right and wrong. In the pre-Christian era, two peoples in particular firmly seized separate aspects of this fundamental truth. The Jews had reached the conclusion that behind the visible universe there existed a creative spirit of infinite goodness, in the execution of whose will mankind could alone find its highest destiny. The Greeks discovered that the real "end" of mankind could be achieved through political forms which enabled the relations of man with man to be regulated in accordance with the same sense of morality. In the teachings of Christ, these two separate aspects appear for the first time as parts of one indivisible truth—namely, that to serve God men must first serve one another.

At first sight, this might appear one of those obvious axioms which everyone can accept as having comparatively little practical bearing on politics.



But Mr. Curtis is, as he describes himself, a journeyman of public affairs; and he soon convinces his readers that what appears a principle of ethics is in reality a fundamental—indeed, in some respects almost an explosive—maxim of statecraft. For “the infinite duty of each to all” serves as a touchstone by which every human institution may be judged, according as it serves to promote, or to thwart, the operation of the principle. On the long view—and it is with the long view that Mr. Curtis is alone concerned—this criterion settles, in the same unhesitating manner, the relative merits of the *ryotwari* and the *zamindari* systems of land-tenure in India, and of the democratic and the totalitarian systems of government in Europe. In fact, there is no problem of human life to which it cannot be applied, from the conduct of the “conscientious objector” in time of war, to the attitude of the good citizen towards the League of Nations. Indeed—although Mr. Curtis does not make this point quite in these terms—it would scarcely be over-fanciful to trace the majority of the ills from which mankind has suffered so long to the fatal tendency, which organized religions of all sects have rather promoted than discouraged, to limit the application of the principle to the private conscience, instead of extending it to the public relations, of humanity. From this point of view, Aristotle, by deliberately separating ethics from politics, commenced the traditional divorce of public from private morality of which Machiavelli did no more than register the practical results.

Having established his principle, by arguments which may be attacked in detail but which seem cumulatively unassailable, Mr. Curtis proceeds in his second volume to survey the origin and growth of the world situation as we see it today. It is perhaps a matter for regret that his conclusions, though no doubt accurate, led him to stress the pioneer place held by mediæval England in the application of the “guiding principle” to affairs on a national scale, for the apparent tinge of insularity thus lent to an investigation of worldwide significance may make it harder for foreigners to grasp the full range of his thought. But in regard to his second volume no such criticism is possible, for he surveys the world “from China to Peru.” His design is to establish the facts of public life to which he purposes to apply his governing principle; and in order to do this he must show how these facts have grown to be what they are.

It is a herculean task; and by undertaking it with fearless courage Mr. Curtis has exposed himself to the attack of every historical specialist, every political propagandist, every religious controversialist, who cannot rise to the level of his own almost uncanny detachment. There is scarcely a page which does not contain material for a dozen bitter quarrels between real or self-styled experts. Many readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will find themselves at variance with Mr. Curtis in his exposition of Far Eastern politics. To those of us who have specialized in Indian affairs it may well seem that he has failed to evaluate the true fundamental of the 1919 Reforms, which was decentralization and not diarchy. To all—and they are many—who believe that the voice of authority, whether religious or political, enables men to dispense with the duty of hard thinking as a prelude to rightly acting, Mr. Curtis will seem a subversive dreamer. Those who

have axes of any description to grind, those who pride themselves on taking a practical view, those who expound the creeds of Things as They Are or of Things as They Ought To Be, will find him as irritating as a tomtom in a sleepless Indian night. But, like the tomtom, he will be heard, willy-nilly, by all who are not deaf.

What are the conclusions to which his long survey leads him? He finds that by the end of the nineteenth century science had forced government to invade every department of human life, so that the state had become of greater importance to every citizen, with an almost unlimited claim upon his devotion. Nationalism became a creed. Why was this tendency developed, and even exaggerated, after "the war to end war"? Because between these national governments there is nothing but anarchy. The "infinite duty of each to all," operative as perhaps never before within the boundaries of certain nations, cannot overstep international frontiers. Hence the breakdown of collective security and the disappointing futility of many hopes erected upon the League of Nations.

In his third and last volume, which is quite short, Mr. Curtis brings all his threads together. As Aristotle assumed that the Greek city state was the last word in political development, so is the same assumption now made in the case of the national unit. In Mr. Curtis's view civilization will crash to chaos, unless it succeeds in freeing itself from the superstition that the "guiding principle" must stop short of application to international affairs. It is this superstition that must be broken down; and the only way to do it is for certain states which have carried the principle of the national commonwealth to its furthest extension to create a federal government for the purpose of regulating their relations to each other and to the rest of the world. He believes that a start might be made between Great Britain on the one side, and Australia and New Zealand on the other. The obstacles to such a commencement, as he clearly realizes, are rather intellectual than physical. As such, they can be overcome, granted the necessary conviction. How is this to be obtained? First, by so clarifying the position of the Dominions that they become in truth national commonwealths, with full and absolute control over the issues of peace and war. When once the "satellite mentality" has thus been overcome, Mr. Curtis believes that there would be the possibility of an orientation in the direction where true salvation lies. But the real change in minds of men, which such an extension of the "guiding principle" postulates, can only happen, he thinks, when the Churches come to regard the creation of the world-commonwealth as an all-important aspect of their work in realizing the Kingdom of God. The Churches have mobilized much support for the League of Nations; but they have not yet realized that to build the League of the idealists upon nations imbued with the conception of unfettered national sovereignty is to base it upon crumbling sand. Further, they have yet to realize that the structure of the State itself is a matter of the liveliest concern, since this is the main factor in moulding the minds of men. Can they break sufficiently with authoritarian tradition to apply fearlessly the "guiding principle" emerging from the words of Christ?

The future of the world may well hang upon the answer to this question.



Mr. Curtis has written a notable book. Its principles, if adopted by the rising generation, may well atone for the failure of us who are older.

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PAUL CAMBON: AMBASSADEUR DE FRANCE (1843-1924). Par Un Diplomate.  
(Paris: Librairie Plon.)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The diplomatic career of Paul Cambon witnessed many changes in the orientation of the Great Powers; and it is remarkable to observe in how many of these changes he was called upon to play a leading part. After an apprenticeship in the Administrative Service which stood him in good stead, he was called upon to undertake the organization of Tunis. The ability with which he converted a somewhat vague Protectorate into a French dominion, served to confirm the opinion already formed of his capacities; and he was called upon to represent his country in turn at Madrid, Constantinople, and London.

Paul Cambon was an outstanding type of the diplomat of the old school. Intensely patriotic, tenacious of the claims of his country, and a formidable negotiator, he was none the less possessed of a clear sense of realities. His mind was by nature just, and he could grasp intuitively the importance of fair-play. It may be doubted whether in the course of a long career, much of which was spent in the *tric-trac* inseparable from the old diplomacy, he ever stooped to a manœuvre which could not sustain scrutiny. At the same time, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his methods were somewhat over-stereotyped. To him, diplomacy was from first to last the art of dealing successfully with other *diplomates de carrière* rather than the art of adjusting differences between national outlooks; and it was this defect which nearly caused the ruin of his greatest achievement, the *Entente Cordiale*. For Paul Cambon, it sufficed to know that he had reached a tacit agreement with the leaders of successive British Ministries as to the course of action that England would pursue if France were involved in hostilities with Germany. To the very last, he failed to recognize that no Ministry in Britain, whatever its political complexion, could involve the country in war without the support of public opinion. The agonizing hours which he spent in the early days of August, 1914, could have been avoided, if he had realized, and provided for, the fact that in Britain, public opinion is all-powerful on any critical issue. When the work of his life was hanging in the balance, the only forces which he could rally to his side were those of the leaders of the Conservative Opposition; and it is plain that they were wholly insufficient for his purpose. He—and his country—were in fact saved at the last moment by a circumstance over which he had no control and for which he could claim no credit; namely, Germany's miscalculation of the effect on British opinion of the violation of Belgian neutrality. While he is entitled to the deep gratitude of both countries for the manner in which he laboured to remove the causes of the conflicts which in so many parts of the world

were a hindrance to Franco-British understanding, the triumphant culmination of his designs was in a manner adventitious. The lesson of his experience is plain even today. Arrangements between British Governments and foreign Powers, though working smoothly enough in ordinary times, may easily break down under the strain of the very crises they are designed to contemplate, unless they are understood, and fully sanctioned, by an instructed public opinion.

This biography deserves the highest praise. Brilliantly written, it is a faithful likeness of one of France's greatest public servants of the last generation. The sureness of delineation argues in the author, who discreetly cloaks his identity in an appropriate pseudonym, an intimacy characteristic of lifelong friendship, if not of actual family connection.

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### FICTION

AS A MAN'S HAND. By D. H. Southgate. (*Methuen.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

In the beginning of this book the twin gods of Ignorance and Superstition reigned in the Brahman household, where Latchmi, the daughter, spent her too few years of childhood. However, a certain measure of happiness was hers in the family ties which bound them together. Even her marriage at the age of seven to a priest so many years her senior failed to arouse any foreboding. It was not until she was twelve years old, and the time came for her to join her husband's household, that tradition really claimed her as a victim. Then the tyranny of her mother-in-law and days filled with domestic duties and ceremonial rites caused a curbing of independence of mind and a deadening of will.

The birth of her son, Krishna, after many years, brought again something of her childhood's joy. But he was a rebel, ever questioning customs and codes, and after the death of his father he renounced Brahmanism and became a Christian. Cast out of his family, he went away to build up a new life elsewhere in service to his country.

From this point the author shows the ideal of a new India, freed from both the bondage of caste and the subjection of women. The strength of this novel lies in the simplicity with which its theme is developed, and to those who may be unaware of the great social changes taking place in the hitherto "unchanging East" it should come as a revelation.



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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1938

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### BURMA IN TRANSITION

BY SIR ARTHUR PAGE, K.C.  
(Late Chief Justice of Burma.)

"ALL the world's a stage." Be it so, but in imperial affairs the stage is the great congeries of lands and countries beyond the seas which own allegiance to the King; England being the theatre office where policy is initiated, administration controlled, and the senior players are cast for their parts.

In such circumstances an excuse for a paper such as this might perhaps be found if we bear in mind that those who work in the "home" office cannot always find time to go behind the scenes or to watch the play themselves. An old stager therefore will, I hope, be forgiven if he offers a wrinkle or two about the progress of the play, and how the players are performing their parts.

But my diffidence in addressing the East India Association is increased because that excuse will not avail me today. For the Secretary of State for India and Burma, who has kindly consented to preside, while not spurning delights has lived laborious days, and after many far-flung wanderings in the East succeeded later in earning the reputation of being the strongest Governor who ever ruled in Bengal. He can learn nothing of the East from me, and his presence with us can, I believe, solely be due to his well-known love and understanding of the peoples and culture of the East. People generally, however, know little—certainly not so much as they should—of Burma and its inhabitants. They may have heard that the road to Mandalay is "where the flying fishes play," but nothing else. Even then they have been misinformed, for neither on the trunk road nor in the Irrawaddy has a flying



fish ever played or even been seen. But I think, especially at this stage in her material and political development, that Burma deserves, and will repay, consideration. To understand the present political situation in Burma one must first know something of the country and its people.

#### THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Burma has an area of 233,492 square miles, about twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and equal in area to Spain and Portugal together. It used to be far the largest Province of British India, being nearly twice as large as Madras and Bombay, and more than three times the size of Bengal. Its population of 15,000,000, however, is much less, due mainly to the fact that so much of Burma consists of virgin forest and jungle land.

The storied beauty of its scenery and the charm of its people I am ill equipped to expound. There is, of course, nothing in Burma to equal the majesty of the Himalayas; but exquisite scenes on mountain, lake, and river abound and the colouring is deeper and more soft than that of India. Whether the sun is setting over the hills that march on China or Siam and make the Shan States so fair a paradise, or is broadening and dimming the shadows as they steal across the mighty Irrawaddy, or is turning to deeper pink the powdered mother of pearl that forms the marge of the 900 islets of the Mergui Archipelago, or is blotting out the lines of the *kazins* on the paddy fields—no one, I believe, who sees it could fail to be aware of a subtle sense of comfort, well-being, and gentleness that is the heritage of a happy, a laughter-loving, and a contented people.

For such the Burmese are. I sometimes think that the Burmese have solved the riddle of how to be happy though living more fully than any people I have ever met. All of us have heard it said that the Burman is a lazy fellow, and if by that is meant that a Burman makes a poor merchant and a worse labourer there may be some truth in it. On the other hand the Burman who tills his own paddy fields—and most of them do—is no sluggard, and does a day's work as long and strenuous as any cultivator of the soil in other countries.

But to the Burman success in business is set in its true perspective and means but little; the accumulation of wealth nothing at all. It not seldom happens that a considerable sum of money passes through a Burman's hands, but rarely does he leave a large fortune when he dies. The Burman believes neither in caste nor feudalism nor social distinctions. For him true life consists in enjoying the good things that fortune may bring in the company of his friends; and in so doing he is assured, if he fails, of being received into their habitations.

Just one illustration. Whenever a Burman has made a successful coup—be it through business, gambling, or cock-fighting—he invites all his friends to a *p̄wē*, in which singers and dancers take part; but it would be regarded as most inhospitable and churlish if the *p̄wē* were to be held behind closed doors, and the show is always so arranged that the outside public will be able to see something of it. Of course the wonderful climate of Burma makes it more feasible to dispense hospitality in this way. For much as it is maligned we found that during the seven months from October to April the climate of Burma was wellnigh perfect. But perhaps I am prejudiced, for in the 14 years that we divided between Bengal and Burma my wife and I and our five children all enjoyed wonderful health, and none of us ever suffered from illness of any consequence.

### THE WOMEN

And now may I say a few words about the position of Burmese women? Of their daintiness and attractions you will all have heard, and perhaps it is only natural that they should be—as they are—the freest women in the East, if not in the world. It is true that their husbands are normally chosen for them, but once they are married they have community of material possessions in varying shares with their husbands, and if they do not actually manage the family business (which is often the case) no Burman would dream of carrying out a business transaction without the consent of what may truly be termed his “better half.” Marriage is a matter of consent and so is divorce—it now being settled that except for a matrimonial offence or by mutual consent a Burmese



marriage cannot be dissolved. Polygamy indeed has not yet been abolished, but it is seldom practised except "up country," and is always regarded as not respectable.

Over 90 per cent. of the Burmese are Buddhists; religious teaching being imparted by the *Sangha*, or body of *pōngyis* (monks), who still exercise considerable influence upon the outlook of the people. Whatever religious tenets he professes, however, the Burman's religion is strangely and deeply coloured by animism. How the impersonal doctrines of Buddhism are compatible with *nāt* (spirit) worship I have never been able to understand, but that both form part of the customary religion of the Burmese admits of no doubt.

The customary laws relating to marriage, inheritance, and property are for the most part contained in ancient treatises called *Dhammathats*, but of them I must content myself with the following citation from a judgment in vol. v. Rangoon Reports (at p. 539):

"The progress of the Burmese nation along the road to civilization has been so rapid in recent years that the conventions and habits of the people have outrun the principles of law and rules of conduct which embody the customary law of the Burmans, and by which in times gone by Burmese Buddhists were content to be governed and controlled. That, no doubt, is a healthy sign of the times, for in the life of a nation, as in the life of an individual, to stand still is to retrograde. But as Burma progresses the common law should be 'broadbased upon her people's will,' and 'from precedent to precedent' adapted to meet new conditions as they arise."

Thus the functions of the courts in interpreting and moulding the law, if exercised with erudition and good sense, will play no small part in the future development of the country.

#### THE SEPARATION OF BURMA

Now to the Burmese people, possessing these characteristics and predilections, was granted in 1937 by an Act of Constitution the status, if not the title, of a self-governing dominion. Under the earlier Government of India Acts Burma had been one of the Provinces of British India, and subordinate to the authority of the Central Government of India; the executive authority in Burma

being the Governor, two members of Council appointed by the Crown, and two ministers appointed by the Governor who were members of the Legislative Council. This system of government may perhaps be open to criticism, but it worked well, and progressively Burmans were appointed to an increasing proportion of official posts of both the higher and lower grades. Indeed, before separation from India was effected nine months ago both the ministers and also one of the members of Council were all Burmans.

It would serve no useful purpose to reopen or discuss again the once burning question whether separation from India was the wisest policy to pursue in the best interests of Burma, because separation and self-government are *faits accomplis*, and what matters now is not whether the grant of a measure of self-government was wise, but whether it will work.

In this connection it is well to remember that the demand for self-government and separation was based upon two simple grounds, one of which was the belief (which was perhaps not wholly without justification) that Burma had been treated by the Government and Legislature of India as the "Cinderella" of the Provinces. It was not unnatural that it should be so. Separated from India by the "*oceanus dissociabilis*" of the Bay of Bengal, Burma was regarded as "*ultima Thule*," with problems differing from those of the other Provinces which excited little interest among Indian politicians, and it seemed that schemes for the development of Burma were more often than not shelved and her representatives out-voted and cold-shouldered.

Bishop Tubbs once observed in Rangoon Cathedral that the most up-to-date cry in all countries was "We demand self-expression"; the pity of it being that so many people had no "self" to express. But in these latter days when "self-expression" and "self-determination" are slogans that seldom fall on deaf ears, whether the hearers are individuals or nations, it was only natural, indeed it followed as a corollary from the first ground, that the grievance felt in the inability of Burma to realize her destiny when linked with India should give rise to the other ground upon which separation was advocated—namely, the



nationalist cries of "Burma for the Burmans" and "Freedom from India," which were heard on every side. Moreover, the nationalist movement was inflamed and fortified by the argument that under separation the revenues of Burma would be vastly enhanced, the advocates of separation vehemently protesting that it was only fair and reasonable that the large sums raised by customs duty and income tax should be allocated to Burma and not to India as was then the case.

### THE FINANCES OF SEPARATION

As I apprehend the position it was the financial argument in favour of separation that was the main reason that prevented the large anti-separationist majority returned at the crucial election specifically held upon the issue of separation or federation from insisting upon a vote being taken in the Council upon it. Those who had proclaimed that they were against separation were, I think, a little doubtful whether they had after all "backed the right horse," and the following figures give some ground for their disquiet.

It appears from the India Budget Return for 1937-38 (Table I., p. 76) that it is estimated in India that after separation the Central Indian Government will lose in revenue payments from Burma Rs. 661 lakhs (of which Rs. 416 lakhs represent a loss in customs and Rs. 140 lakhs in income tax), the Indian Government receiving in lieu thereof a payment from Burma of only Rs. 336 lakhs, of which Rs. 323 lakhs (representing as to Rs. 229 lakhs payments in respect of debts and other liabilities payable as an annuity for 45 years, and as to Rs. 94 lakhs pensions, the annual payments on this head diminishing to zero in 20 years) have already been paid. Thus the gain to Burma in revenue by reason of separation is estimated to be about Rs. 325 lakhs. But whether in the event any net gain approaching this figure will be realized is a matter of uncertainty. It must be remembered not only that Burma is now responsible for the hitherto unremunerative Burma Railways, but, apart from the expenditure necessary for defence, unless the receipts from customs and income tax remain undiminished, the ultimate realization of the gain in revenue due to

separation from India may well turn out to fall far short of the estimate anticipated.

### THE NEW GOVERNMENT

If I appreciate the situation, however, the success of the measure of self-government that has been granted to Burma depends not so much upon the form of government in force, but upon the way in which the new Constitution is worked.

“For forms of government let fools contest,  
Whate’er is best administered is best.”

For, after all, what is democracy?

Is it “the government of the people for the people by the people”? Can such an ideal in practice ever be attained? Is it not a delusion to imagine that the people can ever govern themselves? In a city-state of ancient Greece, where the people could be harangued in the market place, something approaching the government of the people by the people might possibly be reached, but at no time and in no country has democracy in this sense been possible, for the government of a country, whatever its outward form may be, always has been and must be carried on by an executive committee more or less restricted in numbers.

Mass opinion like mass hysteria is the negation of democracy, and the two main differences between the new Constitution in Burma and that which preceded it are (i.) that the Government of Burma is no longer subordinate to the Government of India and (ii.) that the office of member of Council appointed by the Crown is abolished, and the ministers (at present seven in number) who now form the Executive Council of the Governor must all be members of the Legislature and as such amenable to its authority.

I am speaking generally, and for the purpose in hand I do not pause to consider the jurisdiction of the Governor over certain specified districts and matters, or his overriding powers in exceptional circumstances. For the vital question appears to me to be not what are the details of the new Constitution, but whether the electors in the constituencies and their representatives, to whom



has been entrusted the right to determine the policy under which the country is to be administered, will prove equal to the responsibilities that have been cast upon them.

At first sight the omens would appear to be less favourable in Burma than in India, for the political education of the *intelligentsia* is of far longer standing in India than in Burma, although in neither country it seems have the politicians as yet been able to acquire the balanced political sense that has been hammered out in England through centuries of conciliation and compromise.

#### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

And yet on further consideration it will, I think, be found that the political development of the people on democratic lines is more likely to be realized in Burma than in any other oriental country. And for this reason. Whatever democracy means it at least and of necessity connotes that the individual elector will form and express his own independent judgment on political matters. And yet, if I may be allowed to state my own personal experience, during the seven years that I spent in India I came across few (if any) Hindus in a position to express an unbiassed individual opinion upon any political and indeed upon few other subjects. And the reason is not far to seek, for the controlling influence in the life of a Hindu, as it seems to me, is not his religion or his caste or his community but his family; and among orthodox Hindus the management and outlook of the family is determined by the *Karta*, or senior male member, whose paramount concern is to see that the members of the family act not in the interest of the community at large but solely in what is conceived to be the interest of the family. That is poor soil upon which to implant democracy.

On the other hand the Burman is a born individualist. In his home the wife and children of a Burman enjoy a freedom unknown among other orientals. Buddhism, to which nearly all Burmans adhere, is a free-thinking religion in which there are no gods, no grades, no castes, and no distinctions. Indeed, so far does individualism obtain that the son of a Burman does not even take his father's name. It follows, therefore, that the free Bur-

man takes gladly to free institutions, and bears within him the germ of the true democrat. But, of course, he has much to learn, and many obstacles to overcome. After all, it is only 53 years since Upper Burma was annexed by Great Britain, and at present there are no settled policies and no settled parties in the country. Further, the electorate, although more literate than in India, are difficult to reach, for communications are defective and newspapers hard to come by. Is it too much to expect that broadcasting may be more widely used, for the air is free, and in that way news could reach districts where it is difficult for speakers to find their way?

In this period of transition, however, it is, I think, among the educated and well-to-do classes that the most crying need for political development exists. For the Burmese have not at present acquired any real political insight or background; politicians have little experience and practically no political history to guide them, and thus are wont to pursue personalities rather than principles, and to let the human element and their individual likes and dislikes play too large a part in the formation of their political views.

#### COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Further, the provision in the Act of Constitution that 41 out of 132 members of the House of Representatives must be elected on communal lines will surely tend to delay the day when legislators in Burma will learn the lesson—so often forgotten elsewhere—enshrined in Burke's famous address to the electors of Bristol: namely, that a candidate after his election is not a delegate or even a member of a particular constituency, but a member of parliament whose duty it is to act not in the interest merely of those who elected him, but for the benefit of Burma as a whole. But fertile soil assuredly lies ready at hand, and the advent of the skilled cultivator is eagerly awaited. Now is the time for ploughing and sowing the seed lest tares grow up and the crop is never brought to fruition. I am persuaded that Burma must needs start on the right road here and now, and that delay may well spell disaster. For if, within the next 20 or 30 years her politicians have not acquired political wisdom, and Burma has not learnt to



manage her own affairs, there is grave danger that exports and imports will diminish beyond recovery, commercial houses will seek new fields where markets are more stable and political conditions less precarious, and Burma will have lost at once her credit and her prosperity.

The call, therefore, is for labourers to enter the field forthwith. It is sometimes said that for the Civil Service the East holds no future, and that its work is done. No greater or more specious error could be entertained or spread abroad. For young men with courage, inspiration, and love of adventure, no finer life can be imagined, no career more fruitful of lasting benefit to the Empire, than to guide and train a young nation such as Burma as it strains to reach maturity; remembering, in Lord Curzon's words, "that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of his ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time."

Politically undeveloped, with vast material resources untapped, with only one trunk road from north to south and grievously inadequate communications from east to west, Burma stands like a *débutante* at her first grown-up dance, glittering, laughing, happy, but slightly unstrung by the new freedom that is hers. She needs a steady hand to guide her or she may lose her head and throw away her chances. Let her partners, European, Indian, and of her own blood, hold her firmly as she steps so gaily to take her place among the nations, for she has yet to gain experience, and hers is a great adventure. May she learn the lesson of the ages while the day is still young, and in the fullness of time win for herself an honoured place within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 8, 1938, when a paper entitled "Burma in Transition" was read by Sir Arthur Page, K.C. (formerly Chief Justice of Burma). The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., who combines the offices of Secretary of State for India and Secretary of State for Burma, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, after reading a telegram from Lord Lamington, expressing his regret at not being able to be present, said: The Association are very much to be congratulated on having persuaded Sir Arthur Page to come and talk to us about Burma in transition. I first met Sir Arthur Page about forty-five or more years ago, when we were *in statu pupillari* at a school on a hill not more than twelve miles, as the crow flies, from the hall in which we are sitting. After that our ways diverged until later days, when Sir Arthur Page in his turn directed his gaze towards the East, and in 1922 went out to Calcutta as a judge of the High Court of that Bench.

Subsequently, in 1930, he proceeded to Rangoon as Chief Justice, and the period of his stay there, from 1930 to 1936, may be said, I think, to have been one of the most crucial periods in the history of Burma. Those six years covered amongst other things a rebellion, an anti-separation agitation, the Burma Round-Table Conference, and finally the Government of Burma Act. (The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am most grateful to Sir Arthur Page, both for what he has told us about Burma in transition and for the opportunity which he has thus given me of adding my good wishes to the people of Burma on the new course which they are now steering.

It is rather more than thirty years since I first set foot on the soil of Burma. On that occasion I entered by the back door for, after making my way for 1,500 miles up the Yangtze river from the Pacific seaboard, I had covered many hundred miles on foot in western China and I actually crossed the frontier into Burma in the neighbourhood of Bhamo. I was immensely attracted by the people of the country and by the spirit of kindness, almost indeed of joyousness, derived as it seemed to me from their adherence to the precepts of the Lord Buddha which pervaded the land. I had at an earlier date spent two years in India and some of its border lands, and I was struck even at that time by the contrast between the two countries. Burma, it seemed to me, had problems of her own to solve which had little direct connection with the problems of India. The inclusion of the country in the Indian administrative system was the outcome, I soon realized, of nothing more than an historical accident. This early conviction never left me, and I confess that from the earliest days of the Round-Table Con-



ferences I was an advocate of the separation of the two countries. It is, therefore, a matter of peculiar satisfaction to me that fate should have decreed that I should be the first Secretary of State for Burma, and that it should fall to my lot to watch over the launching of the Burmese ship of state under a crew and officers of her own. Since April 1 last there has been much to give point to the new status which she has acquired since she took the water under her own sail. She sent her own contingents of troops and police to take part in the Coronation celebrations. Her Prime Minister, Dr. Ba Maw, took his place along with the Prime Ministers of other parts of the Empire in the Coronation procession, and he attended the Imperial Conference on the same footing as the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. One of his colleagues, Dr. Thein Maung, came from Burma to negotiate a trade agreement with the United Kingdom; and in this connection I am delighted to know that Burma is to have her pavilion at the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow. She has her advisers attached to the United Kingdom delegation at the League of Nations, and she is to be represented by her own delegate at the forthcoming Tele-Communications Conference at Cairo. All these things provide striking evidence of her recently acquired status.

So far as the internal administration of the country is concerned, I can speak only as an onlooker—albeit a close onlooker—for that lies for the most part beyond my control. I might quote, for example, the proposal which her Government have under consideration for the establishment of a State lottery as evidence of their independence of interference from His Majesty's Government here at home. So far as the working of the Parliamentary system goes it is clear, of course, to the observer that it has to accommodate itself to conditions which differ in some material respects from those with which we are familiar here; and though it is, perhaps, early days in which to form a considered opinion it is so far equally clear that, in spite of the fact that her people have had no previous experience of lines of political cleavage other than for or against the Government, and that her legislature is made up of racial blocks and of small groups rather than of parties with the historical traditions with which we are familiar here, the system is working with a gratifying degree of stability. Her Ministers are devoting themselves with commendable zeal to the solution of great social, financial, and agricultural problems; and have been wise, I think, in remitting difficult and contentious questions such as those concerning land and agriculture and the fiscal system to committees for careful examination before drawing up their legislative proposals.

I was particularly struck by what Sir Arthur Page said as to the future place of the Civil Service, and I agree wholeheartedly with him. It is an immense advantage to the Government to have as the agents of its policy an upright, an efficient, and a sympathetic Civil Service. The Civil Service of Burma has behind it the traditions of that unique body of men, the Indian Civil Service, and will, I have little doubt, both as to its British and its Burman personnel play a part in the future commensurate with its responsibilities and worthy of its history in the past. Finally, let me pay a tribute of admiration to the Governor, Sir A. Cochrane, for the ability with which he is discharging the great task which has fallen to his lot and, not

least, for the wholehearted manner in which he is identifying himself with the interests of the people committed to his charge. Knowing, as I do personally, the two men upon whose shoulders rests with greatest weight today the burden of guiding the destinies of the country, Sir A. Cochrane and Dr. Ba Maw, I look forward with confident expectation to the future of Burma.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have present others who can speak with greater personal knowledge of Burma than I can, and I would like to ask Sir Charles Innes, a former Governor of Burma, if he would make a contribution to our discussion.

SIR CHARLES INNES: It is with considerable diffidence that I rise to address this audience, because I am conscious that I can no longer claim to speak with any authority about Burma and its problems. It is more than five years since I left the province, and things move so fast in the East nowadays that we retired officials get out of date with appalling rapidity. Still, I am very glad to have the opportunity of congratulating my old friend, Sir Arthur Page, on his very delightful paper.

When I was Governor of Burma, Sir Arthur Page was the Chief Justice, and I used to contrast his lot enviously with mine. I was right in the middle of the hurly-burly, and I used to think of Sir Arthur across the way, serene, calm, dignified, presiding over the High Court of Judicature in Rangoon. It used to remind me of an old Latin tag—I don't mind quoting it now because I am glad to see from *The Times* that all the best people are reverting to the old pronunciation!—*Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis*. That is to say, being interpreted, How sweet it is to sit upon the sea shore and watch the winds lash the waves to fury.

At any rate, you will agree with me that Sir Arthur Page was in a very advantageous position to survey the passing stream of political progress. I am sure you will also agree with me that he made very good use of his opportunities. I have only to refer to his wise and kindly paper. It made me quite homesick for the green and pleasant land of Burma. But there is one point which I must not be taken in any way to endorse: that is his encomium upon the climate. Some fortunate people, like Sir Arthur Page, may have flourished in it: weaker vessels like myself had not the same fortunate experience; and if any of you think that by going to Rangoon between the magic months of September and April you will be going to some bracing health resort, I must disabuse you of that idea.

There was another point on which I differ from the lecturer. When he said that the reasons on which the demand for separation were based were, firstly, the feeling that Burma had been rather unjustly treated by India, and, secondly, a desire for financial gain, I think he was over-simplifying.

It is true, of course, that there was a feeling in Burma that India had been, so to speak, the unjust stepmother to Burma, and indeed there is official confirmation of that feeling in the Report of the Meston Financial Adjustment Committee. It was also hoped that as a result of separation, Burma might gain financially. But those reasons, I think, were mere accidents. The real reasons behind the urge for separation lay much deeper.



They were far more fundamental in character, so fundamental indeed that in my time there was no controversy, in the true sense of the word, about separation. Even the most extreme opponents of separation at that time admitted that the ultimate separation of Burma from India was inevitable. What they claimed was that Burma should have the right to remain in India as long as it suited her, with the right reserved to her to cut adrift when she wished. That was the only controversy in my time.

Still, as Sir Arthur has said, that controversy is dead, and of all people in the world I am sure I am the last to wish to revive it. Separation is an accomplished fact now, for good or for evil, and we can leave it at that.

For the reasons I have already explained, I am not going to hazard an opinion as to how the new Government of Burma is shaping or how things are going in Burma in this transition period. For one thing, as Lord Zetland said, it is much too early to attempt to form any judgment.

I quite agree with Sir Arthur Page that the really crucial question relates to the electorate, how far it can be trusted wisely to choose its representatives. In many respects, of course, conditions for democratic government are more favourable in Burma than in India. There is no caste—a vital difference. We are not troubled in Burma by the age-long cleavage between Hindu and Muslim. The position of women is much higher. As far as statistics go, again, the standard of literacy is higher in Burma than in India; but I am not quite sure how far we can trust those statistics. It may be that literacy in Burma is somewhat fugitive. At any rate I should say, as Sir Arthur has said, that the electorate in Burma is possibly even more politically backward than it is in India.

But I have been told—and on good authority—that the education of the electorate in India is proceeding at a pace which no one would have dreamt of three or four years ago, and I have no doubt that as in India so in Burma the education of the electorate will go on. I only hope so, for I am certain that there are grave problems facing the new Government of Burma. It would take too long to go into those problems. The most difficult of them all, I think, is the agrarian problem, which has a long history. It dates back almost to the opening of the Suez Canal. The whole of the lower part of Burma is the delta of the Irrawaddy. When the Suez Canal was opened paddy and rice became world crops. The delta, which at that time was cultivated only in patches, has been reclaimed almost entirely, and it has been reclaimed by Burman cultivators with the aid of Indian money, money from the chetty moneylenders. The chetty moneylenders are good moneylenders as far as they go. Still they are business men, and if they do not get their money they foreclose.

Consider what Sir Arthur told us about the character of the Burman. It is true he does not care about the accumulation of wealth, but he likes money for what it can buy. He is a happy-go-lucky fellow, and it is his habit to mortgage his land up to some 75 per cent. of its value. During the ten years 1920-1929 paddy prices varied from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 for 100 baskets; when the great slump came they dropped to less than Rs. 60. As I have said, most of the cultivators had mortgaged their lands to the chetties up to 75 per cent. of their value on the basis of paddy at Rs. 150 for 100 baskets;

with paddy at Rs. 60 they were ruined, and more and more land passed out of their possession into that of the Indian moneylenders.

That, I am afraid, is a very serious problem. You may wonder why we did not deal with it before the new Government came into being. I can only tell you that ever since the beginning of the century Government after Government has applied its mind to the problem. The obvious solution seemed to lie in some form of alienation Act, but all attempts to find a solution on those lines always broke down on the difficulty or impossibility of defining "agriculturist" in Burma.

I would like to stress that when the new Government of Burma tackles this problem it must bear in mind the susceptibilities of the Indian. It seems to me essential that in these next few years Burma should work in with India as much as possible, because Burma depends on India for its markets; and with all the problems that are going to face Burma in the next few years, it seems to me that the Burmans should always have regard to the necessity of retaining the good will of India.

I will not say more, and will only add that I agree with Sir Arthur Page and Lord Zetland that there is still a place in Burma for the young Englishman, and I join with them both in wishing success and prosperity to Burma on the threshold of her new adventure.

Sir HUGH STEPHENSON : I do not feel there is very much left for me to say. I was sandwiched in between Sir Charles Innes and Sir Archibald Cochrane, and I myself was very much in the transition stage between the formulation of separation and the finished article. I have always felt that separation, as Sir Charles Innes has said, goes very much deeper than any question of immediate benefits. As long as England was ruling India as a benevolent autocrat, it was possible to administer all parts of the Indian Empire in the way that suited them best without particular reference to the other parts. The ruling authority was an outside one.

When England progressed on the path she laid down for India of progressive self-government, and progressed very fast, one of two things, it seems to me, had to happen : either Burma had to identify her interests completely with India so that Burma could feel that the will of the majority was equitable and should always be followed, or the special interests of Burma had to be safeguarded.

Historically, geographically, and for other reasons the complete merging of the interests of Burma with those of India was impracticable. The Report of the Simon Commission showed quite clearly that there was no way of safeguarding the peculiar interests of Burma, and particularly the interests of Burmese self-government within the framework of the Indian Federation. Therefore separation appeared to me to be inevitable, and I think it was the subconscious realization of this rather than the expectation of any immediate financial advantage that led the majority in the Legislative Council to decline to take the responsibility of voting against separation.

I am not sure that I altogether agree with Sir Arthur Page in his estimate of the individuality of the Burman. The Burman is very tolerant, tolerant of good and tolerant of evil; but I think I should not be prepared to say that



he was so free from mass sentiment or mass hysteria as Sir Arthur Page suggests. I think perhaps the events of six or seven years ago would be an instance in point.

Sir Arthur's paper has brought back very happy recollections to those of us who have been to Burma, and I am sure has kindled the desire of those who have not to repair the omission at once.

Sir IDWAL LLOYD: I hope that Sir Arthur Page will allow me to add my congratulations on his very interesting and thoughtful sketch of the people of Burma and of the conditions under which her future political development must take place—a sketch inspired, I may say, by the thorough-going wisdom which we in Burma had always been led to expect from one who came there not merely to “minister justice truly and indifferently,” but to devote to the service of the High Court a painstaking and enlightened study of the conditions and history of the country.

There were several passages in Sir Arthur Page's paper which might have suggested to me texts for remarks by way of endorsement or amplification from my own experience of the country; but I think perhaps it would be most appropriate if, as the Finance Member of the late Government—or I should say perhaps the latest Finance Member of the late Government, for I can see at least two others in this room—if I were to devote the short time allotted to me to the financial aspect of the change in Burma's status.

We have always found it a matter of great difficulty to calculate precisely the amount of Burma's gain from separation. Sir Arthur Page dealt rather with the amount of India's loss than the amount of Burma's gain—not necessarily quite the same thing. He rightly put the amount of the principal transferred revenues at some  $6\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees; and he also rightly put the total of the instalments of debt repayment and of the payment for pensions in the first year at 3 crores 23 lakhs of rupees. But even from the point of view of the Government of India these two sets of figures by no means end the story. In taking over the transferred revenues, Burma also relieved India of considerable obligations and burdens in the matter of local expenditure, which included primarily the cost of the defence services and the frontier force. The Burma Railways had been a deficit concern for some years before they were handed over to Burma on separation by the Indian Railway Board; and the Burma section of the Indian system of posts and telegraphs had always, it appears, been run at a loss. There were therefore some very definite compensations for India's loss of revenue.

The Burma Budget for the year 1937-38, which had to be prepared by the old Government before the new Government came into being, estimated the ordinary revenue receipts as likely to exceed the expenditure debitable to revenue by some Rs. 1 crore 79 lakhs. But this surplus was to be reduced by a formidable complication of entries under what are called the debt and deposit heads to Rs. 1 crore 26 lakhs, when the final closing balance was compared with the opening balance. Nor was the whole of this surplus to be ascribed directly to separation, for there were a certain number of improvements estimated under the old provincial heads of revenue.

The realization of this surplus is quite another matter. The Budget to

which I have referred, being prepared by the old Government, made no allowance for certain inevitable expenditure, the amount of which must depend on decisions to be taken by the new Government, nor for other items of expenditure which might be found necessary by the new Government in pursuance of new developments of policy. The Budget was definitely a tentative and experimental Budget. I do not know what additions to expenditure have been found necessary up to the present, but I understand that the new Government has decided to make an immediate reduction in the rates of the capitation and *thathameda* taxes which will involve a loss of some Rs. 40 lakhs in the revenue. Nature also has intervened to inflict serious damage on what promised to be a bumper rice crop this year by two spells of very heavy rain-storms on the eve of the harvest, and it seems very unlikely that the estimated amount of land revenue will be realized. It is clear, therefore, that already serious inroads will have been made in the closing balance.

Some reduction of the unpopular capitation and *thathameda* taxes was no doubt inevitable for a popular Government; but, personally, with my ingrained bureaucratic conservatism, I should have much preferred to see the reduction made by more gradual and tentative stages. (Hear, hear.) Nor can I persuade myself that in attempting to replace some portion of the loss, as I understand is to be attempted, by the institution of periodical State lotteries, the new Government is adopting a really very wise course, at any rate from the point of view of public credit.

The new régime has been given a reasonably favourable financial start; but there is no such surplus as might tempt the Finance Minister to throw over the so-called canons of financial propriety, or the time-honoured bureaucratic principle of the exercise, in dealing with the taxpayer's money, of the same care that one applies to transactions in one's own. (Applause.)

Sir ARTHUR PAGE, in reply, said: You have only to hear Sir Charles Innes and Sir Hugh Stephenson to understand how diffident I was to say anything about Burma. As I was merely the Chief Justice I should be the last person in the world to dispute anything that they said. Not, of course, that they could do anything to me now, or that they could have done anything to me then, but because I realize that they know much more about these matters than I do. And yet I cannot allow Sir Charles Innes to get away quite scot free. When you look at my emaciated appearance and contrast with it the singularly handsome and well-nurtured appearance that he presents, I think that for once the laughter will be against him and upon my side. (Laughter.)

And when he went on to say that I had an easy passage while he had such a difficult time may I remind him that there was such a thing as a rebellion in our day, and it so happened that there were many hundreds of persons who had to be tried for treason. Unfortunately Sir Charles, although in the Shan States he was himself Chief Justice, could not do any of this work himself. He asked me if I would take steps—mark you, without any further assistance, no additional judges (and no extra payment to me!)—myself to have tried some hundreds of prisoners in the shortest reasonable time. I had to do it, and somehow we got through it. But I often used to



think, when we were burning midnight oil and trying to master the facts of these intricate cases, of Sir Charles Innes up at Maymyo after his round of golf, able to go to sleep in the evening when dinner was over.

Now, may I say one thing more before time is up? I should like to apologize, if I may, for my sins of omission. There are many matters and many points, of course, which one would like to dilate upon; but Sir Frank Brown, who has arranged this meeting with his usual distinction and great success, is inexorable and his time-table has to be followed, and if I have not said all that I ought to have done I hope you will forgive me.

There is just one other point about which I should like to say a word because it was mentioned both by Sir Charles Innes and by Sir Idwal Lloyd. Of course, it is a point upon which I knew that they with their knowledge and experience would say something, because it goes to the root of everything; but I could not burden my paper with too much detail. The real difficulty, as I understand it, in Burma is this—that it has its eggs in so few baskets. It is a luxuriantly endowed part of the world, but, so far as revenue is concerned, it largely depends each year for success or prosperity upon whether there is a good harvest or not; and nobody knows that so well as Sir Hugh Stephenson, because he was there in the lean years when the bottom had fallen out of the paddy market, and somehow or other in his Budget he had to make two ends meet as best he could.

Let me explain what I mean, to show you how careful the administration of Burma must needs be, as I tried to emphasize in my paper.

How dependent Burma is upon the rice crop is shown by this fact, that from the port of Rangoon—you see, I provided myself with certain figures because I anticipated the line that these gentlemen would take—the total exports were Rs. 1,822 lakhs in value in 1936-37; and of those exports no less than Rs. 783 lakhs were of rice. That shows how enormously Burma depends upon a good harvest.

Further, it is extraordinary how the value of rice products varies from year to year. For instance, in 1932-33, the value of exports of rice was Rs. 949 lakhs, whereas in 1933-34, the next year, it was only Rs. 686 lakhs, which shows how greatly the crop and exports vary. Thus upon the maintenance and stability of the rice crop mainly depends the amount of revenue that the Government has in hand.

If I may say so, I thoroughly agree that it is only if the greatest care is taken to see that both the quality and the quantity of the rice crop is so far as possible maintained that it will be possible to have a stable Government in Burma, because she has not now the credit and stability of the Indian Empire behind her. So long as she was a province of India she could always look to the great resources of India itself to back her up in difficulties. Now she has to stand on her own feet, and that is why I ventured to say in my paper that it is so extremely important that in the next few years the politicians in Burma should learn their business, and should be careful to maintain as far as they can the prosperity of Burma by keeping up the staple products of the country.

I think that is all I need say, because those were really the only matters upon which comments were made.

Sir Hugh Stephenson suggested, I think, that I had said that there was no mass hysteria in Burma. He misunderstood me, however, for I did not say that at all. What I did say was that mass hysteria, like mass opinion, is not democratic, and I then contrasted the effect of the individualist life which the Burmese live with the life in a Hindu joint family that an orthodox Hindu leads.

Of course in all countries in the world we are in danger in these days of mass hysteria, and in the rebellion thousands of people were led to believe that they could stand up against machine-guns because, if they were injected in a certain way, any bullets that struck them would turn to coloured flour. If that is not mass hysteria I do not know what is.

That is all I have to say, except to thank you all very much for coming in such large numbers to this meeting. I feel it is a great compliment to have had here today the two Governors of Burma with whom I served in such very happy association when I was Chief Justice in Burma; and I cannot sit down without saying once more how personally grateful I am to Lord Zetland for presiding at the meeting, not merely because he and I have known each other for between forty and fifty years, but because he knows and loves the East and the peoples of the East as few people in England do.

He may be interested to know that I keep by me his book, one of the trilogy, *The Land of the Thunderbolt*, because in that book he most clearly and happily recalls the magic and the mystery of the Buddhist countries. You have only to be in those countries, in Tibet, Bhutan, or Burma, to be conscious of magic and mysticism which you do not find elsewhere in the world. And in this book, too, he refers to, and reminds us of, the unforgettable loveliness of Sandakphu and Chumalhari, of Darjeeling and Kalimpong, places which he has enjoyed and which I have enjoyed too.

I thank you, sir, very much indeed for your great kindness in sparing the time to preside at this meeting.

Sir MALCOLM SETON : I am not going to detain you long at this late hour, but we would not wish to separate after what has been a particularly interesting discussion—valuable to us because the Association has not had the opportunity of studying Burmese affairs much—without passing a very hearty vote of thanks both to Sir Arthur Page for his extremely interesting and stimulating paper and to Lord Zetland for coming to preside.

Sir Arthur Page I recall a good many years ago as a fellow private in a volunteer corps, and it is a great pleasure to meet him in this new capacity.

Of Lord Zetland I may perhaps be allowed to say that it is a very great pleasure to us to welcome an "old friend with a new face." This is the first opportunity we have had of meeting him as Secretary of State for Burma. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN : Sir Arthur Page and I are most grateful to you, and that now concludes our business.



## RECEPTION TO SIR JOHN ANDERSON

LADY BENNETT kindly invited members of the East India Association to meet the Right Hon. Sir John Anderson on his return from his five and a half years' successful Governorship of Bengal. The function took the form of a reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on January 10. Lady Bennett, who was accompanied by Sir John, received nearly 300 guests. As Lord Lamington had been absent on the Continent, Sir Harcourt Butler presided. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, spoke in eulogistic terms of Sir John's achievements in Bengal, and he made a brief reply. These speeches were reported at length in newspapers throughout the country. A feature of the afternoon which was much enjoyed was the showing by Mr. John Davie, lately A.D.C. to Sir John Anderson, of a film he had taken of a visit paid by Sir John to Bhutan, the independent Himalayan country lying along the south-eastern frontier of Tibet. The film was made the more attractive by the introductory remarks of Mr. Davie and by his explanation and comments as it appeared on the screen.

The CHAIRMAN, before calling upon Sir Samuel Hoare to speak, said: I have had a letter of regret from the High Commissioner for India, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who says that the doctor will not allow him to go out. He adds: "However, my heart is with you in welcoming a Governor whose Province is known to have caused many anxieties in the past and is now, thanks to Sir John's patience and wisdom, one of the keenest in developing a spirit of friendliness and one of the foremost in successfully working the new reforms. I wish Sir John many years of happiness and peace as a well-earned reward for the unrivalled services he has rendered to my people and country."

I will only add that we all here are very grateful to our kind and generous hostess, Lady Bennett, for giving us an opportunity of welcoming Sir John Anderson almost immediately after his return to England. We all deem it a great privilege, and, if I may say so, especially the members of the Indian Civil Service deem it a great privilege to share in doing honour to a man who went to India with a great reputation, a deservedly great reputation, and who has come back with an even greater reputation, a deservedly greater reputation. We all admire the man, and we all admire his work. (Applause.)

## THE HOME SECRETARY'S SPEECH

Sir SAMUEL HOARE said: I am here today in the company of a great Indian Civilian, Sir Harcourt Butler, and a great British Civilian, Sir Findlater Stewart, to welcome home a public servant of conspicuous eminence. I was the Secretary of State who recommended Sir John Anderson's appointment to Bengal. Let that fact be always remembered to my credit. But let it be remembered even more to Sir John Anderson's credit that he abandoned one of the highest posts in the peaceful atmosphere of Whitehall for the Government in Calcutta at a most critical and even a dangerous moment. Terrorism was rife, an attempt had recently been made on the life of his predecessor, the delightful and distinguished Sir Stanley Jackson. Terrorist outrages had almost trebled in the space of two years. It was a bold choice that Sir John Anderson made in the face of those troubles. How well I remember putting the offer to him, and with what relief I heard him say, "Well, I suppose that I have almost completed my career in Whitehall, and being a Scot I am ready to try another." Yes, and where more suitable for a Scot to try than in India? For was it not truly said a century ago, "The two main exports of Scotland are lean cattle to England and distinguished administrators to India." (Laughter and cheers.)

Well, he went to India, and very soon he conquered the heart of Bengal. For the people of Bengal, the citizens of India's most historic Province, are as quick as any people in the world to mark ability and to understand real worth. Sir John was faced with a double task—he on the spot was indeed faced with the same double task that confronted us at Westminster—the restoration of law and order on the one hand, and the development of constitutional reform on the other. Sometimes it seemed difficult to reconcile these two objectives, but none the less, as events proved, it was impossible to achieve the one without the other.

Sir John's administration proved that it was possible to succeed on this double front. And I believe that he would agree with me when I say that even with all his administrative talents his success could not have been so complete if he had not been supported throughout all the years of his administration by a definite and undeviating policy of constitutional reform.

Let us then draw this first lesson from his record. If full scope is to be given to our great administrators, the Government at home must give them a clear and intelligible policy to carry out. What staggering results might have been achieved by the greatest of all Indian administrators, Warren Hastings, if he had not been hampered at every turn by spite and vacillation in Westminster!

Let us draw more lessons from Sir John Anderson's success. He restored order. In his last years terrorism scarcely showed its head. But he also restored the sanity and balance of many misguided terrorists. He was thus able to reduce the number of *détenus* by two-thirds and to re-settle many of them in civil life. He showed that while repression could be effectively carried out, the more difficult task of reformation could also be made to



succeed. As Home Secretary I hope that I have taken to heart this lesson in the field of penal administration.

But there is still a third lesson that he has to teach us, and perhaps, like charity, it is the greatest of the three. It is the lesson of goodwill. I am disclosing no State secret when I say that throughout all those years when I was engaged upon the Indian Constitution at the India Office, the question that most worried many of my friends was this: How will the responsible Indian Ministers be able to work with Governors invested with their special responsibilities? Will not each insist upon his statutory powers and will not the result be crisis and deadlock? Over and over again I said to my critics: "I put my faith in goodwill and common sense. I do not believe that either side will adopt a rigid and pedantic line. I believe that difficulties will be surmounted by consultation rather than crisis." Is it not on these lines that the new Constitution has started, particularly in the great Province of Bengal?

Is there any Bengal Minister who will not say that Sir John Anderson's goodwill, wide experience, and impartial advice have not been of inestimable value to them in these early days of a great experiment? Would not Sir John Anderson himself say that as he was able to help his Ministers, so his Ministers were able to help him in many important directions and upon many difficult issues. Indeed, the most significant fact in recent Indian history is the manifest desire of Indian Ministers and British Governors to co-operate in a great experiment. Sir John Anderson's relations with his Ministers in Bengal are the outward and visible sign of the goodwill without which no Government can prosper.

Having spent five years of my life with Indian questions, I know enough of them to avoid confident prophecies and easy optimism or equally easy pessimism. There will be anxieties and disappointments in the new chapter. There will be success here and failure there. What else could there be in a subcontinent of three hundred million souls? But upon the whole I believe that we have started the new chapter on the right road. If this be the case, it is not a little due to men like Sir John Anderson, whose minds were stored with wise experience and whose hearts were in the work upon which they were engaged.

To him we offer our thanks and congratulations tonight. To his successor, Lord Brabourne, one of my oldest friends and a Governor in the true Anderson tradition, we send our best wishes. And may I add to them the personal message of one whose main interest in public life has been India, and whose Indian friends are still many and various? "Work the Constitution throughout India," I venture to say to them, "as Sir John Anderson has worked it in Bengal, and his Ministers, on a foundation of goodwill and co-operation, and India will prove to the world at the very moment when in the East and West liberty and democracy are challenged that free institutions are still the best and that the British Empire is the most effective framework in which they can be developed." (Loud cheers.)

## SIR JOHN ANDERSON'S REPLY

SIR JOHN ANDERSON: I hope you all realize that this is a very awkward situation for me. Sir Samuel Hoare has been very kind, far too kind. If he had mentioned, even only incidentally, a few of the mistakes that I have made—and I am fully conscious of them even though for some unaccountable reason they seem to have eluded the vigilance of an ever-watchful Press (and the Press has been very kind too)—if he had only done that, I might have got up and made a spirited reply. As it is, I feel that the one thing I would really like to do would be to slink away and hide myself under one of these tables. But I know you would not let me do that, and so I must go through with it. There are, as a matter of fact, just one or two things that I would like to say besides thanking Sir Samuel Hoare—and I am most grateful to him—for the very gracious references that he has made to me.

The first thing I want to say is pretty obvious. It is that any success that I may have had in Bengal would not have been possible without the effective co-operation of others. There is Sir Samuel himself, if he will permit me to say so, a really great Secretary of State, whose mastery of all the intricacies of the new Indian Constitution must have been the envy of every Civil Servant in Whitehall. (Applause.) And Lord Willingdon with his wonderful and unrivalled knowledge of every phase of India's problems. (Applause.) These two gave their Governors a clear and consistent policy, and I agree entirely with what Sir Samuel said when he told us that a clear policy consistently applied is the first essential to success in any branch of administration. After them Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow followed the same course. When the reformed Constitution came into operation many things had to be done in a hurry and a great deal had to be taken on trust, but we Governors in India could always feel assured of the sympathetic and stedfast support of our Viceroy and our Secretary of State.

My second remark relates to the Services. Just before I went to Bengal I was told by one who had himself served in the I.C.S. in Bengal, and subsequently occupied a position of high responsibility at home, that the heart had gone out of the Services in Bengal. I was immensely relieved to find, when I got there, that that was not the case. I cannot speak too highly of the response that the Services gave to all the calls that were made upon them, notwithstanding the difficulties and trials that they had to meet. (Applause.) They are giving the same stedfast, loyal, and efficient service to the new responsible Governments in Bengal.

Since the 1st of April we have had a responsible—a fully responsible—Government in Bengal. I think I shall probably be right in saying that it was largely on the strength of assurances given by me, assurances no doubt supported by the known facts of the situation, that despite misgivings—honest misgivings, misgivings widely held, misgivings that found emphatic expression in the Report of the Joint Select Committee—despite those misgivings it was decided that Bengal should start off with responsible Government on exactly the same footing as all the other Provinces in India.



Ladies and gentlemen, I think that it would have been a disaster for Bengal, it would have been disastrous to India and disastrous to all the hopes that were centred in the new scheme of constitutional reform, if a different decision had had to be taken. And I doubt whether there is now anyone either in India or in this country who would assert that that decision was wrong.

The new Ministry, which took office on the 1st April, has already been subjected to very severe tests; how severe no one, I think, quite realizes as I do. In circumstances of very great difficulty they have shown themselves capable of formulating and applying a courageous, firm, and consistent policy. They have thereby established themselves in a position of great prestige among the responsible Ministries in India.

There were three things which as Governor I regarded for some time after I went to Bengal as affording real ground for apprehension in regard to the success of the reforms. The first, of course, was terrorism. I think one can say that for the last two years terrorism has been completely under control, and I personally see no reason why it should ever again get out of control. (Applause.) The complete eradication of the terrorist mentality must, of course, be a long business. That is now a task for Indians to carry out, and I think they are best qualified to undertake it. I am satisfied that a good beginning has been made.

The next ground of apprehension that I saw was a possible landslide in the Services. Of that there has been absolutely no indication. The Services are working, as I have indicated, efficiently, and I believe happily, under their new masters.

The third possible snag was a financial breakdown, and there we certainly have had a bit of luck. The economic depression began to lift just in time, and though the Niemeyer Award did not give us all that we asked for, or indeed all that we thought was our due, I believe that it has provided the new responsible Government in Bengal with ample resources under prudent management for the maintenance of a sound and progressive policy.

As Sir Samuel has told you, my relations with my Ministers were throughout of the happiest description. I am sure that my admirable successor, who had already, as I can say from personal observation, established himself firmly in the affections of the people of Bombay, will meet with equally friendly co-operation in Bengal.

That is really all that I have to say. I am very glad that the happy thought should have occurred to someone of combining entertainment with the more serious business of the afternoon, and that you will see a film, which apart from its high entertainment value—and it is a very good film—will help perhaps to give you a truer perspective of the life of a Governor in India. None of you will go away, as some of you might have done, with the mistaken impression of a poor drudge, wrestling day by day from morning till night with grave problems of state, able to find relief only in social recreation of the most formal character.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to thank you very much indeed for the kindness that you have shown me this afternoon, and may I add my tribute of thanks to our hostess, Lady Bennett, and to Sir Frank Brown,

who always organizes these things so admirably, as well as to my friend, Sir Samuel Hoare, for his too kind remarks about me. (Applause.)

### A VISIT TO BHUTAN

Mr. JOHN DAVIE, in introducing his film, said: I believe that one of the only two Governors of Bengal, or indeed of anywhere else, to visit Bhutan is here this evening. As I myself was only one of several A.D.C.'s to Sir John Anderson you may well wonder why I and not he is talking to you this evening. He could certainly give you a very much more interesting talk on Bhutan than I can. I must therefore assume that it is my film which you have come here to see rather than to hear a lecture on Bhutan. If you can take your minds with me away from Grosvenor House and imagine yourselves in the lands of the lost horizon, you will be in the right frame of mind to enjoy the film with a minimum of talk and explanation from me.

The film opens at Christmas, 1934, with the arrival at Government House, Calcutta, of His Highness Sir Jigme Wangchuk, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Bhutan. Bhutan is a country of some 18,000 square miles lying along the north-east frontier of India between Sikkim, Tibet, and Assam. Its western frontier is less than a hundred miles from Darjeeling, and yet in spite of this it is one of the most difficult countries in the world for a European to visit. The trouble is that to cross the frontier the permission of Sir Jigme Wangchuk has to be obtained, and Sir Jigme does not fancy having his wonderful country overrun by Europeans, with the inevitable complications that would ensue. As a result, less than forty Europeans have in fact ever been allowed inside the country.

His Highness, who had never before been away from his own country, was reported never to have seen a motor-car or train, and while he was busy sampling these delights of the West we were busy counting the chances of a return visit to Bhutan. We were not to be disappointed. And so it came about that in the first week of October of 1935, we left Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, on our 201-mile journey through Southern Tibet into Bhutan.

Everything had to be taken with us, down to the last blanket and the last roll of butter, and our baggage train of more than fifty mules were scarcely adequate to carry the vast volume of food and luggage—not to mention the quantity of presents for those important personages whom we would meet on the way, which alone required the services of two mules to carry them.

The trade route from Lhasa in Tibet to North-East India crosses the frontier by one of two passes. These are the Nathu La and Jelap La. We crossed by the Nathu La at a height of 14,500 feet, and the view we saw from the top as we looked down on the hills of Tibet and Bhutan was one of the most remarkable of the whole trip. For the next three days our cavalcade made its way along the beautiful Chumbi Valley till at 14,000 feet once again we came out on the Phari Plain with Chomo Lhari, the sacred mountain, rising up for 10,000 feet out of the middle of the plain to a height of



24,000 feet. As it starts at such a great height it is snow-covered almost to the foot.

In its shadow lies the town of Phari. This, I believe, is the highest town in the world; it is probably the coldest and certainly the dirtiest. As there is no vegetation of the Tibetan plain there is no fuel except yaks' dung. Consequently for the greater part of the year it is far too cold for the people to remove their clothes, which seem both by sight and smell to remain on until they are worn out.

There are no drains and all refuse is thrown on the narrow streets. These, after many years of this treatment, have risen far above the level of the doors of the houses. In fact, you have to descend several steps to enter them. Dead dogs and other animals are left in the streets unburied, but fortunately, owing to the cold dry air, they do not become as unpleasant as might be expected.

We were now only three miles from the Bhutan frontier, which is crossed at a height of 16,500 feet by the Tremo La. At this height you begin to feel the rarity of the atmosphere, if indeed you have not felt it before. Though it caused us little inconvenience, unless you are well acclimatized it is extremely difficult to walk for long uphill.

Wrapped in every garment we could find, with our faces plastered in that horrible yellow cream which alone seems to keep your face on the front of your head, we set off for the top of the pass which, as always in this part of the world, was marked by a large heap of stones. This is made by Buddhist travellers, who will always add a stone to it as a thank-offering to the gods for their safe arrival. The cold on the top of the pass was frightful, but all thoughts of discomfort were driven from our minds by our first view of Bhutan. It seemed that we gazed down upon the promised land. On one side of the pass lay Tibet bleak and treeless, ravished by an icy wind, while now before us, bathed in sunshine, lay the glorious wooded hills and valleys of Bhutan.

Below the pass, Raja Dorji, a kind of Prime Minister of Bhutan, was waiting to welcome us. When meeting visitors in this part of the world a delightful custom is observed. Both parties will exchange scarves. For this purpose long white silk scarves are carried and are exchanged with a great flourish. On our third day in Bhutan we came to what must be one of the most remarkable buildings in the world—Tak Thsang monastery, or the Tiger's Nest, Shangri La—this we could see from the bottom of the valley several thousand feet above us. It is perched on a ledge of rock cut into the face of a perpendicular cliff some 2,000 feet high. According to local tradition, the founder of the Lamaistic religion in Bhutan, who was called Guru Rimpoche, first visited the country riding on a tiger, and round the cave in which he dwelt this monastery was constructed. It must have required immense labour to build it, for after a three-mile climb from the bottom of the valley the only approach for the last half-mile is by a narrow ledge little more than a yard wide running along the face of the cliff.

The head Lama was waiting to conduct us round the monastery. Here we explored the little shrines which were fitted into the recesses under the overhanging rocks, and looked out over the small balconies which hung out

over the cliff. Yet perhaps one of the most extraordinary features of the whole place was the caretaker, who had a goitre so enormous that it hung down on his chest the size of a football.

We were now only eight miles from Paro, the objective of our journey and the home of the Paro Penlop, the greatest chieftain in Bhutan after the Maharaja. The latter lives away in Eastern Bhutan, and unfortunately we had not time to visit him.

One amusing incident deserves mention, as it will give you some idea of how easy it is to get caught out by thinking you are really away from civilization in these distant lands. The presents which we had brought for the Paro Penlop included a small Kodak camera and a pair of field-glasses, which, though not the best that money could buy, would, so we thought, be a fascinating novelty for one so far removed from the amenities of our Western civilization. But as we rode along the line of wondering villagers on our entry to Paro we saw to our horror the figure of the Paro Penlop observing our arrival through a pair of the largest and most expensive Zeiss field-glasses. Our discomfort was further increased when the Penlop began to take photographs with one of the most expensive cameras on the market. A hurried rearrangement of presents was of course necessary, and those brought for the less important personages had to be brought out for the Penlop himself.

When we got back to Darjeeling three weeks after we had left, it seemed that we had been to another world. For Bhutan is still run on feudal lines. The baron or jongpen, as he is called, lives in his fort or jong, with the huts of the villagers clustered under the walls, behind which they can take refuge in time of war. Dancers and jesters still entertain the noble lords and payment for services is mostly rendered in kind. The baron's private warriors are armed with bows and arrows, shield and steel helmets, and live with him inside the castle. Paro Jong contained not only a barracks but a monastery as well behind its walls.

How long the Bhutanese will be able to continue their isolationist policy cannot be predicted with safety. In that part of Western Bhutan which we visited the people appeared to be most unhealthy, and in the Paro Valley especially the percentage of the population that suffered from goitre was really appalling. The general ill-health combined with the effects of the Lamaistic religion, which imposes a monastic life on a great proportion of the young men, are together seriously depleting the population.

In consequence the great bulk of the country is quite undeveloped, and though this adds greatly to the beauty of the scenery it does not prevent the industrious Nepalese from demanding admittance. Already the Bhutanese have had to allow them to settle in the southern part of the country, where the Nepalese have opened up the country and now contribute a large share of the state revenue. For, unlike the windswept plains of Tibet, the sheltered valleys of Bhutan are very fertile. The tree line goes up to some 13,000 feet and rice grows at 9,000 feet. After travelling through one fertile valley after another untouched by the hand of man, with no sign of any human habitation, we could not help wondering how long the Bhutanese would be able to keep their envious neighbours away from those preserves



which they had not the population to make use of themselves. But today to those fortunate to be invited there Bhutan offers beauty and romance that exists nowhere else in the world.

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER : Before we separate I am sure you would like to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Davie for showing us his most excellent and enchanting film, and also for the very amusing and interesting way in which he introduced it. It has been a great treat and a very enjoyable ending to a most enjoyable afternoon, which we owe, as I have said already, to the kindness and hospitality of Lady Bennett, who will now say one or two words to us.

LADY BENNETT : I feel that very little thanks is due to me because we have enjoyed the afternoon so intensely that I feel I am rather indebted to those who prepared it for us.

But I feel that it was a right and proper thing that the East India Association should be the first body to give a hearty welcome to Sir John Anderson on his return to England. (Applause.) As a humble member of that Association, I have through its medium, as well as through other sources, watched the work that Sir John Anderson has done in Bengal. All of us who love India and who love the Empire must feel that in doing honour to him today we are doing honour to a man whose name is great. He has in his wonderful administration in Bengal shown to the whole of India that where love, justice, and firmness go hand in hand the Indian will always respond and co-operate and come half-way to meet those who are trying to make his land a better country than it has been in the past.

India is a great country. She is advancing and will advance on constitutional lines, I feel quite sure. Sir John Anderson has made such a name in Bengal that India will soon know that Bengal can take the lead; where in the past she has taken the lead perhaps in terrorism and horror, she will take the lead now in the furtherance of peace and economic and constitutional advance.

Many names are inscribed on the pages of history in connection with England and India, and I know that Sir John's name will take its place in history as well as in the hearts of the people of Bengal.

I am very glad that you have come in such large numbers this afternoon to do honour to him. With our whole hearts we thank him for the past and look forward to even greater things from him in the future. (Applause.)

## TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA: THE KING- EMPEROR'S FUND

IN a letter published in *The Times* on February 17 Lord Halifax, Lord Willingdon, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst (ex-Viceroy), Lord Zetland and his predecessor in the Secretaryship of State for India (Sir Samuel Hoare), Sir Firozkhan Noon, High Commissioner for India, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, former holder of that office, announced the extension to this country of the appeal launched in India at the beginning of December by Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow on behalf of a Fund to combat tuberculosis in India. By permission of His Majesty the Fund, which is intended to commemorate his accession to the Throne, is known as the King-Emperor's Fund. The distinguished signatories of the letter wrote :

We are anxious to commend the scheme to your readers and, in particular, to those who have ties with India and are able to appreciate the urgency of the cause for which we plead. Until recently the activities of public health workers in India have been directed chiefly against such diseases as leprosy, cholera, smallpox and plague, and it is only within the past few years that close attention has been directed to the more insidious and no less deadly menace of tuberculosis. Its ravages in the cities of India are perhaps already only too familiar; but medical men are now becoming convinced that it is increasing in the rural areas to an alarming degree and that it already threatens to become a more formidable enemy than cholera, smallpox, or even malaria as a cause of disablement and death.

A consideration which encourages us to add this appeal to the many which are made here is that in the United Kingdom tuberculosis has been steadily and rapidly diminishing during the past sixty years. It would indeed be a tragedy if we, who are in the happy position of seeing the steady decline of tuberculosis in our own country, remained indifferent to its inroads on the health and strength of our fellow-citizens in India.

The purpose of the Fund is to establish and finance an All-India Association for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis. The association will consist of a central organization with local branches; it will not supplant but will extend the existing preventive and curative work sponsored by central and provincial public health authorities.

In India the response to the appeal has already been most encouraging, and we feel that an opportunity to assist should be given to all those in this country who have the interest of India at heart.



The High Commissioner is promoting an appeal through committees of the various societies connected with India. The object of this letter is to bring it to the notice of a wider public. Donations should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. R. R. Birrell, the manager of the Imperial Bank of India, whose address is 25, Old Broad Street, London, E.C. 2.

The High Commissioner for India has formed a Tuberculosis in India Appeal Committee, which includes representatives of a number of societies and organizations connected with India. At a meeting of the Council of the East India Association on February 8 the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, was appointed to represent the Association on the Committee, and it was agreed that a printed appeal for support to be issued by the Committee should be distributed to members of the Association in this country. The appeal and other information on the subject may be usefully supplemented by quotation from the last Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India (Colonel A. J. H. Russell), for it shows that modern conditions have had the effect of seriously increasing the incidence of tuberculosis, and to spread it from the large urban and industrial areas to the agricultural masses. Colonel Russell states:

The distribution and incidence of infectious diseases in India always present complex epidemiological problems because of the variations in the etiological factors which are to be met with in different parts of the country and in different groups of the population. In no instance is this more true than in the case of infection with the tubercle bacillus. Tuberculosis, particularly in its pulmonary form, has markedly increased during the last three decades, especially in the large urban and industrial areas. Only within recent years, however, has the infection begun to spread to the rural villages, this extension of infection being partly caused by the return of infected industrial workers, students, etc., to their ancestral homes and partly to the great development of rapid transport facilities. Some hold that the present degree of tuberculization of the people of India lies midway between that of the virgin African races and the highly urbanized and industrialized European peoples, but whatever may be the extent of infection in that part of the Indian population which lives in town and industrial areas, there seems little doubt that the reaction of the ordinary rural population to infection with the tubercle bacillus is such as is usually associated with primitive races.

In other words, once infection is introduced into the rural villages, it is almost certain to spread rapidly and to cause a heavy morbidity and mortality. This fact has recently been illustrated in striking degree. The Gurkhas who come from the remote state of Nepal show in comparison

with other men of the Indian army a much higher susceptibility to and mortality from tuberculosis. These gallant little soldiers, in other words, are from the tuberculization point of view members of a primitive race, and being completely non-immunized are unable to resist an infection which often proves rapidly fatal. This is to a large extent the position of the great mass of the rural populations of India at the present time, and as there are ominous signs that infection is spreading to and through these rural areas, the time has come when preventive campaigns should be extended to include these areas.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of exactitude morbidity and mortality rates of tuberculosis in rural areas, as few cases are ever seen by a medical officer, and registration lies in the hands of petty village officials who are not competent to arrive at the correct cause of death. The only possible method of making an estimate is to take a proportion of the deaths recorded under such headings as "fevers" and respiratory diseases. It has been variously calculated that from 10 to 20 per cent. of the former group and 20 per cent. of the latter are actually due to pulmonary tuberculosis, and, in some such unsatisfactory fashion, tentative figures may be prepared.

In respect of the rural population, little information of a more exact nature is available, although a few small surveys have been carried out during recent years in certain urban areas. Similar surveys for sample rural areas will have to be made before preventive campaigns in any province can be suitably planned. One example may be cited; it has been reported that the district of Darjeeling, which is mainly rural and is by no means industrialized, has a tuberculosis death rate second only to Calcutta city in the whole province of Bengal. If this be correct, the position is serious and demands immediate attention. But until verification has been made by careful survey and until similar sample surveys are made in every district it will be difficult to plan effective preventive work. Although in the ordinary village houses may be reasonably spaced out, overcrowding in individual houses often exists to a marked degree, while other factors, such as the joint family system, early marriage, the *purdah* system, etc., are common to both urban and rural population and tend to favour dissemination of infection once it is introduced within the household. Investigations have already shown that in 50 per cent. of the cases there is a history of contact with another case in the family, and, when a system of home visiting of patients is developed, a much higher percentage of contact cases will almost certainly be made evident.



## THE INDIA MUSEUM AT SOUTH KENSINGTON

THE Council of the East India Association, at the instance of the India Society, took up in the autumn the question of the future of the India Museum at South Kensington. At a meeting of the Council on October 19 last a letter was read from Sir Francis Younghusband, Chairman of the India Society, enclosing a copy of a letter he had addressed to Sir Findlater Stewart, the Under-Secretary of State for India, dated October 13, in which he stated :

I write to call your attention to what I believe to be the urgent need for taking steps to prevent the maturing and acceptance of proposals which would imperil the future of the India Museum at South Kensington.

You will recall that in my letter of May 6 I emphasized the importance not only of maintaining the Museum, but of making considerable additions thereto, and if possible enlarging the existing accommodation, or providing room for it elsewhere.

You are aware that the collections originally brought together by the East India Company were in some measure dispersed soon after the building of the India Office, and that that was an action which has never ceased to be deplored by students of Indian culture. But there has remained in the India Museum a substantial nucleus for the study under one roof of various manifestations of Indian civilization at the heart of the Empire.

There are now definite indications that the future of the Museum is not secure. We would point out that apart from a small and unrepresentative collection in the department of ethnography at the British Museum, the India Museum is the sole repository of Indian culture in the centre of the Empire. Its value is twofold : firstly, as an educational centre, and, secondly, as a sign of the esteem which Indian culture has won for itself in the West.

Educationally it must play an important part in the proper training of I.C.S. probationers and Indian Army cadets. It would also be made great use of by commercial firms in the training of their employees, for in future our commerce with India will rest increasingly on understanding and goodwill. With no India Museum in London, this education for understanding and goodwill would be impossible. We understand, furthermore, that the teaching now to be given in Indian architecture and art at London University would also necessarily cease for want of a centre.

Pressure of space and want of funds no doubt present a difficult problem, but we are convinced that with some necessary improvements the present building could be made to serve until better times.

Some thirty years ago a proposal of a similar kind as at present for dispersal of the collection was made. It had the strenuous opposition of men

of scientific and artistic distinction under the leadership of the late Lord Curzon, and fortunately the plan was not proceeded with. It is now being revived at a time when the opportunities of the Indian Museum for educational purposes and cultural studies have entered upon a new era of usefulness. I need not trouble you at this stage with details, but the India Society could, if desired, place before you impressive facts on this head.

The growth of Nationalist opinion in India is accompanied by an ardent pride in her ancient culture, and it is certain that any plan which would have the effect of lessening the opportunities provided in the metropolis of the Empire for the study of that culture would have the effect of being much resented. I can write with recent personal experience, for when I was in India last spring I had constant evidence of Indian gratification at the signs of a revival in this country of appreciation of that culture. I was also impressed with evidence of present-day revival of culture in India.

In these circumstances I write as Chairman of the India Society to make an earnest appeal for the matter to be investigated fully, and for the India Office to make such representation to the Board of Education, the British Museum, and other authorities concerned as may be necessary, and for the matter to be regarded as one of urgency.

The Council of the Association, on considering the foregoing communication, instructed the Hon. Secretary to write to the Under-Secretary of State for India supporting the representation made by the India Society. In the course of his letter, dated October 26, he wrote:

The East India Association can approach this matter on more general grounds than those of the India Society, which is concerned only with the encouragement and appreciation of Indian art and culture. In the past seventy years it has been the aim of the East India Association to promote good understanding between India and England, and it is on that ground that my Council would view with the deepest regret any step that might further reduce the far from adequate facilities for the study of Indian culture in London. The maintenance in the metropolis of a museum in which India can be studied comprehensively both ethnographically and culturally, and light can be thrown on her historical development and present importance, is held by us to be a continuing necessity. It is the concern not of the artist or the scholar alone, but of all who value the British and Indian partnership, that there should exist in London an institution where British and Indian subjects of the Crown may have before them material for the study of India's past, with a view to assisting her development in the future. The existing India Museum at South Kensington, together with the India Section at the Imperial Institute, may not completely fulfil this great aim, but clearly the collection provides an invaluable nucleus for a still more comprehensive museum devoted exclusively to India and Burma. The closing down of the India Museum, and/or the dispersal of the bulk of its collections, would be



a most retrograde step, deplored by the students of her culture and strongly resented by the best Indian opinion.

For these reasons the Council associate themselves most heartily with the request preferred by the India Society that steps should be taken to prevent any action inimical to the India Museum and its development. Since many of the objects maintained there were originally the property of the East India Company and were vested in the Secretary of State for India after the passing of the Act of 1858, it is respectfully suggested that consideration should be given to the legal rights in this matter of the Secretary of State for India and/or the High Commissioner for India, with a view to giving added weight to the representations which the India Office may make in the appropriate quarters on the subject.

The foregoing letter was acknowledged by the Under-Secretary of State on October 22, with an intimation that the relevant Department (the Board of Education) was being consulted. Meanwhile the Association sought and obtained the support of the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the School of Oriental Studies, and they each made representations on similar lines from their respective points of view.

A suggestion that matters might be placed before the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education was answered to the effect that the future of the Indian collections was receiving only very tentative consideration as part of the larger problem of the future development of the various institutions and museums in South Kensington. It was added that the Board would bear in mind the views held by the Council, and would certainly give them an opportunity of stating these views before coming to any final decision affecting the Indian collections. An inter-departmental Committee was appointed, at the instance of Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, and as a result of full investigations of the subject a decision guaranteeing the future integrity of the Museum was reached. The societies which had made representations each received a letter from Sir Findlater Stewart, Under-Secretary of State for India, dated January 4, and in the following terms:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Office of Works have planned the development of the Victoria and Albert Museum Quadrilateral in such a way as to give more museum space than they had originally thought possible, and have been able to find room for housing suitably the whole of the Indian Collections in the Quadrilateral.

In acknowledging with thanks on January 7 this intimation the Hon. Secretary wrote to Sir Findlater Stewart :

It will be a source of keen satisfaction to the President and the Council of the Association to know that the arrangements which are now to be made in connection with the reconstruction planned at South Kensington will provide adequate space for the India Museum to be maintained in its full integrity in the Quadrilateral. This satisfaction will be linked with gratitude to the Secretary of State for the representations the India Office has made with such good effect to the President of the Board of Education.

We may at a later date have occasion to draw attention to certain matters of important detail in connection with the rehousing of the Museum.

The Council of the Association concurred in a proposal to set up a Joint Committee of representatives of the various societies with a view to such concerted action as may be thought necessary. It has been formed with the title of the "Joint Committee on Indian Art and Culture" to examine the facilities existing in this country for the study of Indian art and culture, with special reference to the public collections of Indian objects, and to make suggestions and recommendations thereon to the proper quarters. At its first meeting, on January 21, the Committee was installed by Lord Amulree, Chairman of the Council of the Royal Society of Arts, and Sir Francis Younghusband, Chairman of the Council of the India Society, was elected to the Chair.

The representatives of the Association on the Joint Committee are Sir James MacKenna and Mr. F. J. P. Richter. The representatives of other societies are, in addition to Sir Francis Younghusband, Professor R. L. Turner (Director of the School of Oriental Studies), Mr. John de La Valette, Sir Harry Lindsay, Mr. F. H. Andrews, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, and Mr. H. S. L. Polak.



## THE WORKING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN INDIA

BY THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, C.H.

LORD MORLEY once said that one of the difficulties which confronted those in public life who had to speak publicly about India was that they had to keep time in two different hemispheres. Anybody who has had the advantage that I have just had of spending eight weeks travelling through the length and breadth of India, talking to members of all parties, of all the communities, to British Indians, and Princes and subjects of the Indian States, and then comes back here and finds that public opinion—rightly and inevitably—is almost wholly preoccupied with the international situation in Europe and the Far East, cannot fail to realize how difficult it is to say anything which will really mean the same thing in India on the one side and in Great Britain on the other.

The difficulty is increased when you realize my purpose in going to India. I had been to India three times before and had made a very large number of acquaintances among all communities in India, both while I was there and while I was a member of the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee. I went to India mainly to find out how the new Constitution was working and what were the prospects for federation. But while my primary task was to find out what Indian opinion and British official opinion felt about it, there were two other factors which had necessarily to be taken into account in arriving at a judgment. One was what may be called the facts, because public opinion in all countries tends at any particular moment to ignore facts which sooner or later it has got to take into account; and in the second place I had, so far as I was able, to remain faithful to what seemed to me the fundamentals of constitutional principle. Therefore, what I say today is the result of an attempt both to understand opinion in India, to keep a clear hold on

facts, and at the same time not to lose a grip on what seem to me the basic principles of constitutional government.

I am going to discuss the provincial autonomy, because that is the only part of the Indian Constitution which is now in operation. The Federation, which will come later on, is not yet in operation: and while there are strong opinions in India about the Federation, it is not yet in any way possible to speak about it from the standpoint of experience.

Provincial autonomy, which means the transfer of responsibility for the provincial sphere of government under the Constitution to Ministries responsible to legislatures, elected by more than 30 million voters in British India, must be discussed in two rather different groups. On the one hand you have the seven Provinces which are controlled by Congress Governments, on the other hand you have the four Provinces which are controlled by composite Governments, mainly supported by the Muslim parties and with Muslim Prime Ministers.

The problem of those two groups of Provinces is quite different. In the Congress Provinces you have got a large homogeneous majority in the legislature, and a coherent ministerial party, with a clear-cut programme, anxious to carry it out as fast as they possibly can, and therefore more likely to come into conflict with the special responsibilities which are vested in the Governor. In the case of the non-Congress Provinces you have as a rule Ministries which consist of the representatives of groups. For instance, in the Punjab, there is the main Muslim block, a Hindu block and a Sikh block. Therefore Government policy is limited or restrained by the necessity, which always faces the Ministry, of having to secure agreement among diverse elements in the legislature and within itself who are often not animated by at all the same views about the controversial matters which come before them for solution. In those Provinces there is not only much less likelihood of serious conflict with the Government, but the inherent difficulties in rapid and vehement progress in reform legislation are very much greater. That is why, while in all of the Provinces you find Ministries dealing with the same kind of problems, the vehemence of political controversy and action in



the Congress Provinces is very much greater, because there is an absolute majority with a clear-cut programme.

#### RURAL POLICY

The problems which on the whole the Provincial Governments are dealing with may be, I think, summarized under the following heads.

First of all, there is the universal attempt to lessen the grinding poverty of large sections of the village population. Though the rates differ in different parts of India, there is a large part of the agricultural labouring population in the villages which does not earn more than 2½d. or 3d. a day, and the women, when they go out to work in the fields, may not earn more than 1d. to 1½d. a day. When you consider that Indian prices tend now to be related to world prices, you can realize how low a standard of living this represents, how little above—if it is above at all—the minimum subsistence level it must be, at any rate in the case of people who have anything like large families. Now that democracy has begun, the desire by some means or other to raise the standard of living, to lift from the villages the crushing poverty which afflicts a considerable proportion of their inhabitants, has become perhaps the most dynamic motive which animates all the Provincial Governments.

One means of doing this is the attack on what is, perhaps, the most ancient problem in Indian agricultural life, the problem of indebtedness. A considerable proportion of the village population in all parts of India is born in debt, remains in debt during the whole of their lives, and dies in debt. The village money-lender is an indispensable element of the village community, because without him the villager could not finance his living throughout the whole year. But the debt evil is one of the most paralysing and poverty-creating factors which presses on village life from one end of India to the other. You will find in all the Provincial Legislatures bills under consideration, or in draft, or with select committees appointed to consider how the problem of debt is to be dealt with.

There is the perennial problem of land revenue, because Indian

villagers, like all other citizens all over the world, want to see taxation reduced to the absolute minimum. The revenue problem is specially difficult today, because the left wing of Congress has for years stimulated the hope in the village population that the advent of a Congress Government would mean not only a reduction or abolition of rent but a reduction in land revenue. In that respect Congress does not differ from most of the left wing parties in all countries in the world who have never held office. One of the most interesting examples I have ever seen of the inexorable operation of the principle of responsibility on Governments who take office was to go round part of the United Provinces with Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then President of Congress, and hear them say to meetings of peasants that if the Congress was to fulfil its programme of reforms the villagers must pay their lawfully assessed land revenue. This was an aspect of their speeches which was greeted with much less enthusiasm than certain other aspects. It just shows that the problems of government look quite different when you are responsible for the consequences and when you are in opposition.

In the zamindari, as opposed to the ryotwari districts, there is universal vehement discussion everywhere, in the first place as to whether the toll or rent taken by the zamindar or taluqdar can be reduced, and secondly as to whether the only solution of the landlord-tenant problem is not the abolition of the zamindari system altogether. I am a landlord myself, and so I have some knowledge of the landlord problem. There is one fundamental difference, speaking generally, between landlordism in India and in this country. Since the enclosures some two centuries ago in this country and the emergence of modern quasi-capitalist farming, the landowner produces two-thirds of the capital necessary for farming. He produces all the fixed capital, the houses, barns, walls, hedges, drainage and so on, and the tenant produces the movable capital, the beasts, the implements, seeds, furniture, and so on. But in India the landlord in by far the greater part of the areas in India owned by landlords supplies practically no fixed capital at all. The fixed capital in the land is very small in any case, except where there is Government irrigation. It is



simply the mud and wattle village houses; and such as it is, it is found by the tenant. The landlord in India, therefore, is in effect in the main a rent collector, and out of the rent he pays the land revenue. If you look at the history of Europe in the last fifty or sixty years, you will find that that system, which used to be widespread and is particularly unpopular where it has been accompanied by absentee landlordism, has been abolished in practically every country from Ireland in the West to Roumania and Poland in the East, either by tremendous compulsory reductions in the rents paid or the areas owned by landlords, or by the removal of the landlords altogether by some degree of purchase.

The *locus classicus* was land purchase in Ireland before the war, whereby the landlords were bought out on the credit of the British Government and the land was given to the tenants in effect in ownership, subject to their paying very moderate land annuities, which are now in suspense, for a period of forty or fifty years.

The possibility of solving the landlord problem in some such way—a matter of especial importance in Bengal and Bihar, where the permanent settlement exists—is being vehemently canvassed from one end of India to the other. Nowhere has any conclusion been reached in the sense of any legislation being ready to be put on the Statute Book, but in every Province I visited the newspapers were full of discussions on the subject.

#### PROHIBITION AND EDUCATION

Every one of the Congress Provinces has accepted the principle of prohibition. The basic policy is to save the villager from becoming habituated or involved in the drink habit. The practical problem is twofold. On the one hand, enforcement of prohibition is both difficult and expensive, because experience shows you have either to increase the police or create a special service in order to enforce prohibition according to one of the methods which the United States tried. On the other hand, successful prohibition would deprive the Provinces of one of their most important sources of revenue. The Congress Ministries in every part of India are now grappling with the problems which are

implicit in the decision, which is accepted by the whole Congress party, to put prohibition into force. In practice, I think, in every Congress Province an experiment is being made by bringing prohibition into operation in a single district or commissionership with a view to finding out how the thing can be made to work. In this case also you will find the newspapers in India filled with letters, speeches and discussions both as to the merits and demerits and as to the practicability of prohibition.

There is an apparent determination in all Provinces very largely to increase the provision for elementary education with the object of producing a literate India as soon as possible. Just before I reached India, Mr. Gandhi called a conference at Wardha and set up a Committee which reported while I was there, making proposals for universal education by the most rapid possible route. The basic idea underlying the Wardha scheme was that education in the West is much too literary in character; that it tends to make the individual discontented with his hereditary occupation; that it adds to the white-collared proletariat and makes for social discontent. The Committee therefore considered that elementary education in India ought to be education in handicraft, in the practical village industries in which the individual was likely to have to spend his life; and all the more so in a country where caste is still a strong factor, and people still tend to follow the crafts to which hereditarily they belong. The aspect of the report which produced the most controversy was the proposal that universal education should be self-supporting. That was recommended on the ground that elementary education could not be rapidly spread all over India if it had to depend on the Governments of the day finding the amount of money necessary for schools, for the payment of teachers, for school books and so on at the present time, and that therefore as far as possible the teachers must not only accept a very low remuneration, but that the students should themselves earn a certain amount by spinning cotton and in other ways, and the proceeds should go towards the cost of their own education. There was immense controversy about this proposal. When I was with Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan I heard the students and professors discuss it for several hours.



Another problem which engages the attention of all the Ministries is that of unemployment, especially among the student class. There are in India no less than 100,000 students in universities, which is just twice the number that are to be found in the universities of Great Britain. As the opportunities of employment in business and so on in India, despite its much larger size, are probably very considerably less than in this country, you can see what a problem it is to find employment for the 100,000 students who are regularly and steadily passing through the universities of India at this time. It is urgent not only from the point of view of the students themselves, but because, as all experience has shown, there is no field in which subversive or revolutionary propaganda, whether it comes from the right or from the left, finds a more ready and a more formidable response than among unemployed students. Youth, and especially unemployed youth, has an infinite capacity for responding to idealist appeals, and it is ready, far more ready than middle-aged people like myself, to sacrifice itself for the sake of a cause. But what it lacks is the discretion which comes from experience of life and understanding of the probable consequences of the propaganda to which they may yield their assent. If you will look over the world today, and if you agree that the biggest single disaster that has occurred has been the overthrow of free institutions and their suppression by absolute dictatorships, whether they are Communist or Fascist dictatorships, I think you will agree that the agency which has been used to create these one-party dictatorships has been youth responding to the appeals, dramatic and full of mass suggestion, of dynamic individuals who have swept aside the wisdom and tradition enshrined in the older sections of the population and have created dictatorships dedicated to remaking man and society on a new and, as most people in this country will think, a less wise and desirable pattern. Therefore the problem of finding employment for youth in India is a very serious one, and is so regarded, so far as I can make out, by nearly all the Provincial Governments.

#### DEMANDS OF THE ELECTORATE

One great and healthy change which you find everywhere you go is that India today is no longer almost wholly preoccupied, as it has been for the preceding eight years, with the Britain *versus* India question. Not that India is not deeply concerned with the problem of Federation, which of course raises that issue; but she is also zealously discussing the ways and means of remedying the grievances, real or fancied, and of fulfilling the aspirations which well up from the mass of the people. The older Government of India, the bureaucratic Government of India, was concerned with administration, with slowly reforming patent and ascertainable evils dealing with debt, with railways and irrigation, with law and order. It was almost certainly unduly cautious and conservative, especially in economic matters. At any rate, in the eyes of my Indian friends of the Congress persuasion, those would have been the adjectives which they would have applied to the old bureaucratic Government. Today you have the natural result of democratic institutions, which is a vehement and formidable welling up from the electorate of the demand that the poverty and the evils from which they have suffered in the past, and of which they have only recently begun to think might be remediable by their own action, should be removed; that reforms should be brought into being which will give them a higher standard of living and increase their liberty. The consequence has been that in most of the Provinces, the new Governments, as far as I could judge, were attempting to compress into a very short space of time a programme of reform which in the ordinary course of events would have taken years. That is inevitable: it is a testimony to goodness of heart. But the result was that most of the Ministries seemed to me to be heavily overworked. The Prime Ministers certainly were overworked, and the senior Civil Servants, who had to draft the bills and bring home to the Ministers the practical consequences of the ideas they wanted to carry into effect, were certainly overworked also. The situation reminded me of what happened to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on Labour coming into office, when he thought nothing of taking on



the Prime Ministership and the Foreign Secretaryship, with the result that in eighteen months he was completely worn out. That is the position of a good many of the Congress Governments. Their zeal for reform is ahead of their capacity to get it through the legislature or even to formulate it in practical legislative form.

#### MINISTERS AND THE SERVICES

I do not think anybody can go through India today without being impressed by the good relations between the Civil Service and the Ministers. There have been difficulties, of course. But when you consider that Congress has been a non-violent revolutionary conspiracy for nearly eighteen years, when you consider that the Civil Service, acting under the instructions of the Governors and Viceroys, have put in gaol no less than 100,000 people for deliberate breaches of the law prompted by the desire for immediate self-government, and when you find these two sets of people working together in harmony, not by any means always agreed, but disagreeing with good temper and working together, it constitutes, in my view, an astonishing testimony to the good sense and goodwill of both sides. I think it is the most hopeful single augury for the future.

It is becoming true, I think, in India as it has become true in every other Dominion of the British Commonwealth, that the Ministers, once they come into office, become the best friends of the Civil Service, for the reason that they find that the only way in which they can carry out their reforms is through the agency and with the help of the Civil Service itself, and that they get loyal help from the Service in unstinted degree. One very distinguished Civil Servant said something which I thought was very revealing. He said, "There are some great advantages about this new system from my point of view. In the old days, I used to go home at night, worried and anxious as to the practical consequences of some of the orders I had passed during the day. The responsibility was really on my shoulders, and very often those orders were passed in very difficult political circumstances. Today my responsibility is still great. My responsibility

is to the best of my ability to inform my Ministers of what I believe may be the consequences of their proposed action: to give them all the facts and the best advice I can give; but having done that I can go home to sleep, while the responsibility for final decision is theirs, and they are going to spend the sleepless nights thinking what the consequences of their policy will be!" That, of course, is the secret of the system of responsible government, which has worked such miracles from one end of the British Commonwealth to the other, and which I believe is going to work miracles in India also.

### THE LEFT WING

One of the most difficult problems which confronts the Provincial Ministries has been what I may broadly speaking call the left wing—*i.e.*, that section of Congress which is either genuinely Marxist or is vehemently and revolutionarily Nationalist. For fifteen or eighteen years Congress has been engaged in stimulating the mass feeling of the villages and the towns, has been rousing revolutionary feeling with a view of generating the power with which they could gradually or rapidly, as the case might be, take over power from the hands of the British Raj. And now, when the Ministries have taken office against the will of the left wing, the left wing says perfectly frankly, "What are these Ministries doing? They are keeping law and order for the benefit of British and Indian capitalists. That is what they are doing, and at the same time, because they are responsible for law and order, they are driven to prevent us from continuing the very activities which we have been carrying on for years and which we believe are necessary for the attainment of our revolutionary ends."

Every Congress Minister has been up against this problem of their followers on the left, who have been bitterly disappointed and indignant when Congress Governments began to invoke against them the very section of the Penal Code which they had denounced unceasingly as tyrannous and barbarous during the last fifteen years. I believe the most unpopular section is 124A. In the early days of the Congress Governments, especially in the United Provinces—the Province which has been most difficult to



govern, where the revolutionary forces were most formidable—there were serious difficulties because some of the enthusiastic young members of Congress used to feel that they were really the Government of the Province and began interfering with land cases and the police and justice. This made very great difficulties for the Civil Service, but even greater difficulties for their own Ministries. But throughout the whole of India there has been a steady increase in the determination of the Provincial Governments to establish their own authority and prevent irresponsible action, and while I was in India, the Working Committee met at Bombay and passed a resolution which, almost without qualification, supported the Provincial Governments in their duty to maintain order, and expressed the strong opinion that subversive activities were inconsistent with the Congress creed of non-violence and with Congress acceptance of Provincial office.

In all the Provinces there is the keen determination both of the leaders and of public opinion to use the Provincial Autonomy Constitution for all it is worth to bring into operation reforms, to some of which I have referred. In the Congress Provinces there is also the determination to prove to public opinion in India and elsewhere that Congress is not a mere revolutionary conspiracy, but a body capable of maintaining good government in India. If they can do this they are obviously going to be in a far stronger position when they have to deal with the issues which will arise when the question of Federation comes to the front.

So far as British India is concerned, there are in effect only two main parties. One is the Congress Party, which governs seven Provinces out of eleven: the other is the Muslim League. The Congress Party contains within its ranks an extraordinary diversity of opinion. You have got the extreme Marxist left, which is convinced that capitalism has reached its final crisis, that it cannot solve the contradictions latent within itself, that the world will proceed from one revolution to another, from one war to another, until the day when the proletariat will awake to the fact that there can be no order, prosperity or freedom in the world except by establishing by revolutionary violence the Communist system

as inaugurated in Russia—though not necessarily in the Stalinite way. You have a strong body of opinion in the towns with young Brahmin and Muslim supporters which holds that view and looks forward to the day when, as a result of explosions which will begin in the outside world, India will establish her complete independence and start life afresh as a Socialist State. You have also within Congress very powerful capitalist elements of the traditional kind—millowners, Bombay and Calcutta financiers, landowners—the elements which in the past have financed its operations very largely, and which are bitterly opposed to the Marxist creed.

#### MR. GANDHI'S INFLUENCE AND IDEALS

But you have as the still dominant force, as dominant I should say as ever, the point of view represented by Mahatma Gandhi and his friends. You cannot imagine anything more remote than Mr. Gandhi's ideals, at any rate for village India, than those of the Communist or extreme Marxist. Today Mr. Gandhi's main interest, as far as one can judge, is in saving the villages of India from becoming geared into Western industrial civilization in such a way as to mean the decanting of perhaps one hundred millions out of the three hundred millions in the villages of India into the most terrible slums in the world, in Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore and other industrial cities, and in setting them on a different road.

His ideal is something entirely different both from socialism and capitalism. His view is that Western civilization has gone astray, not in inventing machinery or discovering natural science, but in falling in love with the results. Because we now have machines which enable us to multiply things and transform indefinitely the material surroundings of our life, Western civilization is now obsessed mainly by the urge to get more and more and more possessions. That surrender to the desire for more and more things—more food, more clothes, more houses, more motor-cars, more movies, more news, more speed—as all the greatest religious teachers have always said, does not bring salvation or happiness. It makes rather for greed and estrangement between



individuals, between classes and between nations. Gandhi considers that the plight of the West is fundamentally due to that surrender; that fundamentally socialism does not differ from capitalism, because while socialism proposes to produce and distribute collectively, which may have some advantages, it also is dominated by the desire to have more things, while the only way in which socialism in practice can be carried into effect almost inevitably involves a suppression of human individuality and human initiative, without which any true, free society is impossible.

Therefore he puts before India as the basis of its future life, at any rate so far as the villages are concerned, the ideal of the deliberately simple life, the simple life in which all sorts of pleasures begin to appear which pass out of view when you are chasing speed and time as fast as you can, and which once it is re-established will make it possible for religion—to which Western people give less and less time—for acquaintance with the infinite to come back into our lives. He founds his hopes for India on a reformed village.

His method is on the one hand to break down untouchability in the village, for there can be no real community unless the children can play together; to introduce sanitation, maternity welfare, pure water and so on; to base education on the crafts rather than on literature, though reading, writing and arithmetic would be a part of it; to improve the technique of agriculture so as to increase the productivity of the village, which today is very low; and so raise the standard of living to the necessary minimum for the simple life. Finally, he would introduce village handicraft industries, first and foremost spinning of cotton cloth; secondly, sugar-making from palm toddy; thirdly, the transformation of all dead animals into leather or bones and so on; fourthly, paper-making; and fifthly, other industries so that the village not only will be a homogeneous community but will be self-supporting and so cease to be dependent on the great factory industries for the essentials of its own living. His dream is that the Indian village will resist that creed of more and more and more which has captured the West; that he will be able to save the three

hundred millions of its inhabitants from industrialization and turn them instead into happy, contented, simple-minded people, and so preserve the traditional culture of India in a purified form, an oasis of happiness in a world maddened by machinery and speed.

You can see how difficult it is going to be to get unity of policy between what you might call Mr. Gandhi's policy, at any rate for village India, and the view of a man like Jawaharlal Nehru—who thinks the standard of living can only be increased by grouping the villages into great collective farms on the Russian model, and by covering India with gigantic factories and gigantic modern housing schemes—to say nothing of the ordinary capitalist's view. Thus the differences in policy which are latent in Congress are extremely wide. But in my view there is no likelihood of anything like a split in Congress unless two things happen. As long as Mr. Gandhi is alive, he will tend to rule and unite it. I do not think there is any real diminution of his authority or influence in India. The other thing which keeps Congress united is the fact that the movement for Swaraj has only got half-way. Provincial autonomy only gives to the representatives of the Indian people control over the provincial sphere of powers. There is still the whole set of powers involved in the Central Government of India—finance, the tariff, foreign policy, defence—the relationship, if you like, with the Indian States. The responsibility for all these matters is still in the hands of Great Britain, and that responsibility Congress wants transferred to Indian shoulders. One of Congress's principal difficulties is that while with one hand it is maintaining order in the provincial sphere, it is inevitably having to keep alive the nationalist agitation with the other hand, with a view to its eventual march on the centre, if and when Federation comes into being.

#### THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The second great political party in British India is the Muslim League. This organization is the only other All-India party. The Sikhs only operate in the Punjab, and the other minorities represented in the legislatures can wield little real political power.



The Muslims, I found, were profoundly disturbed from one end of India to the other. Though under the new Constitution they were given in effect control of four Provinces and had separate electorates and had weightage in the other Provinces, the advent of Congress to power in most of British India made them feel for the first time what it was to be a minority in Provinces in which political responsibility had passed out of the hands of Great Britain into that of the Hindu majority. They had become acutely aware of the rising tide of Hindu rule, and that produced a consolidation of political opinion and the political organization in India. There used to be two main Muslim parties. They are now united in the Muslim League under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. I can give you one minor illustration of the way in which communal feeling has recently revived. When I was at Allahabad—which is perhaps the central home of Congress Nationalism at present, or at any rate last year, so long as the then President of the Congress, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, lived there—I asked Mr. Nehru whether I could go out and see a Congress meeting in the villages. He very courteously said, "Of course"; and in due time I went out in a car with Mrs. Naidu, with Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Ministers in cars ahead. We had not gone more than a few miles out of Allahabad when we found the road was blocked by a Muslim demonstration carrying dark green flags, and on those flags were slogans decrying Congress and upholding the Muslim League. The leaders of the Congress Party tumbled out of their cars and had long conversations—I thought very friendly on both sides—with the leaders of the Muslim delegation. Mrs. Naidu, who is nothing if she is not a conversationalist, conducted a conversation with at least ten people at the same time through the windows of my car, also extremely friendly. After a time the thing ended, and we went along to our meeting, where I heard Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while expounding to some extent the evils of British Imperialism, also ending all their speeches by saying, "Mind you pay your rent." That shows that the Muslims are by no means extinct as a political party.

Today communal feeling in the political sense of the word—

though possibly not in the old temple music and cow-killing sense—is probably as strong as it has been for many years in India, though there are conversations going on as to the possibility of an agreement between the Muslim League and Congress. The Muslim League have also accepted nationalism sufficiently to put a qualified independence for India in the forefront of their programme. Meanwhile, the Muslim League is strongly united and organizing itself to fight its political opponents on every practical front.

#### THE PARTY SYSTEM

There is one other aspect of provincial autonomy which kept presenting itself to my mind. It is an axiom with us that democratic institutions will only work if you have at least two parties. My own view is that they work far better under a two-party system than any other. The great argument for democracy is that it enables the people, when they are tired of a government, to change it without a revolution, and the easiest way to change it is if there is an alternative government to put into power. To-day that situation does not exist, as far as one can see, in any Province in India. In the non-Congress Provinces communal organization and separate electorates make it difficult for the Parliamentary system to function, because the electorate is divided into groups which elect their own communal members. In the case of the Congress Provinces there is no effective opposition to the Congress party itself, and Congress has often been very intolerant of political opposition. The only place where there was any possibility of an opposition Government appearing seemed to me to be in Madras, where the Justice party, which ruled the Provinces for some years and were very badly defeated in the last election, seemed to have hopes of a recovery when the Congress had made itself sufficiently unpopular, but not immediately. The reason for this absence of an opposition is that the British issue is still the dominant issue in the country; that really is the issue as to whether Federation is to be put into force or not, and if so, on what conditions. Until that issue is out of the way the normal alignment of parties based on economic differences will not appear.



The only other point is about the political prisoners. One of the oldest controversies in the British Commonwealth is the degree to which in the early stages of self-government full responsibility should be transferred to Ministries and the degree to which the Governor should exercise over them a veto or controlling force. If you look at the history of Cape Colony or Australia, you will find equivalent disputes of this kind going very far back, and I think the "crisis" which has just arisen has cleared the air and been of benefit to everybody. It has made it clear that the primary responsibility for law and order must rest with the responsible Ministers; that is the key to the whole business. But it has also made it clear that the responsible Ministry must discuss with the Governor each individual case. My own view is that the right course is that in doubtful cases the Governor should leave the responsibility with his Ministers, but warn them of what he believes to be the consequences of their action. If he then finds that he is right and they are wrong, he then is in a position to invoke his special responsibility with a reasonable chance of getting the support of public opinion. I think that it is the lesser evil to run the risks involved in that course than to do anything which will undermine the responsibility of Ministers themselves. Further, I believe that in the future more and more the question of whether or not a Governor can use his special responsibilities will depend on whether his exercise of them commends itself to dispassionate and independent public opinion in the community itself.

Therefore I think that the recent controversy has been useful, just as the discussion as to the meaning of responsible government which preceded the advent of Congress Ministers was useful. I shall be surprised if any new serious problem arises between the Ministries and the Governors until the much more difficult problem of Federation has come to the foreground of discussion.

I do not discuss Federation, partly because that aspect of the Constitution is not yet in force, and partly because I have written on the subject in *The Times*, and there is no time to discuss it now.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING LECTURE

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 8, 1938, when a lecture was given by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian, C.H., on "Impressions of the Working of the Constitution in India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair, and there was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN said: I will preface my brief remarks by making mention of the death of one of our distinguished Vice-Presidents, Sir Harcourt Butler. He had been for a quarter of a century a member of the Association, and was made a Vice-President on his retirement from the Indian Administration. It is exactly two months ago today that he presided at a meeting of the Association, held in honour of Sir John Anderson, who had just returned from Bengal; and now today many of us were present at the memorial service in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

This afternoon we have to welcome here Lord Lothian, who both as Mr. Philip Kerr and Lord Lothian is well known to the general public of this country as having great experience in political life. He requires no words of commendation from my lips. As regards India, he was a member of the Round-Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee, and he was Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee that had to plan a vast increase of the electorate in India.

Having done all this work, he recently made a tour in India to see the political developments and what changes had been effected under the reforms. The visit was much more than one of enquiry; it was in effect a mission of goodwill, and he exercised his influence in the cause of ordered British and Indian co-operation in the great work of raising India to Dominion status on democratic lines and building up her nationality. For this purpose Lord Lothian got in touch with the different leaders of political thought, and he not only visited Government Houses and the palaces of Princes, but he also shared the homely life of Mr. Gandhi in his village home near Wardha. He has come back well equipped with knowledge of what is taking place now in India in the political sphere.

I might say that he is coming to us as a *rapporteur*, and therefore he will probably speak at greater length than is usual. I mention this to save disappointment, because there are many here who would like to take part in a subsequent discussion, but as the meeting must be finished at six o'clock, it may be desirable for the subsequent proceedings to take the form of questions to Lord Lothian.

With those words I beg to call upon Lord Lothian to address us, and to thank him very much indeed for having permitted the Association to arrange for his first public talk on India since his return from that country.

(The lecture was then delivered.)



Mr. LALKAKA: I would like to ask Lord Lothian whether he noticed in the seven Provinces where Congress Ministries were in office that the fundamental basis of democratic government was in imminent danger of being destroyed by an outside, dictatorial coterie—namely, the All-India Congress Committee—constantly attempting to impose its will on those Ministries, and the Ministers themselves showing willingness to submit to its dictation.

Lord LOTHIAN: I think the answer is this. I did not see any evidence of the All-India Congress Working Committee interfering in the responsibility of the Ministries within the strictly provincial spheres. On the other hand, Congress, like the Muslim League, is an All-India movement. It is quite obvious that if and when the Federation comes into being, it will be the Working Committee, or some of its main members, and the members of the Central Executive of the Muslim League, who will presumably be the Ministers at the centre.

Therefore you have today the unnatural, temporary situation, in which two nation-wide movements are only functioning, so far as responsibility is concerned, in the provincial sphere. If you look at Canada, Australia, or the United States, you will find that the political parties which fight provincial or state elections on the one hand, and all-American or all-Canadian elections on the other, are the same parties.

In India the All-India Congress Working Committee is dealing with the All-India aspect of Congress politics, and so far as I can make out is not interfering with the responsibility of the Ministers, so far as their constitutional responsibility for Provincial Autonomy is concerned, though it discusses general policy with them. They are two separate things. And I think you will find, if you look at the proceedings of the Muslim League at Lucknow, that they also took views about All-India politics.

Mr. JAYA DEVA: It seems to me that no policy or event can be judged in a sort of abstract way; it has to be judged in the light of the concrete situation. So though the Congress, when they were in opposition, asked the peasants not to pay rent, or when in the Legislative Assembly they voted against any defence expenditure, it is perfectly legitimate, it seems to me, that when they come into power Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should ask the peasants to pay rent, or Congress members should approve of strengthening the defence force of India. There is nothing inconsistent in that.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to ask one question. When Federation is accomplished, do you think there will be conflict between the Provincial Governments and the Central Government?

Lord LOTHIAN: The President has asked, if and when the Federation comes into being—I put the “if” in—there would be any conflict between the Provinces and the Central Government.

I do not see any reason why there should be more conflict in India than

there is in other Federations, for the reason that under the Constitution there is an entirely separate set of powers which is discharged by the Provincial Governments on the one side and the Central Government on the other. There is a small group of powers in which both can legislate, and where, if there is a dispute as to which has a prior right, it is either settled by the Supreme Court or by the decision of the Viceroy. But the Provincial Government cannot trench upon the sphere of the Federal Government or *vice versa*. Therefore there is no likelihood of conflict.

Of course, there may be situations like that which arose in the case of the United States over slavery in the Southern States. You can imagine situations in which the policy pursued by certain Provinces may have effects outside their own boundaries—for instance, in communal matters—or may even seriously affect the interests of the Federal Government, in which event some conflict of view might arise between the Provincial Governments and the Centre.

But there are constitutional means of dealing with that situation, and I have never met anybody who thought, if Federation comes into force, that conflicts between the Provinces and the Centre were likely to present a serious difficulty, except that the Provinces would always want more money than the Centre can provide them with.

SIR MALCOLM SETON: I was very much interested in what Lord Lothian said about the new relations between the Civil Service and the Ministers. The Indian Civil Servant seems to be, to some extent, coming to the position of the Home Civil Servant. Instead of having himself to decide on questions of policy, he must advise his Minister, stating his own views frankly. If the Minister does not accept that advice, the Civil Servant has discharged his duty and has no further personal responsibility for the action that is taken. But Lord Lothian's testimony as to the good relations between the Ministers and the higher members of the Services is very gratifying.

However, what has been worrying some of us is the position of the minor district officials, like the lower ranks of the police. Can Lord Lothian tell us whether the village local administration is finding itself again, and the police performing their functions without molestation? That is a point of supreme importance as regards law and order.

LORD LOTHIAN: It is very difficult for me, who had to scurry round India, to have any real evidence on points of that kind. One heard criticisms from both sides. But the impression I got very definitely was that the authority of the Ministry over the administration was consolidating; and that they were resisting more and more interference by unauthorized followers. The fear that had been frequently expressed in the past, that Congress might attempt to break down the administrative structure of India, has proved unfounded. There seemed to be no evidence whatever that that was going on.

In certain Provinces the problem of dealing with the extremest Congressmen was much more acute than in others: but I think what a leading member of the Working Committee said to me is true: "You may take it from me that the primary object of Congress is to prove that they can make



an efficient government of the Provinces. We have to prove that, because we shall be immeasurably stronger for dealing with the problem of Federation in the future if we have done so."

Sir RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR: I should like to take the opportunity of expressing the indebtedness of many of us for the very sympathetic and able manner in which Lord Lothian has surveyed the Indian situation. The masterly survey we have had from him this afternoon is only another illustration of the range of his analytical mind. I remember the previous time Lord Lothian visited India as Chairman of the Franchise Committee, I was in his company going from Province to Province. The rallying cry for the other side was, "Lothian go back!"

With almost everything he has said tonight I am in entire agreement. There is one small point, however, on which I should like to express a certain amount of diffidence. I refer to that point, because not only has he emphasized it tonight, but in the course of his recent letters to *The Times* he laid stress on it. It is a very important point relating to the differences that may possibly arise between Ministries and Governments. Lord Lothian said that if at any time it is necessary for Governors to interfere, it must be under circumstances where the population, which is unprejudiced, which is impartial, will realize that the Governor is right and the Ministers wrong. I entirely agree with that, but I think there is a situation where that may not always be possible. I wish to suggest that there may be occasions when, if a Governor were to overrule his Ministers, it may be possible that, while impartial opinion is really on the side of the Governor, it may not express itself for obvious reasons.

I can understand situations where the Governor has been forced to intervene, where a large body of intellectual and intelligent opinion feels the Governor is right, but in the circumstances, owing to the environment already created, it may not be possible for any section of the community to come forward and express its views quite clearly on the side of the Governor. Therefore I suggest that the broad proposition that the test of Governor's interference is whether public opinion is on his side has a necessary corollary that on certain occasions (dependent perhaps on the very nature of the issue) it may not be possible for a Governor to find that his action—justified as it is by all the canons of fair play and justice—commands the explicit support of any section of the population. I just wish to enter that caveat.

Lord LOTHIAN: I agree with the qualification Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar has made. One of the difficulties in India is that, for the reasons I gave, in so many Provinces there is really only one party. You will not get the healthy working of democracy until you get at least two parties, because the inevitable consequence of a single party is that that party, whatever it may be, tends to be intolerant and to make it difficult for those who hold contrary opinions to express them freely. That is inherent in the one-party system, as we see clearly in many parts of Europe today. Once the Federal issue is settled, I believe you will get the beginnings of genuine political reform in India, provided the international situation does not upset everything.

Sir MALCOLM SETON : It gives me very great pleasure to move a vote of thanks to my old friend, Lord Lothian, for the exceedingly interesting talk he has given us. We want intensely to know what he thinks about Federation; but we thank him for the very great value and interest of what he has told us of the impressions he has formed during his tour of the autonomous Provinces. We are really grateful to him for coming here and giving us so full and frank an explanation of what he has seen. He has devoted years of study to India, and I feel sure that we have all learned a great deal from his address.

Also I should like to ask you to thank our President, Lord Lamington, for so kindly coming and taking the Chair on this occasion. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN : I thank you for having included me in the vote of thanks. I am proud to be here on this notable occasion. One satisfactory thing was Lord Lothian's reference to the good relations which exist between the Governors and the Civil Service. It means that they have now learnt to regard one another with respect and good feeling.



# THE HINDU ALMANAC

BY W. E. VAN WIJK

(Director of the Municipal Museum of Education at The Hague.)

MANY years ago I applied at the office of the library in the British Museum for an entrance card. The gentleman at the desk asked me which subject I wished to go in for. "Hindu chronology," I said. "Good gracious," he replied. And he gave me the ticket.

Ever since I have often had occasion to remember his exclamation; indeed, it proved to be a complicated matter. To the European mind time is materialized in money and the calendar reduced to a simple table of dates—for the Hindus the course of life has remained a reflection of the course of time eternal. In all their actions the calendar regulates their conduct.

The first and incomplete information about a specific Hindu calendar-reckoning dates from 1738, and is due to a Danish missionary, Christopher Walther; it was published, with some mathematical remarks of the great Leonard Euler, as an appendix to a work of Baverus. But it took nearly a century for the scientific world to have a work at its disposal giving first-hand information, collected and published by a man deeply conscious of the importance of chronological study for the understanding of civilization. I refer to "*Kala Sankalita* (being) *A Collection of Memoirs on the various Modes according to which the Nations of the Southern Parts of India divide Time. . . .* By Lieutenant-Colonel John Warren Madras: Printed at the College Press, 1825." The Dictionary of National Biography does not mention this servant of the Company, nor could I find elsewhere any biographical notice about this unassertive student. The following particulars are gathered from the preface of the book itself and from information which I received through the Honorary Secretary of the India Society.

It appears from information supplied by the Public Record Office that the author became an Ensign in the 33rd Regiment of Foot July 29, 1798, was appointed Lieutenant March 9, 1799, and Captain July 3, 1806, in which rank he was transferred to the 56th Foot on December 26, 1811. In the army list of 1819 he is noted as having retired; there is, however, no evidence of his having gone on retired full or half pay, whilst he is called Lieutenant-Colonel on the title-page of his book and even Colonel in the Madras Public Proceedings, Fort St. George, February 25, 1825.

Here we find quoted a letter (No. 23) from the Secretary to the Board of Superintendence for the College, directed to the Chief

Secretary to Government, submitting "proposals relative to Warren's work on the Hindu and Muhammadan methods of computing time." This letter is a highly interesting document; it informs us that the then acting Board was fully conscious of the scientific value of the undertaking, that they expected little appreciation from the Court of Directors—warning the Chief Secretary from a previous reference of their intention to have the book printed—and that they considered Warren as a man of laborious application and talent. We gather also from the same letter that John Warren devoted more than ten years to the work,\* that he was in constant communication with Adysashya Sastry, the Hindu astronomer of the College; that Warren received 500 pagodas for the copyright ("a very trifling compensation for the intense labour and research which it has cost the learned author") and another 100 pagodas for expenses in travelling between Madras and Pondicherry, and finally that only 250 copies of the book were struck off at the press, of which "150 were delivered to Colonel Warren to be at his disposal."

This last detail explains the extreme scarcity of available copies now.

In Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Waugh's Report on the Progress . . . of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, No. 219, of 1851) we find further about Warren the notice: "Belonged to the ancient noblesse of France,† to which country he returned after the peace . . ."

This is practically all I could find about the founder of these studies; I hope that these lines will catch the eye of a reader who can add new material to our knowledge of the history of his life. The principal sources of information about the astronomical conceptions and numerical data of the Hindus are the *Siddhantas*, Sanskrit works in verse of great antiquity. Of the oldest of these, in any case of the most important, a fine translation with excellent notes has been published by the American Oriental Society already as early as 1860; the translation is the work of a missionary, Ebenezer Burgess, the chief commentator Professor Whitney.

This siddhanta, called the *Surya Siddhanta*, professing itself to be revelation of the supreme being, the Sun, and therefore held in high esteem, claims for itself an immense age, but it contains many reminiscences of Greek astronomical science, even in its vocabulary, which do not allow of placing its origin before the first centuries of our era. In its present form it is commonly accepted to date from about the year A.D. 1000.

\* General Mackenzie in vol. 58, p. 3 of his MSS: "Capt. John Warren forwards a calendar for 1810 with his improvements."

† Markham's *Memoir on the Indian Survey*, 2nd ed. 1878: "This officer was descended from a noble French family, by the mother's side."



The appearance of this great study gave a new impulse to the study of Hindu astronomy, which till that time still depended on the researches of Bentley, whose work, however valuable, shows too many lacunas, the author disposing of an insufficient amount of data. Within the following thirty years there appeared the studies of Biot, Sachau's translation of Albêrûnî's *India*, an edition of the *Panchasiddhantika* of *Varaha Mihira*, by Thibaut and M. S. Dividi, to mention only the most important. The Indian calendar was expounded by Hermann Jacobi of Bonn in two important treatises in the first two volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, ed. Hultzsch (1892 and 1893).

The articles of Jacobi, printed in large folio and accompanied by a bewildering amount of numerical tables, are extremely difficult to read; particularly the second goes far beyond the limits of what may be expected of the mathematical interest of lawyers or philologists, who occasionally get to deal with calendaric questions.

At present our chief sources of information about the Hindu calendar are the works of Robert Sewell (partly in collaboration with S. B. Dikshit) and D. B. Swamikannu Pillai. The compilation of their works has involved a tremendous amount of labour. Studying these books as a chronologist, I was struck by the fact that the ways followed to obtain the numerical data of their tables\* are not indicated, and in trying to trace them I was forced to the conclusion that none of these authors had followed the exact prescriptions of the siddhantas. In a series of articles in the *Acta Orientalia* between 1921 and 1926 I explained an arithmetical method for finding the true values with every desired degree of accuracy, and I am now publishing the first instalment of three-figure tables, which cover only eight pages, allowing one to find the moments of beginning of tithi over a range of several thousands of years, and which I tried to make really comprehensible to anyone who is willing to devote a few hours to read the explanation.

The Hindu calendar is used by the Indian people in the form of *pancangas*, which are yearly printed all over the vast peninsula for numerous localities in every vernacular. A *pancanga*—as the name indicates—is a book containing *five* essential chronological elements—viz., the *vara* or weekday, the *tithi*, the *karana*, the *yoga*, and the *nakṣatra*; the years are counted according to different *eras* and according to a period of (mostly) sixty years, based on the movement of the planet Jupiter. The week is a seven-day week, the day a solar day counted from actual sunrise in true local time to the next sunrise. The *tithi* is a purely astronomical or

\* Sewell's tables cover more than 700 great quarto pages; the complete edition of Swamikannu's tables fills 7 strong volumes.





astrological conception, being the time which the moon needs to travel 12 degrees from the sun. As an element of time-reckoning it does not occur in other but Hindu chronology; its duration is never less than 0.896 mean solar days and never more than 1.091 days. This implies that a tithi may begin at any moment of the civil day. A month is the time elapsing between two consecutive New Moons (or between two consecutive Full Moons); its duration is about twenty-nine and a half days. There are always thirty tithis a month, but twenty-nine or thirty sunrises. The civil day of the month obtains a serial number according to the tithi, which is current at sunrise; therefore it happens from time to time that two tithis begin within the space of two consecutive sunrises, and occasionally also that the sun rises twice on one and the same tithi.

In the first case the first of the two tithis, that on which the sun does not rise, cannot convey its serial number to a day, which implies that the counting of the days of the month is interrupted; it is, however, not the day but the tithi which is called expunged. An expunged tithi is generally considered inauspicious. In the second case the tithi conveys its serial number to two consecutive days, which get therefore the same serial number—but again it is the tithi which is called repeated.

In the illustration, which shows a page of an actual *pancanga*, printed at Ahmadabad, we notice that the second tithi is expunged and the fourteenth repeated. The *pancanga* notes that the 13th tithi ends at 56 36; we have read this as 56 *ghatikas* and 36 *palas* after sunrise, or 94 of a day. And this is not even a close case; often only a few *palas* more or less may determine the omission or intercalation of a certain tithi. I cannot enter more fully into the matter through lack of space, but from what I have seen it is already obvious that we have to deal here with a highly complicated chronological system, the complexity of which shows its primitiveness and the importance of studying it for the understanding of the Indian mind and history. The complicated nature of the Hindu lunar-solar calendar is chiefly caused by the fact that it reckons with true movements of moon and sun, and not with mean movements. As far as I know, it is the only example of this type which ever came into use.\* Many calendars were based on actual observation; for instance, in the old Jewish civilization, and still in certain Muhammadan centres, the month is accepted as beginning with the appearance of the new crescent of the moon in the western sky. But this can hardly be considered a calendar

\* In Germany the date of Easter was computed on a purely astronomical basis from 1700 till 1752. The French republican calendar (1792-1805) accepted the day of the astronomical autumnal equinox as New Year's Day. These are the only two examples of astronomical time-reckoning I can furnish besides the Hindu practice.

as it serves a month only. It is impossible to imagine a civilized nation without a calendar which allows of being calculated in advance. A calendar based on mean movements presupposes astronomical observations patiently continued and set down for centuries. But a calendar based on true movements presupposes an astronomical scientific system of such a degree of development that the results of calculations effected according to that system are generally believed to be in accordance with the results of actual observations. Among the Hindus—who as a rule showed themselves poor observers—the results obtained by calculations according to the *siddhantas* had even precedence over actual observation: numerous are the inscriptions stating a certain grant to have been made at the moment of an eclipse of the moon on days which most certainly must have passed without the moon having been eclipsed. An analogous example may be found in the “pascal Full Moon,” which, in the centuries preceding the Gregorian reformation, sometimes was more than three days ahead of an actual moment of Full Moon.

The *Surya-Siddhanta* accepts the planets—and sun and moon are considered planets—to move in circles round the unmoving earth at speeds varying from moment to moment. To explain and calculate these irregular movements it imagines a circle, called *epicycle*, the centre of which moves along the same circle as the planet itself. The speed at which this centre moves is unvarying and equal to the mean time the planet takes for its movement. Round the circumference of the *epicycle* moves a second point at constant speed; its revolution is completed in the mean period of the planet's revolution. There is a difference in principle between the Ptolemæan theory and the conception of the *siddhanta*: Ptolemy makes the planets revolve in the *epicycles*; for the *siddhantas* the *epicycles* are only a means for calculating the true places. Moreover, the dimensions of the *epicycles*, which are constants in the *Almagest*, are subject to contractions and expansions in the course of each revolution in the system of the *siddhanta*. These particulars led Burgess to conjecture an independent original Hindu astronomy.

The angle between the directions towards the planet and towards its mean place is called the *equation of the centre*; this equation is calculated by means of trigonometry in a very peculiar way, requiring the determination of the sine for each angle, the *siddhanta* giving the values of the sine only for multiples of 225 minutes of arc. The weak spot in the existing tables (excepting perhaps Swamikannu's tables) lies now in the determination of the equation of the centre, which is found by means of interpolation between two of the twenty-four equations resulting from the tabular values of the sines. The Hindu sine, however, not



being a continuous function of the angle, such a method does not yield results which are in strict accordance with the prescriptions of the siddhanta. I calculated for my tables the values of the equations for every day of the anomalistic month or year, and convinced myself that the values obtained in this way allow of a linear interpolation, using not more than three decimals of a day.

For the Hindu his calendar is of equal importance as it is to the Jew, whose calendar is sometimes called his catechism. A friend of mine wrote to me from India, when I had asked him to send me a pancanga, that he could persuade his servant to part with it only with great difficulty, as the man could no more live without it than a European without a toothbrush. I wondered often how such Indians know the civil time of the tithi-endings. A Hindu man of science, travelling through Europe, whom I asked about this problem replied that they have the "sense of time" to the second. Though this seemed to me somewhat exaggerated, it is undeniable that a religious veneration of time, piously maintained for at least twenty centuries, cannot fail to cause a notion of time incomprehensible to the European mind.

NOTE (added during correction).—After this article had been written I was informed that Colonel R. H. Phillimore, Survey of India (retired), who is engaged on the preparation of a History of the Survey of India, has collected a full biography of John Warren, which is to appear in due course in the Official Records of that Survey. Although Colonel Phillimore has graciously provided me with ample information concerning the outcome of his studies, I do not feel justified to anticipate his publication.

## THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES\*

BY COUNT J. P. VAN LIMBURG STIRUM

(Netherlands Minister in London.)

It is gratifying to note that interest exists in this country for the Asiatic portion of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Such interest is understandable at the present time, when the map of Eastern Asia is no doubt studied by many who were formerly content with mere geographical names, without ascertaining the location of the places to which they refer. British interest is especially welcome to us as it is above suspicion, and it is based on a community of interests. It is reciprocated. Probably nowhere in the world, for example, has the operation of the reforms in British India been studied more closely than in Holland and Java. This is natural, because we are both faced with a similar task. For centuries both our nations have been ploughing the field of colonial administration, and although our methods have differed in accordance with the diversity of the factors which confronted us, our aims and ideals have been the same. We are convinced that we are carrying out this work to the best of our ability, and I am therefore always pleased to hear an Englishman declare that British colonial administration is the best in the world. This is just as it should be. If that were not his conviction, and that of the whole nation, there would be something lacking, and it would be felt that Great Britain had failed to do everything in her power properly to discharge her self-imposed duty of offering to peoples who live under conditions of religion, history, soil, and climate totally different from her own, the best chances in life and opening up to them a horizon which attracts them and to which they progress under the leadership and with the support of a well-tried guide.

Whilst therefore appreciating the soundness of your convictions, based on a glorious record, I would add that we are equally

\* Based on an address delivered before the Royal Empire Society on January 18, 1938.



firmly convinced that we are also doing our duty, as good guardians, towards the peoples of the Netherlands East Indies, and therefore do not fear comparisons.

*This is no captatio benevolentiae.* I feel that in these strange times we cannot sufficiently stress the fact that the edifice we build must rest upon moral foundations. We do not merely administer; we live with those we administer. We know them, we know their needs. Within the limits of what can be financially achieved, we endeavour to give them what they need. With them we rejoice in a good harvest. If a crater bursts and the bubbling lava scorches the slope of the mountain, we rush to the rescue. The Indonesian is not blind to our motives. Aristocrat or plain countryman, he appreciates the treatment that is not merely utilitarian, the contact, the intercourse, in which the human element is given its right.

Here is an example. It happened during the Great War that a number of Netherlands Indies merchantmen lying in a foreign port were commandeered for service under another flag. The new captains would have liked to keep the native crews, and to these people the offer of earning their livelihood and serving on board ships with which they were so familiar was tempting. Yet, what happened? Without any prompting on the part of their Dutch officers, the crews silently walked ashore, ranged themselves along the quayside, and gave their ceremonial salute—the “sembah”—as the Dutch flags were hauled down. One must have the faculty of understanding a motionless and soundless demonstration of a mass of people squatting down like statues, of people whose purpose in foregathering one realizes. If they are silent it is because words would destroy the essence that emanates from them.

I hasten to pass on to facts, but I hope I may have brought to you a little of the atmosphere in which I should like this lovely country of the Indies to appear before you.

Curiously the birth of our Empire in the East was due to the action of the sixteenth-century King of Spain, who forbade the Dutch to enter Spanish and Portuguese ports. *Navigare necesse est*, so the Dutch found the way to the East Indies themselves and

wrested the secret of the route from the Portuguese, who would not allow other nations to share it. The great geographer, Plancius, provided our adventurous navigator, Houtman, with the charts to make the voyage possible, and when his vessels returned to port in 1597 laden with pepper and nutmegs, his arrival was celebrated as a great national triumph in spite of the loss of life and the terrible hardships which this first venture had entailed.

I wish that I could show you these islands of brilliant sunshine and drenching rain, where the elephant may bar the way to the traveller's car, and the incessant chirp of the cricket deafen you, where the *tjitjak* lizard clinging to the wall, and the toad at your feet flick the mosquitoes into their mouths; where the brilliant red of the flamboyant adorns the plains, and the *spathodea* seems to drop blood from its crown on to the hillsides. Could I but lead you into a Javanese *Kraton*, the walled palace of some native prince. Who speaks of transience? What are the changes in the shadow play and epic poems? Where can be found a charm to vie with the gamelan or with that of the dancing maidens of a Sultan's court?

But do not take my word for these things. Go and see for yourselves if it is possible to exaggerate the beauty of these islands. But it is important to choose the right season! Do not attempt to escape the rigours of the English climate by visiting Java in the winter! The rain might hold you prisoner in your hotel. The East Monsoon, or dry season, is the time for travel. You will find in Java a long range of mountains with good, hospitable hotels at various altitudes, and at 5,000 feet a wood fire; a blanket by night. You will see the sun rising over the Boeroeboedoer, and if you are lucky, the moon as well. You will feel something of the Australian winter in the winds of East Java, not far from Bali, which threatens to become the Mecca of the tourist who cannot help turning the children into beggars. They make fun of the globe trotter with his *topee* which does not become him and which he doesn't know how to wear.

In the island of Flores again you admire the famous red and



blue lakes. In Timor you find an aerodrome which is the jumping-off place for the dangerous last hop to Port Darwin. And in New Guinea you will shudder at the stories of the head-hunters, now peaceful villagers. Travel further to northwards, and visit Christianized Amboina and Banda, the land of the nutmeg gardens, and white marble-floored mansions that speak of bygone splendour. You will perhaps find a bird of paradise from New Guinea in a merchant's godown, but happily there is a great slump in this trade. The peak of Ternate rises up before you, you pass it by, and reach northern Celebes—the twelfth province of the Netherlands—the Minahassa, with its almost fanatical devotion to the House of Orange. Next go west to Borneo, and see Tarakan with its oilfields, the present northern terminus of the Royal Netherlands Indies Airways. From there to Manilla would be a mere “flip.”

Having come so far, let us pause and take stock. In West Java you saw the Soendanese, a cheerful people, dressed in gay colours. Next came Middle and East Java, with a population more sober in character and outward apparel, much given to ceremonial courtesy, especially in the Sultanates. You have met the ubiquitous Chinaman—of whom there are a good million—and the immigrant Madoerese, as well as the Arab from Hadramaut, who still manages to make a good living out of the respect inspired by the country of his origin, though perhaps not so good as formerly. You have seen fertile country, paddy-fields with their splendid system of irrigation, plantations of rubber, cocoanut palms, tea and quinine estates, sugar mills, fields of tobacco, large ports, such as Batavia, Semarang, and Sourabaya, and hill stations and towns such as Bandoeng and Malang, where retired officials gladly settle down in order to avoid the worries of housekeeping in Europe. You have passed imposing buildings, banks, universities, hospitals, and sanatoriums. You have travelled along endless roads thronged with pedestrians, past volcanoes, with their waving columns of smoke, and mountain streams and great reservoirs. In fact, you have travelled along the high road from Singapore to Sydney.

In New Guinea and Borneo you discovered that we are close

neighbours. But there is yet another island, the most imposing of them all and where we are right opposite each other. I refer to Sumatra, the names of some of whose mighty plateaux and gigantic volcanoes may be familiar to you from the names of ships, such as *Dempo* and *Sibajak*. Some of the districts also have a familiar ring about them—Palembang, Benkoelen, and Brastagi—the hill station above Medan. The situation may not be quite as described by the English lady who travelled in those parts and wrote: "I went to Java and Bali, and to Sumatra, but that is ours, of course." But all the same, we are very close to what we call the opposite Peninsula. Singapore and Penang are only an hour or so away by air, and not inconsiderable numbers of British visit Brastagi to enjoy the cool climate.

But it is not only the British tourist whom we are pleased to welcome. We rejoice in the fact that many of your countrymen have enormous interests in Java and Sumatra. A hundred million pounds sterling seems a modest estimate of the British capital invested in the Netherlands East Indies. The estates of Anglo-Dutch Plantations of Java Limited are as large as an English county, and you also have vast rubber, tea, coffee, and oil-palm estates in Sumatra, such as those of Harrisons and Crosfield. Banks, merchant houses, stores, administrative offices, insurance companies, constitute "invisible" sources of income. It is a rather sore point with some of my countrymen that English firms control the exports of tea, rubber, and sugar. In this respect we have fallen behind, but it does no harm in itself; we have only ourselves to blame for a lack of what may be described as merchants' broad vision. Be that as it may, we have always been glad when foreign capital was attracted to the Netherlands East Indies—and welcomed it; the greater the diversity, the better for us, and we on our side have always guaranteed the foreign investor the opportunity for peaceful and uninterrupted development. Thus German, American, French, Swiss, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, and Belgian capital is also invested in the Netherlands East Indies, and both country and Treasury benefit therefrom. It is not only a question of money for us. When, for instance, a foreign company builds excellent houses for its employees in Java and else-



where in the Netherlands East Indies, an example is thereby set for others to follow.

British-Netherlands co-operation has also been demonstrated by the well-known joint restrictions on the production of rubber, tin, and tea. Shipping is another point on which we have much in common, although naturally Dutch shipping preponderates, largely through the efforts of our popular Royal Packet Navigation Company, commonly called K.P.M., which does not rest on its laurels, and in spite of pessimistic prophecies made such a success of their new China, Java, South Africa Line that they are now putting three new ships on this run and will perhaps extend it to South America.

The number of British passengers using Dutch boats is a source of great satisfaction to the companies concerned, notably to the *Nederland* and *Rotterdam Lloyd*, which have become especially popular with the British public for the short trips they organize to Marseilles, Genoa, Algiers, and Port Said, although it is difficult to obtain passages to and from the last-named port. Singapore is of great importance to Dutch shipping, as all our ships call there, and Singapore's great shops are much in demand by those who wish to provide themselves with outfits. People going out to Djambi in Sumatra even buy all their furniture and other household goods in Singapore in preference to Batavia, which is much further away, and which, moreover, they do not visit. In fact the Archipelago is so situated that a man may spend years on a tobacco plantation in the east coast of Sumatra without ever going to Java at all, as those who get leave proceed to Europe as quickly as possible. No doubt the improved air services will change all this, for a man is hardly likely to leave the East without seeing at least something of Java, when he can get from Medan to Bandoeng in a single day. At the same time the amenities of Sumatra itself are improving with startling rapidity. More and more roads are being built. If possible the scenery is even more beautiful than in Java, and it is certainly more attractive to those who love nature in all its pristine purity.

Batavia was founded by Coen for the Dutch East India Company in 1619. It has remained the capital ever since. It is the

seat of the Council of the Indies and most of the Departments of State. It is here that the People's Council meets. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of concentrating all this administrative work in a hot coastal climate. My own view was that more work can be done in a cool climate like that of Bandoeng, where the War Office and the Public Works Department are situated. However, it is not only a difference of opinion, but heavy expenditure and a serious clash of interests, which prevent the removal of other departments from the coast, and life at Batavia has been made healthier and more pleasant by a good water supply, swimming baths, the improvement of the roads to the hills, and rapid transport by rail and air. When air-conditioning comes into general use, it will no longer be necessary to seek the cooler climate of the hill stations, but offices and bedrooms will be kept cool in the same way as are the sleeping-cars of our railways. It may be useful to add that the variations in the temperature are slight, owing to the proximity of the ocean. The temperature on the coast varies between 79 and 80 degrees, and drops by one-half of a degree ( $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ) for every 100 metres increased altitude.

Life among the European community presents, I believe, a different picture from that in British India. The Dutch prefer to keep their children with them as long as possible, and there are good European schools everywhere. These form a complete system of education, culminating in three University colleges, a law school, a medical school, and an engineering college. There is, besides, extensive provision for native education, but the European schools are everywhere open to native students who are destined to receive more advanced education.

The results achieved by European medical science in the interests of public health may be called truly prodigious. Cholera has virtually disappeared. For vaccination against smallpox we have the Pasteur Institute at Bandoeng, typhus is combated by inoculation, and malaria by draining the breeding places of the anopheles mosquito. The number of sanatoriums for tuberculous patients is continually increasing, but the number of patients in the villages is proving unexpectedly large, as is the case in Europe, and it will be necessary to visit and treat these in their homes, as



it is not possible to build enough sanatoriums for them all. Plague first showed itself twenty-five years ago, and the measures taken for its effective extermination are an expensive business. These mostly consist in improving the conditions of insanitary native houses, to prevent the disease-carrying rat from nesting in the hollow bamboo uprights. Quite recently an anti-plague serum has been prepared by Dr. Otten. Beri-beri is no longer the scourge it was. The spread of the hookworm disease is being prevented. But the best results of all are obtained in the fight against frambœsia, or yaws, by injections with neosalvarsan. Once the medical service had found the wonderful effect of this specific, it considered it its duty to place it at the disposal of the sufferers free of charge. But a curious result ensued. The natives had no faith in a medicine that cost nothing. It could not be much good, they argued. So a small charge was made, and since then patients have shown themselves eager for treatment.

Mr. Harold B. Butler, Chief of the International Labour Bureau, who visited our Indies last November, expressed his admiration of the extreme care taken on the east coast of Sumatra of the labourers' health. He was struck by the number and the organization of the hospitals and the excellent pathological laboratory. One of the most remarkable things to which his attention was drawn was the considerable use made of native labour for all kinds of work which in Europe is done by skilled hands. These natives did responsible work as accurately as it could be done by Europeans. This cheap production—so he said—makes one think.

When I have conducted you from Medan, along the east coast of Atjeh to Sabang—the first port of call on the outward journey, you will have traversed the district which was the most recently pacified, and where we encountered great difficulties for many a long year but which now, opened up by roads and estates, witnesses the arrival of immigrants from the Batak-lands and Java, who help to create totally different conditions.

In Sumatra, above all places, you must allow time to admire the primeval forests, plateaux, wide rivers, enormous agricultural enterprises, boldly engineered roads, and world-famous oilfields.

You should study social experiments such as the migration of natives from Java, the work of missions, and time should also be found to look at what has been done to help the most wretched of all dying creatures—the lepers.

Some of you may recall the name of Deli—a name which formerly conveyed the idea of riches. Deli—the land where you quickly became rich by growing tobacco, in the same way as by growing sugar in Java. Such stories die hard, but they are things of the past, not of the present. The past does not lie far behind us, but it is gone for good. No man, however good his position, will ever again receive a bonus of £100,000 in a year. The sugar agricultural industry was hard hit, and hardest of all when British India started her own sugar industry. And the famous Deli tobacco-growing industry passed through a period in which it lost £1,000,000 in one year. The gilt is off the gingerbread.

Being essentially an exporting country, the Netherlands Indies are super-sensitive to the world's markets. They suffered severely when the prices of staple commodities fell during the depression, and the State suffered with the individual—a serious matter in a country where more is expected from the Government than in Europe. That the population did not go short of actual necessities during the years of depression can only be attributed to the fact that the prices of imported articles of consumption also declined sharply. Most of these imports came from Japan, who bade fair to drive all the older importing countries from the market.

The Netherlands Indies became sixty years ago a free trade country in the sense that all preferential duties favouring imports from the Mother Country were abolished, and this system of maintaining one customs tariff for all goods of any origin continues to be in force today. A few years ago it was found necessary, like in the British Crown Colonies, to stabilize imports of textiles and a few other commodities by means of quotas. The average of certain basic years was selected and each foreign country was allotted its full proportional share. This scheme works satisfactorily and has resulted in Lancashire regaining



some of the Java trade which it had lost to Japan. If the older selling countries had lost their Netherlands East Indies market, they would soon have ceased to purchase the country's produce. Moreover, the Indies themselves produce commodities other than agricultural, which had to be protected against unchecked competition. The rice-growing industry also required protection against the importation of rice at too low a price. On the other hand, the consumer—that is, every native—had to be safeguarded against an excessively high price for his principle article of diet. And so some quotas were introduced (for manufactured goods), whilst rice imports were subjected to a system of Government licences, and the cultivation of other foodstuffs at home was encouraged.

With the improvement of commodity prices the situation became easier, especially when the guilder came off the gold standard. More money began to circulate among the natives, especially in the Outer Possessions, where they sometimes received more than they could wisely spend. The result of this increased prosperity was that in the Sumatra rubber districts imports of textiles, sheet-iron, sewing machines, biscuits (to mention a few odd articles) all increased. Sarongs, batiks, and furniture were purchased from Java, cattle from Madoera. All this was of great importance to the Java industries—large and small—which employ thousands of hands. The population there is very dense—up to over 1,500 per square mile. West Java has benefited by better prices for tea, rubber, quinine, and coconuts. But the rise has been much less marked in the case of tobacco and sugar, and conditions in Middle and East Java have improved very much less—in fact, in some districts hardly at all.

The various economic measures taken by the Government to meet the slump have had remarkable results, of which I will mention two:

There was a time when the native population was dependent for its food on the import of rice. In 1936 only 224,000 tons were imported, as against a home production of four million tons. The situation in regard to soya beans—an important commodity—is similar. In 1936 imports had ceased. The reason

was partly that more land had become available through the reduction of the sugar crop, and partly that the population had taken the advice of Government officials and planted more crops for home consumption.

It might be argued that a country with such a favourable trade balance should not attempt to achieve self-sufficiency. But firstly it is a great advantage for the population to be able to obtain their rice and other foodstuffs at their own front doors, so to speak; secondly, it is not certain that the series of good harvests will continue; and thirdly we know from our experience during the Great War how extremely difficult it may be to purchase rice abroad. Finally, it is by no means certain that a commodity such as rubber, which is now being produced synthetically in Europe and America, will always remain the important article it is today, and Deli tobacco no longer occupies its former position in the world. Hence the Government has to pursue a conservative financial policy, although it is sometimes hard to refuse money in a country where there is still unlimited room for its advantageous spending. That the need to do so exists and that such money is of tangible value was demonstrated when Holland recently placed twenty-five million guilders at the disposal of the Indies. Even so hundreds of dreams did not become realities, but wisely spent, this modest sum did a great deal of good, and may do more in the future.

How hard the country was hit by the depression appears from the fact that imports dropped from 1,166 million to 274 million guilders. This had one good effect, not confined to the East Indies—namely, the drastic reduction in production costs. The reduction affected both natives and Europeans, many of whom were hard hit. But as a result of the wholly praiseworthy manner in which people adapted themselves to altered circumstances and the admirable manner in which those who were able to keep their heads above water looked after their impoverished relations as long as they had food enough to go round, the distress was not as great as in other countries. As it was, it was severe enough, and is not yet completely at an end. For the first time the European population were faced with the



spectre which existed in the Motherland—namely, unemployment. The actual figures may not appear alarming, but unemployment weighs heavily in a country where the white man must keep up his position or lose caste. The fact that the guilder went off gold, together with the rise of commodity prices, brought great relief.

Between 1930 and 1935 exports dropped from 1,192 to 459 million guilders. During the first six months of 1937 they rose again to 485 millions, and they probably approached the one thousand million mark before the end of last year. The following figures relating to the first *five* months of the years 1935 and 1937 show the increased value of exports:

Tin	Rose from 11 to 28 million guilders					
Native Rubber	„	„	18½	„	62	„ „
Estate Rubber	„	„	25	„	60	„ „
Oil products	„	„	37	„	62	„ „
Copra	„	„	6	„	27	„ „
Palm Oil	„	„	2	„	9	„ „

The native rubber planters experienced a veritable boom. Whereas in 1935 they received barely 24 millions, they stood to receive 130 millions last year. True, they were guilders of 80 cents, but thanks to various Government measures, such as the reduction of import duties, they are little the worse for that.

Imports increased proportionately. During the first quarter of 1936 cotton textiles were imported to a total value of about 13 million guilders. During the corresponding period of the past year their value has risen to about 22 millions. The value of bicycles imported during these two periods rose from 637 thousand to one million two hundred thousand guilders. Both these articles are mainly purchased by the native population.

Before giving you a rapid sketch of the way in which the Netherlands Indies are governed today, I should like to say a word about Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, one of the most remarkable men who set his stamp in the Far East during the nineteenth century. The lasting monument to his name is the city of Singapore, which he founded. But he also did great work in Java, where

he was Lieutenant-Governor from 1811 to 1816. He abolished forced labour, and restored to the natives the full use of their crops in return for a land tax which he instituted. He was a brusque man, as Coen had been before him, and he was the enemy of the Dutch, but his reforms mark a turning-point in colonial administration. He showed a keen interest in languages and ethnological subjects; he cultivated the acquaintance of educated natives and during the five years of his administration secured for himself an enduring position among the great Governors of the Netherlands Indies. There is a monument to the memory of his wife in the Botanical Gardens at Buitenzorg within a few hundred yards of the Governor-General's Palace, which is preserved by us with pious care.

The Government of the Netherlands Indies consists of a Governor-General, the Council of the Indies, the "Volksraad," or "People's Council," and the Heads of Departments. The last-named may be likened to Ministers of the Crown in Europe, except that they are responsible to the Governor-General only, and receive their instructions from him alone. Although the Governor-General has extensive powers and a very large measure of independence, he has, when shaping his policy, to bear in mind the fact that the Minister for Colonies in Holland must be able to assume responsibility in the Dutch Parliament for his acts.

Until the beginning of the present century the Government of the Netherlands Indies bore a character which in modern parlance might be termed authoritarian, but was so dependent on the Home Government that even the budget, for example, was drawn up, not in Java, but at the Hague. Eventually, however, the need for decentralization was felt and local Councils were set up and charged with specific duties and provided with the necessary means for carrying them out. Such Councils now exist everywhere, in the towns, in the more developed parts of the Archipelago and in the Java Regencies. The institution of the Regency Councils made it necessary for the Regents to preside in public over meetings, at which each member was free to express his opinion on any subject. These Regents are native function-



aries, members of the old aristocratic families of the land. Their authority is based on their origin and traditions and it will readily be understood that modern demands led to difficulties. However, the system has this advantage, that it continually imposes upon the Regents—as valued supporters of the Central Government—the task of acquainting themselves thoroughly with all subjects which are likely to come up for discussion at the Council meetings.

At the outset, when the decentralization was limited to purely local matters, the necessity arose of giving the people an opportunity to express their opinions in a representative body. Thus, after very protracted preliminary preparations in Holland, the “*Volksraad*”—or “People’s Council”—was established in 1916. It was originally a purely advisory body, but the debates on the budget after the manner of the Dutch Parliament furnished it with an opportunity to express its opinions on a variety of subjects. In fact the Government of the day had no reason to complain of its lack of critical powers, and even the most experienced officials were astonished at the volume and scope of its criticism. The chairman, a Dutchman, was and is appointed by the Crown. Of the original 38 members, 15 were native. Half the number were appointed by the Governor-General, in order to secure a proper representation of all the various groups, currents of opinion, and interests.

Since its inception the *Volksraad* has undergone a profound change. It has become part of the legislative machinery of the country. The Governor-General no longer requires the assent of the Council of the Indies for his legislative acts, but exercises his functions in this respect in close collaboration with the *Volksraad*. He is still bound, however, to consult the Council of the Indies before submitting any legislative proposals to the *Volksraad*. The authority of the Council of the Indies has remained unimpaired, and inclusion therein of two native members in recent years was felt to be the natural consequence of the spread of education among the indigenous population. It remains with the population to demonstrate that that which became necessary in a political sense will also prove beneficial, inasmuch as the efficiency

of the Council and the experience and knowledge it possesses will increase as a result of native membership.

The budget is now compiled by the Governor-General with the active assistance of the Volksraad—which now numbers 60 members—but must be finally approved by the Dutch Parliament, which adjudicates in cases where the Governor-General and the People's Council fail to reach agreement.

It would appear to the objective observer that the present system offers the native population the full scope in the field of politics to which they can at present be considered to be entitled, and that years must elapse before they can fully avail themselves of present opportunities. The political system as now existing has not always worked smoothly, but there is no reason why it should not work admirably, provided those in authority display tact and understanding.

It stands to reason that not only the British capitalist who has invested his money there is interested in the East Indian Archipelago, but all those who appreciate the significance of the communications between Singapore and Australia, the more so because it is quite certain that if rain penetrates our roof, yours would begin to leak too.

Perhaps this is not as widely understood as it should be outside a limited circle of statesmen and societies like your own. Yet the fact that a Hollander has been invited—not for the first time—to speak here about the Netherlands Indies, proves that a growing consciousness exists of the interdependence of our interests. May that realization become more general through the good offices of the Royal Empire Society! We have our common anxieties as a result of developments in the Far East. Centuries of cultural work lie behind both of us and each will steadfastly play his part to prevent the destruction of that which he has so laboriously and successfully built up. If in former times we have been rivals, it is evident that the protection of our cultural achievements in those territories is a problem which we have in common. Let it not be thought, however, that we allow ourselves to be lulled by the confident expectation of a big brother's support. No, we too are a nation with cool heads and steady nerves. We are of the same



fibre as our forefathers. Character was their greatest virtue. We are very much awake and making great sacrifice to guard our house.

This is certainly not of our choice; we cannot do otherwise, and forced as we are by what we see happening around us, we are acting on the assumption that possibly we may have to rely on ourselves alone.

## THE SECURITY OF INDO-CHINA AND SIAMESE IMPERIALISM

BY COLONEL FERNAND BERNARD

(President of the Franco-Siamese Boundary Commission, 1904-1907.)

ON November 5, 1936, in a letter addressed to Mr. Yvon Delbos, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Government of Bangkok denounced the Treaty of February 14, 1925, which at the present moment governs the relations between France and Siam; and they announced that, as from the month of November, 1937, they intended to regain their entire liberty of action. An identical decision was made in connection with all the powers with whom Siam had concluded agreements in the past; and this fact should be emphasized. It is not, in fact, a case of an isolated special measure which can be regulated by bilateral agreements; it is a general measure, which affects a number of powers in varying degrees, and it would be necessary for an understanding to be reached between the principal countries interested in order to achieve equitable solutions, so as to maintain and consolidate the amicable relations which have obtained between ourselves and Siam for the past thirty years.

Nevertheless, although the initiative assumed by the Government of Bangkok interests a large number of countries, this initiative produces special problems as far as we are concerned. The Siamese Kingdom is sandwiched between Burma and the Federated Malay States on the west and Indo-China on the east; our vast Colony has 1,800 kilometres of frontier in common with Siam; the Mekong, which crosses and also serves Indo-China, the Laos and the Cambodia, has an international character over a length of more than 800 kilometres, and Siamese as well as French ships can navigate it freely. Finally, from the first days of the establishment of our Colony, and for more than forty years, there have been numerous conflicts between Siam and ourselves, and we were only able to put an end to these thirty years ago by reason of a reciprocated spirit of equity and comprehension; we do not wish to see these reborn. For this reason, it has seemed necessary to me to analyze before you the essential clauses of the 1925 Treaty, and to study the possible consequence of their denunciation.

These essential provisions are as follows:

1. In Article 2 of the 1925 Treaty, the two contracting parties confirm the frontiers established between their territories by previous agreements, and guarantee both to respect them.



2. In the same Article, they undertake, over the whole length of the Mekong frontier and an equal extent on either side, not to maintain any additional armed forces to the police forces necessary for maintaining public order.

3. In Articles 3, 4, 6, and those following, persons coming from both countries, and companies of any kind constituted in accordance with the legislation of one of the countries, enjoy the right to exercise their profession freely on the territory of the other, to acquire, possess, sell, transfer, all property, whether built or otherwise, to be used for commercial, industrial, or agricultural purposes.

4. In Article 15, France recognizes the complete autonomy of Siam as regards customs and fiscal matters.

5. By virtue of a first protocol annexed to the Treaty, French citizens, who had up to that time benefited from the jurisdiction of the Consular Tribunals, were subjected to the jurisdiction of the Siamese Courts.

6. A second protocol provided that a complementary agreement be made between Indo-China and Siam for the purpose of regulating, in particular, navigation on the Mekong and the judicial regulation of the river; this agreement conceded to Siam rights identical to those which we alone had enjoyed since 1893; it admitted that the frontier was constituted by the thalweg of the river, and that a zone of 25 kilometres *on either side of the Mekong* should be entirely demilitarized.

Among these provisions, which would subsist for one day after a denunciation of the Treaty if we bowed to the decisions of the Siamese Government?

Up to now, these decisions have not been the subject of a public declaration. We know in any case that Siam intends henceforth to refuse to all foreigners—and consequently to Frenchmen—the rights to property which they have enjoyed by virtue of all previous treaties, and that they have decided also to do away with the demilitarized zone and to maintain, if they think fit, garrisons even on the banks of the Mekong.

These are two points of capital importance, and on these two points we could not accept the requirements of Siam without compromising to an irremediable extent the economic and political interests of Indo-China, and even perhaps her security.

The suppression of the rights to property which we have enjoyed since 1856, and which have been confirmed and extended by every treaty up to 1925, would mean going back seventy-five years, and would also mean an intolerable violation of all the agreements in respect of the position of our emigrants established in Siam.

The suppression of the demilitarized zone is still more serious. It was precisely because for years we had to put up with repeated incursions of Siamese troops into Indo-China that we considered

it necessary, in 1893, to neutralize a strip of land 25 kilometres in width on the right bank of the Mekong. Later when, as a result of the Treaty of 1907, we were at last able to settle the differences which separated us, we wished to show our willingness to maintain peaceful relations between the two countries, we *ourselves* accepted on the left bank of the river the same obligations and limitations as we had previously imposed on Siam.

The constitution of a demilitarized zone on both the French side and the Siamese side of the Mekong is the most striking sign of our friendly intentions. It is reasonable to wonder for what reasons Siam intends to erase the peaceful agreement which we concluded; whilst the events which have been produced since the signature of the 1925 Treaty not only entitle us to abandon the guarantees which we accepted or gave ten years ago, but rather compel us to seek additional guarantees.

In fact, for ten years, Siam has not ceased to arm. Whilst we in Indo-China only maintain in the whole country 25,000 troops, either European or indigenous, the Siamese army on a peace footing is composed of 60,000 fighting troops, and can be mobilized to 300,000. Even though no danger confronts Siam, and their only two neighbours, Great Britain on one side and France on the other, have never ceased to maintain the most cordial relations with them; even though along the whole length of our common frontiers, whether at Cambodge or at Laos, and for a depth of three to four hundred kilometres we have neither a company of men nor a gun, the Siamese Government finds it necessary to raise a navy, an army, and an aerial fleet, for the maintenance of which they devote nearly one-third of the budget resources, and for which we are compelled to ask ourselves the possible use.

To this question, however, the Siamese Government has replied. On April 3, 1937, the *Bangkok Times* published the main parts of a statement made by Luang Bibul, Minister for War, which was broadcast over the whole of Siam, and which our stations in Indo-China have been able to pick up.

We shall content ourselves by quoting the main parts of this statement:

The Minister has shown that there are countries more fortunate than Siam, who can devote 60 per cent. of their budget receipts to their armaments. But we are poor, and we have besides the matter of national defence other services which must be maintained. This is the reason why we can only allocate 20 per cent. of our receipts to national defence. This cannot be called a great deal, if we consider the fact that the benefit derived from the operation is certainly greater than the value of the funds so employed.



When once the war services have taken their proper place in the State, and the foreigner has recognized their power, the progress of the country will be guaranteed and accelerated, because nobody will dare to put a spoke in our wheel as is the case today. It is from Germany that we must ask lessons.

Twenty years after the Great War, Germany realized how, as a result of their defeat, they were inferior to the other powers in military means. They only ceased to decline as a military power when Mr. Hitler succeeded to power.

It is he who, giving his body and soul to the matter, has succeeded in giving Germany her military power, in the space of two or three years. After this, Germany was in a position to denounce the Treaty of Versailles, which forbade her to carry out the progress which she desired. At the time, both the small and great nations raised objections to the conduct of Germany; but she took no notice whatsoever, and nobody was capable of applying any constraint. On the other hand, she found support. All this is explained merely by the fact that she was known to be strongly organized in a military sense. At the present moment, Germany has regained a position of great power, and has no need to ask anybody's permission to play her game.

Before Mr. Hitler came into power, other German statesmen had attempted to negotiate with the other powers and the League of Nations itself. The fact remains, however, that they never succeeded in obtaining anything by these methods, and the majority of them wore themselves out at the task, without their diplomacy producing the slightest result.

This single example is sufficient to show how Germany was able to overcome her difficulties by reason of her military power—the nation being from top to bottom a nation of soldiers. It must not be forgotten, however, that Germany undertook other enterprises, and that, as soon as they considered that they had achieved sufficient from a military point of view, they immediately devoted themselves to their economic progress.

Japan, which is an Asiatic power like ourselves, at one time found themselves at the level which we occupy now; that is, in their relations with the other powers it was for them to make all the concessions. Only Japan understood the importance for them of advancing rapidly. That is why they started to put their house in order by providing themselves with a strong army. It is to this policy that they owe their victory over Russia—a power which at that time was considered to be of the first importance.

Afterwards, Japan ended by being placed among the

numbers of the great powers; and they have not ceased during that time to increase their forces.

In effect, they devote about 60 per cent. of their budget receipts to armaments, so that, if their receipts amounted like ours to 104 million ticos, they would spend 62 of these on their land and sea forces, whilst we ourselves only spend 26 millions out of 104 on reinforcing our army and navy.

So now that Japan has spent so much on strengthening her military forces, her industrial and commercial progress appears in full swing, simply because the fear of her power prevents others from interrupting this progress.

In addition, by reason of diplomacy, the Japanese delegate to the League of Nations itself was able to leave the Assembly with a serene countenance, as soon as he considered that his country could not obtain their due by diplomatic means.

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The orator then proceeded to deal with the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. Italy had recourse to arms to conquer territories for the benefit of her population, which lacked colonies. It was military power which made the operation possible. No other method was capable of producing such a success and of giving victory.

The orator recalled that it was the military weakness of the old Italy which prevented her from maintaining properly the demands of the colonial territories which she presented to her allies after the war. Honour is therefore due to M. Mussolini for having been able to construct a powerful army in his country, and for having been able to make use of it to carry his various enterprises to a successful end.

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The mere brute, for example, needs fangs and claws to defend itself and procure its food. Man, although placed more highly in the scale of beings, nevertheless shows fear when confronted by this animal, not because of its appearance or its voice, but because of these fangs and claws. The tiger is a very wise animal, and he waits until he has these fangs and claws before venturing upon distant expeditions. At first he is dependent upon his mother, and cannot risk hunting except in the neighbourhood of his lair. The same applies to the nations; they must wait until time has provided them with fangs and claws before they can undertake any enterprise whatever. This does not mean to say that we should do nothing at the moment except strengthen our army. We have still other enterprises to bring to a successful



conclusion; but they must be conducted in accordance with the proved principles which have just been cited. The work accomplished by our Government shows that this is really their policy.

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What are the enterprises to which Siam has the intention of devoting herself after she has finally produced a sufficient force to impose her will upon her neighbours? This again, the Siamese Government itself communicated to us. For two years, the present Government has endeavoured to show that the Chakri dynasty, now dispossessed of all power, had not ceased to betray the interests of the nation. They have announced that Siam had once within their frontiers all the populations of the Thais language and race, from the upper valleys of the Tonkin and North Annam to the confines of Cochinchina. They affirm that the reason why such a glorious position could not be maintained was that the monarchic Government allowed its neighbours to impose unjust treaties upon it, and that it was necessary to abolish or revise such treaties. They showed their ambitions by having a map prepared recently by the Army Geographical Services, which bore the legend: "MAP OF THE ANCIENT FRONTIERS OF SIAM 150 YEARS AGO," which includes the greater part of the Shan States and Burma, all the Laotian territory, including the upper valleys of the Tonkin and the North Annam, and the whole of Cambodia.

This fantastic map, which does not agree with any historic reality, was prepared under the direction of the Minister for Public Instruction; 10,000 copies were made and distributed in the schools and public establishments in Siam. I have had one of these maps in front of me, and a few copies were sent to the Quai d'Orsay.

In the speech which has just been made, and in the method of propaganda adopted, one recognizes pan-Germanic methods; and it is impossible not to consider manifestations of this type as serious, in view of the past.

The imperialistic argument which was maintained some time ago by the Siamese Minister for War, has already been affirmed at other periods. In Bangkok today, it is said—as it was said forty years ago—that there existed at one time in the valley of the Mekong and the Me-Nam, from the frontiers of China to the Gulf of Siam, a great Empire, which Great Britain and France would have been delighted to destroy, and which the Government of Siam has the right to attempt to reconstitute. Nothing could be more false.

The situation is no longer the same as before; in fact, on the

one hand, our interests and those of Great Britain coincide, and we can act of common accord in preventing Siam from again employing an imperialistic policy, full of dangers for her neighbours; but on the other hand, the Siam of today is much more dangerous than she was before. Since the end of last century, she has made remarkable progress in every sphere; with the assistance of European counsellors borrowed from every country, she has created public services almost exclusively directed by Siamese officials, organized tribunals, undertaken large works, and raised large military forces. For this reason, she enjoys on the left bank of the Mekong a prestige among the population, which we could have balanced if we had followed the same policy at Laos. I do not wish to make too simple a comparison between the material and moral position of the populations subject to Siamese sovereignty, and that of the individuals who, in French Laos, carry on a miserable existence under our authority. Unfortunately, it is only too true that, among all our Colonies, Laos is the one where material progress has been of the most mediocre kind, where indispensable works have been the most neglected, where conditions of work are the most scandalous, and where the abuse of applications has provoked the most repeated complaints. It would be useful, in fact it would appear necessary, to institute an enquiry to ascertain the differences between the rule from which the Laotians, who depend upon Bangkok benefit, and that for those grouped under the authority of the Higher Resident of Vientiane. If we wish to assure the security of Indo-China in the valley of the Mekong, we must carry out great reforms in Laos; but these reforms require many years, and we are compelled to look at facts as they present themselves today. If the Siamese tomorrow penetrated into the demilitarized zone and installed their garrisons even on the banks of the Mekong, extremely grave consequences might result, and our authority in the Laos would be rudely shaken.

Moreover, if events which could not be prevented took place in the extreme east and in the region of the Pacific, the presence of Siamese troops in the immediate neighbourhood of our frontiers would perhaps make it impossible to organize the general defence of the Colony.

I have endeavoured to show how important it is not to allow the movement which has been born in Bangkok to develop, and which has been translated into a denunciation of the 1925 Treaty. A previous official of the Foreign Affairs service, with whom I recently spoke on this question, and who also shared all my anxiety, expressed the opinion that we could not satisfactorily oppose the Siamese enterprises, and that they would undoubtedly, for the purpose of vindicating their theory, take refuge in the very agreement which they are now denouncing. He conse-



quently considered that the only means to be employed for avoiding the difficulties which are imminent would be to apply to the International Court at The Hague.

The problem which is presented, however, cannot be reduced simply to a judicial enquiry, of which I am the last to deny the usefulness. We are compelled to realize, without doubt, that the creation of a demilitarized zone on both banks of the Mekong has been substituted for other obligations arising out of the 1893 Treaty, and which were maintained and consolidated by the 1925 Treaty. But a criticism of the text, and the conclusions which can be drawn therefrom, are not sufficient to ensure the safety of a country. In order to place international relations on a normal basis, it becomes necessary to take into account intentions and principles, circumstances and facts. The rights of Siam, whatever they may be, are limited by the reactions, due to the abuse in their application, which are likely to be provoked in the neighbouring countries. If they think it necessary, the Siamese may still continue to increase the size of their army, proceed with partial or total mobilization, concentrate troops in the proximity of our Cambodian or Laotian frontiers; but nobody could affirm that such measures were normal, or that they did not justify some immediate counter-measure on our part.

In fact, we cannot allow a neighbour, whose activities have long been directed against us, to revive with increased means a policy which has but lately been practised, and which cannot fail to end in an armed conflict. We desire, now as always, to devote all our efforts to maintain with Siam those good neighbourly relations which have been established for the last thirty years. We consider, however, that the attitude taken up by the Bangkok Government, and of which the occupation of the demilitarized zone shows the aggressiveness, would endanger peace, not only in the Mekong valley, but by reflex action in the whole of the Far East.

We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that, on the huge Pacific chessboard, Siam might be used by other powers against us and against allied or friendly countries. We cannot see that our neighbours are responding to a constantly friendly attitude, by the bellicose preparations and the suppression of the guarantees to which we desired to give a reciprocal nature, so as to efface all that the previous conflicts had left in the way of bitterness in the minds of the Siamese people.

We have no intention of replying to provocation by forcible means; but if we do not take precautions at once, we may before long be driven into a corner. It is not that we wish to exaggerate the military force in Siam. We do not give way to a sentiment of panic. We are thinking above all of the safety and well-being of the Indo-Chinese populations whom we protect. The entry of

Siamese troops into the demilitarized zone after more than forty years would have the same effect on these people as that produced in Europe last year by the occupation of the Rhineland. This time, we could not accept the accomplished fact without losing in the eyes of the Annamites, the Cambodgians, and the Laotians the prestige which we at present enjoy, and which, more than our military force, allows us to govern Indo-China and maintain order and peace. If, however, we wish to avoid redoubtable complications, we must at once take measures in this respect which have been too long deferred. Some time, in fact, has elapsed since the 1925 Treaty was denounced, and up to the present we have abstained from any action. It seems as if we are resigned to waiting for the initiative from Siam. We do not appear to have foreseen, either the possibility of our neighbours bringing their troops up to the banks of the Mekong in November, or the obligation on our part to reply to such measures by similar measures. We must at once make our decisions and make our attitude clear. We must make a public announcement of the fact that we do not admit the suppression of the rights enjoyed by our emigrants in Siam, nor the suppression of the guarantees on which peace depends. We must at once increase our military, naval, and air forces in Indo-China, and concentrate sufficient forces, not at Luang-Prabang or Pakse near the demilitarized zone, but at Battambang or Monkolborey within an hour's flight from the Siamese capital. The part to be played is infinitely more important than people would appear to think. It is a question of the position in the Far East of all the European powers who have directed the evolution of these far regions, and whose interests are still predominant there. The propaganda which is being liberated in the interior of Siam by those who today govern the country, and the menacing words which have been uttered by the Siamese Minister for War, are only manifestations of the state of mind engendered in the last two years by the weaknesses of the democratic governments, and against which we must react at all costs. The thing which strikes mostly in the extravagant speech of Mr. Luang Bibul, of which I have given extracts, is the candid admiration of force, and the conviction that it is sufficient to express one's desires energetically, to obtain victory without striking a blow and without risk, and that the great powers like England and France will never dare to oppose the brutal enterprises of a country determined to assert her rights.

The victory of Japan over Russia produced a terrific effect at the time on the people of Asia, and we in Europe all felt the counter-blast. What would happen if tomorrow a minute country like Siam imposed her will upon France? Great Britain, who has just installed a formidable naval base at Singapore to ensure its



safety and that of her Dominions, Holland, whose existence depends upon the integral maintenance of her possessions, the United States of America and Russia, are all interested that Siam should not one day become the jumping-off point for a general conflagration.

At another time, there is no doubt that one would have applied to the League of Nations, and have asked them to find out whether the imperialistic ideas which animate the apprentice rulers of Siam did not constitute a grave menace to peace. At the present moment, such a step would appear to be illusory. The League of Nations has received so many checks, that we no longer dare to ask it to fulfil its rôle. We must, however, find out if we have been able to learn from recent events the lessons which they bring. The Geneva verdicts are bereft of all importance if they are not backed by the indispensable means of action. The verdicts have, however, the one advantage of conferring on those who are ready to respect them a universal mandate; and in countries like ours, considerations like these are not negligible. The essential point is that France and England be ready to play the part which is assigned to them, that they be resolved to show that the policy of rearmament to which they have been forced is not a vain manifestation, that the era of capitulations is over, and that Siam, if she persists in her megalomaniacal policy, will promptly be called to reason.

*(Translated.)*

## THOUGHTS ON FEDERATION

BY A. G. MORKILL

(Late Malayan Civil Service.)

It is interesting to observe that while the Indian States are considering joining a Federation, the Rulers of those Malay States, which entered into a Treaty of Federation in 1895, have for the last 20 years been pointing out that they are being smothered by this Federation, and that within 40 years of this Treaty H.M. Government has found it necessary to begin putting into effect measures of decentralization in order to rescue the Rulers and their State Councils from the clutches of the federal octopus which is gradually devouring them.

It would be wrong to draw hasty conclusions by analogy. Obviously the same federal agreement would work out very differently when applied to different sets of federating units. The Simon Report says: "Every federal union means the coming together of constituent elements which, while preserving their identities, look to the centre to deal with matters common to all. Thus the nature of the constituents themselves has a great influence on the form which the federation takes."

Let us look at the history of Federation in Malaya, and see whether it can throw any light on the Indian problem.

Immediately before the Treaty of 1895 there were four Malay States, the rulers of which had entered into separate treaties with Great Britain to govern on the advice of a British Resident, except in matters touching the Muhammadan religion and customs. The circumstances leading up to those treaties are well known. Internecine warfare, piracy, general chaos led to our intervention, which took place to some extent at the invitation of the rulers themselves. As Sir Frank Swettenham says in his *British Malaya*: "The Federated Malay States were, at first, only places whose nominal rulers had so failed to keep their houses in order that their unruly subjects had become a danger to neighbouring British settlements."

It was the old story which has been enacted in other parts of



the Empire. It is hopeless to try to establish law and order in a district when in the immediate neighbourhood chaos and lawlessness prevail. Sooner or later one is forced to intervene.

In the report of his visit to Malaya in 1932 Sir Samuel Wilson, who was sent out by the Colonial Office, says of the period before the Federation:

"At that time the exploitation of the tin-ore resources by foreign, chiefly Chinese, enterprise was leading to a rapid opening-up of the country; and the Malay Rulers and Chiefs had neither the administrative organization nor the resources to exercise proper control. The result was that the British Residents had no option but to gather the reins of government into their own hands, in spite of an explicit statement by the British Government that their functions were not administrative. . . . It does not require a great stretch of the imagination to understand how, in the circumstances, the Residents were forced to create and control the administrative systems in the States and to expand and adapt them to meet the needs of a rapidly developing country."

The Treaty of 1895 did not establish a central government. The Federal Council was established by a later Treaty in 1909, with power to legislate for all four States. The Federation was not really complete until 1909.

By the Treaty of 1895, par. 4, the four Rulers "agreed to accept a British officer, to be styled the Resident-General, as the agent and representative of the British Government under the Governor of the Straits Settlements . . . and to follow his advice in all matters of administration other than those touching the Muhammadan religion. . . ."

The Treaty concludes:

"Nothing in this Agreement is intended to curtail any of the powers or authority now held by any of the above-named Rulers in their respective States, nor does it alter the relations now existing between any of the States named and the British Empire."

Sir Frank Swettenham, the famous architect of the Federation, under whose guidance the States achieved such a rapid development and prosperity, gives us in his fascinating book *British Malaya* some interesting sidelights on the reasons for federating and on the reactions of the rulers at the time. "The Malay Rulers," he says, "cordially approved the scheme. It did not

touch their own status in any way, though it formally recognized the right of the Resident-General to exercise a very large control in the affairs of the States. . . .

"Then the Malay Rulers believed that as a federation they would be stronger, more important, their views more likely to receive consideration, should a day come when those views happened to be at variance with the supreme authority, be it the High Commissioner at Singapore or Secretary of State in England.

"By federation the rich States were to help the poor ones.

"Further, they welcomed federation because it meant consistency and continuity of policy. It meant the abolition of inter-State frictions and jealousies. Above all, they not only accepted but desired federation because they believed that it would give them in the Resident-General a powerful advocate of their needs and their views, and a friend whose voice would be heard further and carry more weight than that of any Resident, or of all the Residents acting independently."

The following quotation from the same book is significant in the light of what happened in later years: "It was perhaps more curious that the four Rulers were equally in favour of a proposal which seemed likely to deprive them of some authority and status."

Clearly, then, in the Federated Malay States the British exercised control of the States from the start, and when they came to federate, the several units were not only weak but under British control. At the same time the Federation was looked upon at the time by both parties to it as likely to prove a source of strength to the States. To quote Sir Frank Swettenham again: "It did not touch their own status in any way, though it formally recognized the right of the Resident-General to exercise a very large control in the affairs of the States.

"The Malay Rulers believed that as a Federation they would be stronger, more important, their views more likely to receive consideration."

The Treaty expressly states: "Nothing in this Agreement is intended to curtail any of the powers or authority now held by any of the Rulers in their respective States." It was contemplated that the States should grow and prosper as States while enjoying the advantage of a common purse and development policy and



the political strength afforded by unity. The whole would become greater than the sum of its parts—this is usually the case, in spite of what the mathematicians teach—but the parts would still remain.

What happened? Gradually the federal government machine grew and took over the detailed administration of the four states, efficiently it is true, but almost regardless of the existence of the State Governments. Rulers and State Councils had next to nothing to do, the powers of the Resident were whittled away until he could do almost nothing and spend almost nothing without the leave of the federal authority.

Let us see what the Wilson Report has to say on the subject:

"Previous to the Treaty the *de facto* executive power (matters concerning the Muhammadan religion and Malay custom excepted) had been left by the Ruler in each State to his British Resident, who consulted the Ruler whenever he thought desirable. The creation, as a result of the Treaty, of a Federal Secretariat under a Resident-General, whose advice had to be followed in all matters of administration, removed many of the powers previously exercised by the Residents to a superior authority who was not in continuous and personal touch with the Rulers; and the same authority took over complete supervision of the rapidly expanding finances of the States; and the unified control which resulted was a great stimulus to commerce and development. The State Governments, even if they had wished, were powerless to check centralization in the Federal Government and to escape from the ever-expanding activities of the federal departments."

There were protests from individual Rulers. In 1909 the High Commissioner "considered that there was a strong feeling on the part of the Malay Rulers against the loss of authority by the State Governments." The powers of the Resident-General were curtailed, a Federal Council was set up, the Resident-General was styled "Chief Secretary." The Rulers became members of the new Federal Council, and so did their Residents.

But it made little difference to the trend of things, and Sir Samuel Wilson says: "When Sir Lawrence Guillemard took up the duties of High Commissioner in February, 1920, he found that some of the Rulers of the Federated States were not satisfied with the position and were apprehensive that federal encroach-

ment might grow worse." That was only 25 years after the Treaty of Federation.

Sir Lawrence Guillemard thus puts it in his *Trivial Fond Records*: "The Rulers had for some time and to an increasing extent contrasted their own position of subordination to the Federal Secretariat with the position of greater freedom and dignity enjoyed in the States outside the Federation, where the government is carried on by the Ruler, assisted by a British Adviser, directly responsible to the High Commissioner, who, except on some question of policy in which his approval is required, does not intervene in the details of administration. All these causes had produced in the Rulers and higher Malays in the Federated Malay States a feeling of disquiet, and, as I realized when I got to know them, a very real disquiet. There was no failure of loyalty, no 'divine discontent,' but a desire for change in the conditions. I felt that they were right."

Federal centralization affected the English officials in different ways. With a unified public works, medical, and other services covering all four States it meant better prospects for the individual employee of those departments. A bigger service means more big jobs and consequently chances of promotion and of variety in a career. On the other hand, the greater freedom from red tape in an unfederated State makes the work of the civilian in, e.g., a Land Office vastly preferable. There is much less delay in getting votes for irrigation, bridle-paths, and similar improvements. The only other authorities who have to be consulted are all on the spot. In the Federation one had to wait about two years before getting the money for the work.

Then again in the Unfederated States there were fewer officials to create departmental correspondence and chain the officer to his desk, wasting time which might be better spent out in the fields. One well-known character among the District Officers coined the phrase, "A federal nuisance."

And so, in 1922, only 27 years after the Treaty of Federation, official intimation was given that the question of the transfer of power from the Federal to the State Governments was under consideration, and that it was hoped to increase the powers and functions of the State Councils in some important respects. Practical steps have been taken to begin, very gradually, a process



of decentralization. Assurances have been given to the Rulers of the Unfederated States that His Majesty's Government have no intention of requiring the Ruler of any Unfederated State to enter against his will into any kind of Malayan League or Union. But it is interesting to note that Sir Samuel Wilson says in his report: "However, from my discussions with their Highnesses it appears to me that the Rulers of the Unfederated States would be very reluctant to commit themselves at present to any closer co-operation than there is today with the other Governments in Malaya."

There has been strong opposition to the decentralization proposals from the commercial community in Malaya and from non-Malays. This in some ways underlines the obvious advantages of a single centralized administration in a small country like Malaya—*e.g.*, strong financial credit, common service for posts, telegraphs, and railways; a common policy for land and labour legislation; central Customs administration, dispensing with the curse of internal Customs stations; a general feeling of knowing where you are, essential for business enterprise.

In short, Federation has meant efficiency, good government, rapid development for Malaya, but it has also meant for the States the continued stagnation of State Councils, which were left next to nothing to do, a consequent lack of interest on the part of leading Malays in public affairs, and a general obscuring of local colour and character. There is something intensely depressing about uniformity, and its worship in official circles is inclined to become a fetish.

Before we turn to the Indian scene it must not be forgotten that the consequences which flowed from the Treaty of 1895 upon the four Malay States were due not so much to anything contained in the Treaty as to the fact that the States were federated at an early stage of their development, when the difficulties confronting their separate governments were overwhelming. They were in a chaotic state, as we ourselves have been at certain periods of our own past history. The consequences would work out very differently if a federation were to take place for the first time today, either among the Federated or Unfederated States. Many of the Rulers are highly educated men with modern ideas. They are men of personality and ability, who have travelled widely. There would be less likelihood of them being smothered. And it must be re-

membered that a certain degree of surrender of powers and position by the federating units is of the essence of any federation. It is mainly because the units have refused to give up anything in the way of sovereignty that the League of Nations has broken down. None of the Indian States on joining a federation can expect to be quite as independent as they are today, and for them it is a question of balancing the advantages of joining against some inevitable contraction of sovereignty.

There are many different circumstances surrounding the proposed Indian federation which make difficult a comparison with Malayan experience.

The Provinces of British India were, until the recent constitutional reforms were put into effect, under a highly centralized government. British India was, in fact, a unitary state. The Simon Report recognizes the general tendency in a federation once formed towards increasing centralization. "It may be asked," says the Report, "why the reverse process is recommended today. The answer is to be found in the peculiar features of the Indian problem. India is moving from autocracy to democracy." The difficulty of large units makes devolution necessary if democracy is to come about. The Report says: "A further reason is that it is only in a federal structure that sufficient elasticity can be obtained for the union of elements of diverse internal constitution and of communities at very different stages of development and culture."

It was desired to give self-government to the Provinces of British India as a democratic development and at the same time to unite them, different as they are in character, under a central government in which they will also take part. Federation is part of the process of giving the Provinces democratic autonomy.

But it is the converse with the Indian States. They have already a full measure of local autonomy and they are not under the central Government except as regards control of their foreign policy and liability to intervention if misgovernment arises. Otherwise the States have their own civil services and armies and are masters in their own houses. Why is federation recommended for the Indian States? The answer is given in the Simon Report.

The Report says: "In the course of our enquiries we became more and more convinced of the impossibility of continuing to



look at one half of India to the exclusion of the other." A number of arguments are carefully marshalled in favour of a federation including the States. Common needs; geographic, political, and economic unity; increasing sense of Indian Nationality; the fact that India, not British India, is a member of the League of Nations. India, moreover, is said to be on the road to Dominion status, and if she is to be a Dominion, that Dominion should include the entire sub-continent.

Another important difference between India and Malaya is that provision is made in the Indian proposals for separate and different agreements between the Federation and the acceding State. To quote from the White Paper: "But in the case of every State which accedes, the powers and jurisdiction of the Federation in relation to the State and the subjects of its Ruler will be strictly co-terminous with the powers and jurisdiction transferred to the Crown by the Ruler himself and defined in his Instrument of Accession."

There is thus no question at the start of general control of the States by the centre on a uniform plan as there was in Malaya in 1895.

In other cases an even greater protection will be the undisputed facts that some Rulers are enlightened and progressive and their Governments models of what should be. The fact, too, that they have a highly organized government machinery of their own will render it impossible for the Federation to flood their territories with officers who owe allegiance, not to the State, but to a distant Federal Head. This was one of the main causes of trouble in Malaya.

It may be doubted whether it will matter much where the residuary power of legislation is ultimately left. In Canada residuary power lies with the Federal Government. In Australia it remains with the States, who legislate on everything not expressly reserved for the Federal Government. Yet we have recently witnessed a determined attempt by Western Australia to break free from Federal clutches.

Surely the point of practical importance in considering the probable effects of Accession to the Federation on a State is not so much the terms of the Instrument of Accession but the inherent strength or weakness of the unit. Those which are well-governed

and keeping pace with the times need not fear any diminution of their glory, and need only to realize that joining the Federation must mean giving up something. Those which are backward or indifferently governed may eventually lose much of their identity. Much will depend on the personality of their rulers.

As regards the advantages claimed for such unification, we must point out that in Malaya we have had for some time Federated and Unfederated States existing side by side. If you motored up the country from north to south you would see nothing or little to indicate where Federation ends and Non-federation begins, bar an occasional frontier Customs or police-station. The principles of administration are the same in both. Common policy on such things as railways, posts, and land administration has been obtained by mutual agreement, rendered, it is true, more easy of achievement by reason of treaties, which require the State Governments to take advice from British advisers, but by no means achieved solely because of such advice. In Malaya we shall have both sets of States for many years to come. For we have seen from the Wilson Report: "Everything seems to point to its being some considerable time before the Rulers of the Unfederated States are likely to agree to do more than take part in occasional Durbars or Conferences for the discussion of questions of interest to Malaya as a whole."

The experience of Malaya shows that many of the advantages claimed for federation are to be obtained without it by negotiation and agreement with non-federating units. Arguments for Indian federation based on the advantages of common postal arrangements, etc., are not the most convincing.

It has been shown that some surrender of powers and position by the federating units is of the essence of any federation.

One aspect of the problem is of especial interest. As the Simon Report tells us, "India is moving from autocracy to democracy." The establishment of democracy in the neighbouring Provinces, and the setting up of a Federal Government on a democratic basis, will bring the tides of democracy nearer to the Princes. A Federal Government of which the States were members might well prove to be a useful shock absorber and a shield and buckler against revolution.



## THE OPENING OF A COFFEE ESTATE IN THE BABABUDAN HILLS

By R. O. OLIVER

THE Bababudan Hills are one of the finest coffee-growing districts in India, being specially favoured as regards climate, rainfall and soil. They are situated in the north of the Mysore State and are in the form of a horseshoe eighty miles in length, the centre being occupied by a deep valley which gives the impression of a gigantic crater. This valley is covered with thick forests and bamboo; at one time large tracts were cultivated by Ryots driven into this unhealthy and malarious region by the continual raids of the Poligars, but today only a few sparsely populated villages remain. The Hills rise from the plateau of Mysore and are covered with forests, which give way to grass on the high levels, and attain an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The majority of the coffee is planted on the outer slopes of this horseshoe at between 3,000 and 4,500 feet. Such has been the success of coffee-growing on these Hills that it is now difficult to obtain land for development at a suitable elevation below the mist line, which envelops the higher region in the monsoon. Planters living on the Bababudan Hills have besides a healthy climate, a great variety of surroundings, and sport. Above the plantations on the high ground the scenery resembles parts of Exmoor, grassland and woods, which afford excellent sambur stalking, made exciting by the change in the direction of the wind, which often defeats one when circumventing a small hill or wood; to add to this the sambur returns to the woods as the sun strengthens, and a fine stag may casually amble into the jungle before one is able to get within shot. Below the estates is deciduous forest, scrubby jungle and lantana holding deer, tiger and leopard; further to the east are beautiful lakes, which afford good duck shooting during early months in the year.

After growing coffee for ten years I heard a rumour that a block of 100 acres well known to me as good land was in the market. This, after short negotiations, I was able to obtain at a reasonable price.

Some eighty or more years ago an effort had been made to open up this land, but quarrels had arisen between the partners, and the dispute was taken to court. Owing to numerous complications and still further claims pending the settlement, the estate was abandoned. The area under litigation covered 300 acres and was

settled in 1932, when a clean title was given to three brothers, who requested the court to divide the land into three equal shares. It was with one of these Indians that I was able to make a deal and secure the middle portion. The division had been made into three long strips running across the hill from south to north.

On taking up my property in November of the same year I found it necessary to open up an old road which had become completely overgrown with lantana and impenetrable weed which covers large tracts in Mysore. This road, over a mile long, led to the lower share and from there zigzagged through evergreen forest up to my property. Once in the forest, which was free from undergrowth, we were able to examine the lie of the land as a whole.

The whole 300 acres was undulating and lay in a fold in the hills, with a gradient providing a natural drainage not too steep to allow soil erosion during the monsoons. The land was covered with a secondary growth of jungle; these trees had grown to a great height and had a girth of between two and four feet in circumference. They had sprung up close together amongst the large virgin forest trees, which had been saved from the axe when the land had first been cleared, as at that time most large trees were considered good shade.

Coffee in India is grown under the shade of trees. Therefore, in making a clearing, we leave suitable jungle trees that may be used for this shade. Experience has today told us what trees are best suited for this purpose; in the past any tree was left if of suitable size or position.

Out of my 100 acres I found 60 to be of exceptionally good soil, a rich red loam covered with a deep layer of leaf-mould, watered by two perennial streams. Of this I decided to clear and plant 30 acres the first year, the other 30 acres the second season, and leave the remaining 40 acres until the planted land had come into bearing in the fourth or fifth year and refunded me some of my outlay.

The first task was to clear the jungle round my boundaries, which were supposed to be marked by stones, but it was so overgrown that these were not easily seen.

The survey map showed the boundary stones in the jungle subdividing the land into different survey numbers. One of these stones I was shown by an old Indian. After a short search we found three stones denoting my south boundary, and a clear path was cleared between these stones. Measurements were taken and found to coincide with those on the survey map. It is interesting to note that I have always found boundary stones, as placed by the Mysore Survey, exactly correct, but the courses of the streams are usually drawn in and not accurately charted, being merely an



indication, and these must never be taken for granted, as I know to my cost. Having found our south boundaries, two straight paths had to be cut across the hill from the top south-east corner to the top north-east corner, and another from the bottom south-west corner to the lower north-west corner; but this was none too easy; owing to the density of the forest, visibility was limited to a few yards. For this purpose I employed a Government Surveyor, who, after working three days, retired to Chickmaglur to rest. I determined to carry on the work myself. With the help of a plane table I was able to ascertain the angle on which the lines of our two paths should run. Two readings were taken by a prismatic compass, and these readings were followed step by step as we cut the paths, measuring off the distance at every 100 feet with a chain. We knew that if we cut directly in a straight line for fixed distances we should eventually arrive at survey stones in the south-east and north-east corners.

This work required accuracy with constant reading of the compass, and there was the danger of the large quantities of the iron-stone present in the soil affecting its reading. Great was the rejoicing when, after having cut the paths the correct distances, we came upon our boundary stones within a few feet of our paths. The boundaries of our property were therefore demarcated.

I lived on an estate a few miles away, but camped out on the new one when enough room had been cleared for my tents, and from there I returned periodically to my bungalow to look to things at the old estate.

At this estate the labour either comes from the plains of Mysore—these coolies are Canarese—or from south-east of Bangalore in the Madras Presidency—these coolies are Tamil. These men or their families have come year after year, having settled down to the work and formed a habit of liking this particular estate; new labour being obtained through their recommendation. A personal attachment grows up between master and men, each taking a pride in the work of the estate. I hope to build up a labour force of these coolies in the future.

But, in the meanwhile, new labour had to be obtained, and, except for a few who themselves applied, having known or heard of me, the others had to be obtained through a contractor. These workers are not so satisfactory, as they look upon the contractor as their master, who may be miles away, and supply several other estates. It was necessary, therefore, for me to be on the spot as much as possible.

The first task was to make a nursery and plant it with germinated seed in January and then to clear the rest of the land of all but the good-class shade trees before the south-west monsoon broke at the end of June. The land would then be pegged out

and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet-deep pits dug  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart. The new seedlings would by then be ready and must be planted in these pits before the end of September.

A few remarks may here be made about the cost of buying land and opening up an area of 60 acres.

Cost of buying 100 acres of land and planting 60 acres of coffee :

100 acres of land ... ..	Rs. 8,000
1st Year.—Planting 30 acres ... ..	Rs. 7,286
2nd Year.—Planting 30 acres and upkeep on 30 acres planted the previous year ... ..	Rs. 8,094
3rd Year.—Upkeep on 60 acres ... ..	Rs. 3,365
4th Year.—Upkeep on 60 acres ... ..	Rs. 3,011
5th Year.—Upkeep on 60 acres ending Decem- ber, 1937 ... ..	Rs. 3,373
	<hr/>
	Rs. 33,129

After the fifth year the estate may be taken to be bearing and should be a paying proposition.

The cost of bringing 60 acres into bearing works out at Rs. 550 an acre.

The value of the property may be taken at Rs. 800 an acre, although an estate in this zone could not be purchased at this figure.

It is possible for a planter with limited capital of about £2,000 to buy land (if he can find it) and start opening a small area, and plant more coffee, when the original planted area is able to pay the cost of opening a further acreage. In this way many planters become in time the owners of estates. The majority of proprietors allow their managers to open up land of their own, as they themselves have probably done in the past.

A place was chosen to form a nursery for the young plants, first ascertaining whether water could be brought to the site. We proposed to divert a portion of a stream higher up and trace a channel following the contours of the land; but in one place, however, a 10-feet-deep cutting some 50 yards long had to be made. This cutting was given out on a lump-sum contract to a Muhammadan contractor, who employed a small gang of labour; he met with no serious obstruction until the work was nearly completed, when unfortunately he encountered a large boulder. After burning and chipping away for several days—dynamite not being easily procurable—his funds were exhausted and he was forced to pay off his labour; much to his credit he carried on the job single-handed. I was so impressed by his honesty and perseverance that I allowed him the help of some of my estate coolies, and in time the stone



was cut through and a fine supply of water brought to the nursery. We now started on felling and chopping up the forest which covered the nursery site. The usual practice when clearing land is to fell, stack and burn; but burned ground does not agree with young plants, so it was necessary to carry all the logs, branches and leaves from off this site and place them round the nursery, which formed a barrier of some 15 feet high and more in breadth. This site had then to be dug to a depth of 2 feet and all stones removed, which are usually stacked round the nursery and form a low wall. After digging for some days with a large gang of coolies we had only completed a small area and had removed an immense amount of stones. We calculated that had we continued in this way we should have had a wall as high and as broad as the Great Wall of China and the cost would have been prohibitive. We were faced with two alternatives—either to have the plants grown off the estate on a plantation three miles away or to make a basket nursery. We decided on the latter course, and procured 40,000 cylindrical bamboo baskets 3 inches in diameter and 9 inches in depth, and a cement cistern was filled with a strong solution of copper sulphate in which to soak the baskets to prevent them from rotting. The baskets were filled with a mixture of two-thirds soil and one-third leaf-mould and were placed in long rows, each row 3 feet wide and 1 foot apart to enable easy watering and weeding. Over this we constructed an awning made of bamboo and leaves and supported on upright poles. Seeds already germinated were placed singly in each basket and watered carefully every evening. Valuable time had been spent in trying to make a plant nursery and by the time taken in laying down the basket nursery. On going through my books I note that these works, which also included building coolie lines, took to the end of March, when it is customary for most coolies to return to their villages until the middle of June. Carrying on with a reduced labour force, 15 acres was felled, lopped and burnt, when the heavy south-west monsoon broke. The remainder could be felled, but the difficulty of burning in heavy rain had to be overcome. After a consultation with my foreman we decided to cut down the small and medium-sized trees and to stack the logs and branches on end round the undesirable forest trees in such a manner that when once well alight the draught would be sufficient for the fires to burn even the wettest logs and kill the trees. One particular forest tree common in this jungle is often hollow, and when fired in this way it is a fine sight to see the flames shooting many feet into the air from the top of this natural chimney.

The estate had become a sorry sight, the land was black in patches, the burnt trees looked like standing corpses, whilst the trees retained for shade appeared scarcely better with their leaves



curled and scorched. As the land became cleared pegs were driven in to mark where the pits were to be dug for the young plants. The lining is done in squares, each plant  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart. Accuracy is necessary, as from the number of pegs put in one is able to calculate the acreage completed. A gang of pitters followed the liners. Here a further delay occurred owing to the number of stones in the soil, which resulted in ten to fifteen pits being dug against the normal contract of thirty. After pitting, the holes were filled up, care being taken that no leaves entered the pit, lest they should cause the earth to sink. By September the nursery was full of robust plants, which were carried out in their baskets to the pits. The bottom of the basket was then cut off and the tap root cut level to ensure it not being bent, as a straight root is essential to the coffee tree. In spite of all these setbacks the estate was planted before the end of the north-east monsoon. It is true we could not plant the whole clearing with shade as, owing to delays, we had not had sufficient time before the planting season ended.

The digging cost four times more than estimated, as on digging out the tree stumps we found that they were wedged between large stones which had to be lifted and placed on the surface before the stump could be removed. In the first season the sum of Rs. 7,286 was spent in opening 30 acres, which is Rs. 242 per acre; more than double the average cost.

During the second year all went well; a further 30 acres was opened; the cost of this work, together with the upkeep of the first year planting, amounted to Rs. 8,094; this sum included planting shade in the new clearing and in the portion of the first year's clearing which we had been unable to finish the previous year. In referring to my monthly report at the end of the second year I read: "The original digging of the land was most expensive, due to stones and many tree stumps, but owing to the friable soil the second dig was very easy"—which proves the advantage of a good dig in the first instance. The one-year-old plants had made a wonderful growth; they stood 3 feet high with beautiful dark green leaves, free of disease, looking like children's Christmas trees in shape and colour. The planting in the second year was most successful, and would be even finer after a year's growth than our first planting. It remained to care for the young plants and shade trees, keep the weed down and dig the whole estate each year until the coffee covered the ground; the coffee plants are topped at 3 feet 6 inches; when kept at this height they in time form a sea of green over the ground.

In May, 1935, I went on six months' leave and looked forward to a fine sight on my return. Whilst in England I received reports of heavy wind at the start of the monsoon. The plants



had been staked to prevent them being wind-rung; but with the unusually strong wind and the open nature of the soil, larger stakes had to be cut and hammered 2 feet into the ground to support the plants. This task necessitated neglecting the weeding. It was not until I returned at the end of October and visited the estate that I realized how serious had been the delay. On visiting the estate I found the main portion covered with weed, making it difficult to see the coffee. After the weed had been removed we found the coffee plants had suffered with leaf disease—a most distressing sight—which was heart-breaking after the good start the plants had been given.

During the season 1936-37 the estate produced 1 ton of coffee. It has recovered and taken on the semblance of an estate, and in a year or two good crops should be harvested and find their way to Mincing Lane and figure in the London brokers' catalogue with other famous Bababudan estate marks.

A 60-acre estate is small. I had hoped to obtain the blocks of land above and below. During my absence in England both these blocks were purchased by an Indian neighbour.

If I had not opened my estate I might have obtained the two other pieces, as for some reason the jungle was not thought to be suitable for coffee, but on seeing my one-year-old plants their opinion rapidly changed. My neighbour has opened up his blocks, whilst a considerable acreage of poor land adjoining has been since opened up by other Indians.

In co-operation with all my new neighbours a road has been made leading to these estates; their help over this and other matters has assisted in many ways. We are on excellent terms, and our friendship, I hope, will continue.

Today, instead of the lonely spot at the time of my first visit, where bison, one of the most harmless and beautiful of Indian game, dwelt, it is now a hive of industry. One cannot help feeling regret that for the present all the game have deserted these estates, but in time, as the coffee becomes thick, it will again offer cover to the sambur, the pig and the leopard, but the bison will not return unless the land reverts to its original pristine state.

## CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HYDERABAD

By B. S. TOWNROE

THE bonds of learning between East and West have been strengthened in recent years. Representatives of British Universities and delegates from the British Association to the Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress, who visited the State of Hyderabad, for example, have returned to England much impressed by all that is being done there to foster the cause of learning. Previous articles on town planning and the housing and the health services of the State have shown how great is the solicitude of the Nizam and his advisers for the well-being of his people. Not only in these social services, but in the sphere of education, remarkable progress has been made during the twenty-seven years' rule of His Exalted Highness.

Over fifty years ago a former Nizam in a public proclamation stated: "Nothing will afford me greater pleasure than to see my people living in peace and prosperity, engaged in the development of sources of wealth, in the acquisition of knowledge and cultivation of the arts and sciences, so that by their efforts the country may arise to a high state of enlightenment and the State derive benefit from their knowledge and intelligence."

Encouraged by these words, the then Director of Public Instruction and Education Secretary reorganized his department and established a carefully thought out educational policy. It was decided to provide every town in the State, whose population exceeded 10,000, with an Anglo-vernacular school, and to open in every village a primary school at which the children should receive a vernacular education. Naturally such an ambitious scheme could not be carried out at once, and many of the plans were still only on paper, when in 1907 Sir Akbar Hydari, at that time Mr. A. Hydari, Home Secretary, persuaded the Government to take stock of the educational system. Mr. Arthur Mayhew, then of the Indian Civil Service and now Secretary to the Education Committee at the Colonial Office, was appointed Educational Adviser.

Fortunately the present Nizam, who came to the throne on August 29, 1911, at the age of 25, had had the advantage of an excellent education himself, and was therefore fully in sympathy with the schemes placed before him by his Home Secretary. His Exalted Highness, Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur Fateh Jung, had been taught by distinguished scholars in English, Urdu, Persian, and Arabic. He had not only a strong will and a social



outlook, but also wide knowledge. He determined to do his utmost to bring the benefits of education and culture to his subjects, many of whom were quite illiterate and ignorant. He decided to build on the old institutions, and therefore we find today an almost mediæval village life being guided by schoolmasters and the villagers listening to wireless talks transmitted from the National Broadcasting Station. On the threshold of his rule the Nizam made the memorable declaration, "In every way I will do my best to do good to my people and my country." This was an expression of his determination to build up a modern state with standards as high as those to be found in the most progressive countries of the West.

If only the Greek philosopher Plato had lived in the twentieth century, he might well have recognized in the Nizam the philosopher king of his ideal brought to life; for the Nizam is not only a sovereign inheriting the Mogul tradition, he is also one of the wealthiest men in the world, and in spite of all remains a poet at heart and a man of simple tastes with an extremely frugal way of life. He accepted many of the recommendations made by Mr. Mayhew for the expansion of primary education and the improvement of secondary education. Mr. Mayhew also suggested that the time had come to establish a Hyderabad University. In 1916 the Nizam issued a Firman in which he announced that he had resolved to establish a separate University at which Urdu would be the language of instruction.

Hampered by the effects of the War, by plague, famine, and influenza, the Nizam pressed on with his educational programme. His Director of Public Instruction was Dr. Alma Latifi, who lately retired from the Financial Commissionership of the Punjab. Pupils were given free primary education; training colleges were set up for teachers in both secondary and primary schools; divisional inspectors were appointed and teachers' salaries were raised. The aim of the Director was to provide a high school in the headquarters of every district and middle schools in the taluk headquarters. A special college was set up after the War for the sons of the landed gentry and aristocracy. Women's education also progressed, so that by the end of 1927 there were four training schools for women and many more girls' middle and primary schools.

The depressed classes were not overlooked. From 1917 onwards special primary schools were provided for pupils from the depressed classes. Adults, too, were given their opportunities by the setting up of adult schools, so that those who could not read or write were able to learn.

## OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The Osmania University was opened in 1918. Two years later the Faculty of Education and a teachers' college for the teaching of graduates were established. Separate colleges with thoroughly well-qualified professors, readers and lecturers in medicine and engineering came into being. The various professional and arts colleges have now all been brought together in the one University. On the hills just outside the city have been laid out the Senate House, the Library, the Museum, the Students' Union Hall, and the Colleges of Arts, Law, Agriculture, Forestry, Science, Mathematics, and Engineering. The plans also provide for a Botanic Garden, an open-air swimming bath, a stadium, and a gymnasium. The buildings are claimed to be "an invaluable contribution to that synthetic architecture which has been a peculiar glory of Decanni art under Moslem rule from both the past and the present." In the new buildings may be found the best features of both Hindu and Moslem architecture.

During the period of the building of the Arts College and the University Library primary and secondary education were being rapidly developed under a new Director, Mr. Fazl Muhammad Khan, M.A. According to a report on his work in the period 1927 to 1935, he consolidated the progress made by his predecessor, extended primary education, and developed secondary education for boys and girls.

The four illustrations with this article give some idea of the architecture and surroundings of the growing University. There are two photographs of the Arts College during the building stage, showing its dignified proportions even before completion. The view of the finished Students' Hostel reveals a spacious and attractive block, which will bear comparison with any of the most modern English residential hostels. There is also a photograph of the Botanic Garden.

## PHYSICAL EDUCATION

He was particularly concerned with the development of physical education. Some of his work is of the more interest in view of the British Government's scheme for the provision of more adequate facilities for physical training and recreation in Great Britain. The four essentials in Great Britain are said to be better accommodation for physical training and games, an adequate allotment of time for physical activities in the curriculum, teachers trained in modern educational gymnastics, and the utilizing of men and women organizers. In Hyderabad an Athletic Associa-



tion was founded in 1919 with the object of encouraging sportsmanship through outdoor games, and Mr. Beall, the Chief Inspector of Physical Education, was the first Secretary. The Boy Scout movement was inaugurated in Hyderabad schools in 1923, when Mr. Mirza Yusuf Khan became Director of Boy Scouts. Since then playgrounds have been laid down, a college of physical education opened, and physical education made compulsory in all schools.

When the Nizam succeeded in 1911 the expenditure on education was Rs. 14 lakhs. Today the annual budget on education is over Rs. 100 lakhs. The number of primary schools has increased from 920 to over 4,300 and of secondary schools from 88 to 186. On his accession the proportion of boys going to school was under 6 per cent. It is now nearly 30 per cent. of the male population of school age. The figures for girls are even more remarkable, for the percentage in 1911 of the female population of school age was 0.7 per cent., and is now nearly 5 per cent. These figures show an increase of institutions and scholars by at least five times. They also reveal that in Hyderabad, as elsewhere in India, education is still far from universal, and that much more remains to be done.

#### FUTURE POLICY

The problem of the future is how to encourage vocational training and not simply to produce armies of clerks of the black-coated class. Sir Akbar Hydari has shrewdly summarized the present dangers of Indian education, for he recognizes the danger of India becoming a nation of learned beggars. Sir Akbar considers that the need of India today 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 inefficient hands.”

The Committee presided over by the late Dr. A. H. Mackenzie made a number of valuable recommendations with a view to carrying into effect Sir Akbar's policy, and these have on the whole been approved by the Nizam. Based on the report, and in order to try and prevent possible unemployment among the educated classes and to equip them better to face the exigencies of modern economic life, a comprehensive scheme for the reorganization of education has been promulgated.

The following is a summary of the new scheme as it has been sanctioned by the Nizam :

*Reorganization of Courses*

## Existing courses and their length :

Primary Classes	...	...	I. to IV.—4 years.
Middle Classes	...	...	V. to VII.—3 years.
High Classes	...	...	VIII. to X.—3 years.
University Classes	...	...	XI. to XIV.—4 years.

## Proposed courses and their length :

Primary Classes	...	...	I. to V.—5 years.
Secondary Classes	...	...	VI. to IX.—4 years.
Higher Classes	...	...	X. to XII.—3 years.
University Classes	...	...	XIII. to XV.—3 years.

This reconstruction of education is on parallel lines to the system of vocational training which has now been accepted as the right ideal in British India, and it is worthy of note that Hyderabad State is doing valuable pioneer work in putting ideals into practice.

Each of the stages is inspired with a clear objective. In the primary stage, which will last for five years, children are to be given the minimum of general education, so that they may learn to read and write. Already primary education in Hyderabad is free and pupils are taught in their mother tongue, in Telugu, Marathi, Canarese, or Hindustani.

The secondary and vocational stage will last for four years. In urban schools students will be given manual and craft training and in rural schools agricultural training. This stage is intended to give an opportunity to boys who may have little literary ability but show such practical gifts as to be worth an education beyond the elementary period. At the same time the students during these four years will continue general educational courses, so that those who do well and show intellectual promise may proceed higher up the educational ladder. There is to be a school examination at the end of the second stage.

The third rung on the educational ladder is the high and technical stage. Students will attend various institutions and be prepared for the University or for agriculture or for taking positions of management in commerce and industry or in the State official service. There will be another examination at the end of this stage.

A Statutory Board of Secondary Education will be responsible for the teaching in both secondary and technical schools and for the conduct of the public examinations. The Director of Public Instruction is to be *ex officio* Chairman, and sitting round the table with him will be representatives of varied interests, including the University, the schools, various Government Departments, and also the general public. Up to the present Madras University has exercised control over secondary and university education in



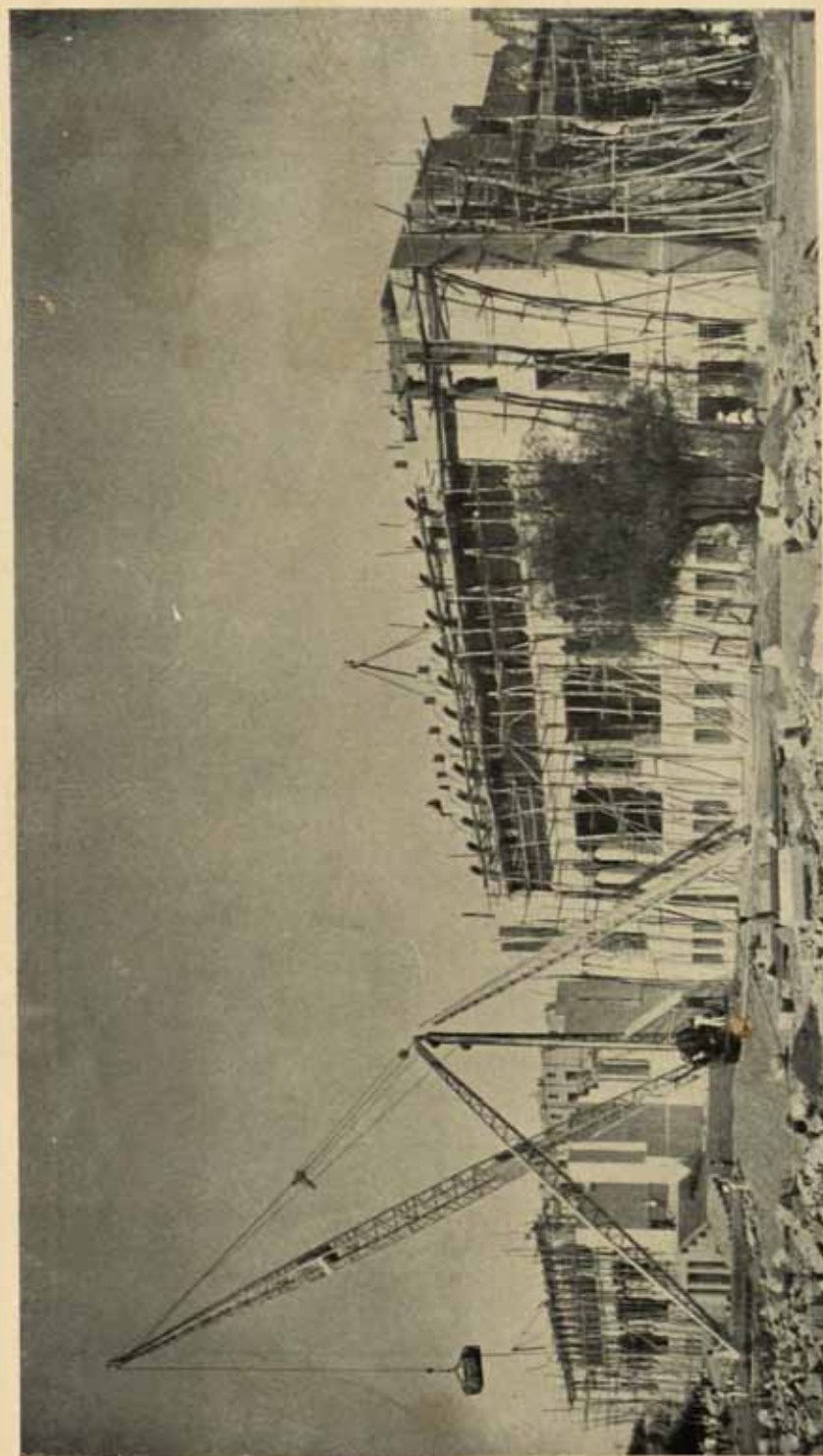
Hyderabad, but the Committee putting forward the reconstruction scheme now adopted were strongly in favour of this control from another State coming to an end in due course.

For it is laid down in the Report that the educational system and courses of study of a country ought to be devised with special reference to its own needs and conditions. The Report states: "It is obvious that the Government of the Dominion cannot express through their educational system their own views regarding the lines of development of education in the State so long as any part of this system is outside their control."

Accordingly, under the new system there will be not only the Statutory Board of Secondary Education, but a Board of Education established by Royal Charter. Further, the Nizam College will become an associated college of the Osmania University, working for the degrees granted by the Osmania University. English is to be the medium of instruction and examination, and the College will be administered by a separate Board of Governors, on which the pro-Vice-Chancellor will be an *ex officio* member. For the time being, however, it has been decided that the affiliation of the College with Madras University shall continue. One object of this is to assist students whose mother tongue may not be Urdu.

The final and top rung of the ladder will be the University stage lasting for three years. This period will be unbroken by an intermediate examination. The greatest care is to be taken to keep up high standards both at the University and at the Nizam College, and it is hoped that only students likely to benefit will be enrolled.

Based therefore on the experience of well over fifty years, advised by wise educational experts, and directly encouraged by the desire of the Nizam to bring about a higher level of intellectual life among his subjects, this new system is about to be put into force. When the reconstructed scheme has been established the State of Hyderabad will have given a lead to the rest of India in the re-organization of education, controlling, revising, and reforming education in accordance with the country's own needs, and, above all, always keeping the problem of future employment in view. It has already given the lead in using Urdu as the medium of instruction in the University stage, except in the Nizam College, where English is used. These educational reforms will, of course, cost a great deal of money, but the Nizam, without hesitation, has approved. There is, however, one wise safeguard inserted. Every five years progress is to be reviewed, so as to make sure that those responsible are proceeding on the right lines.



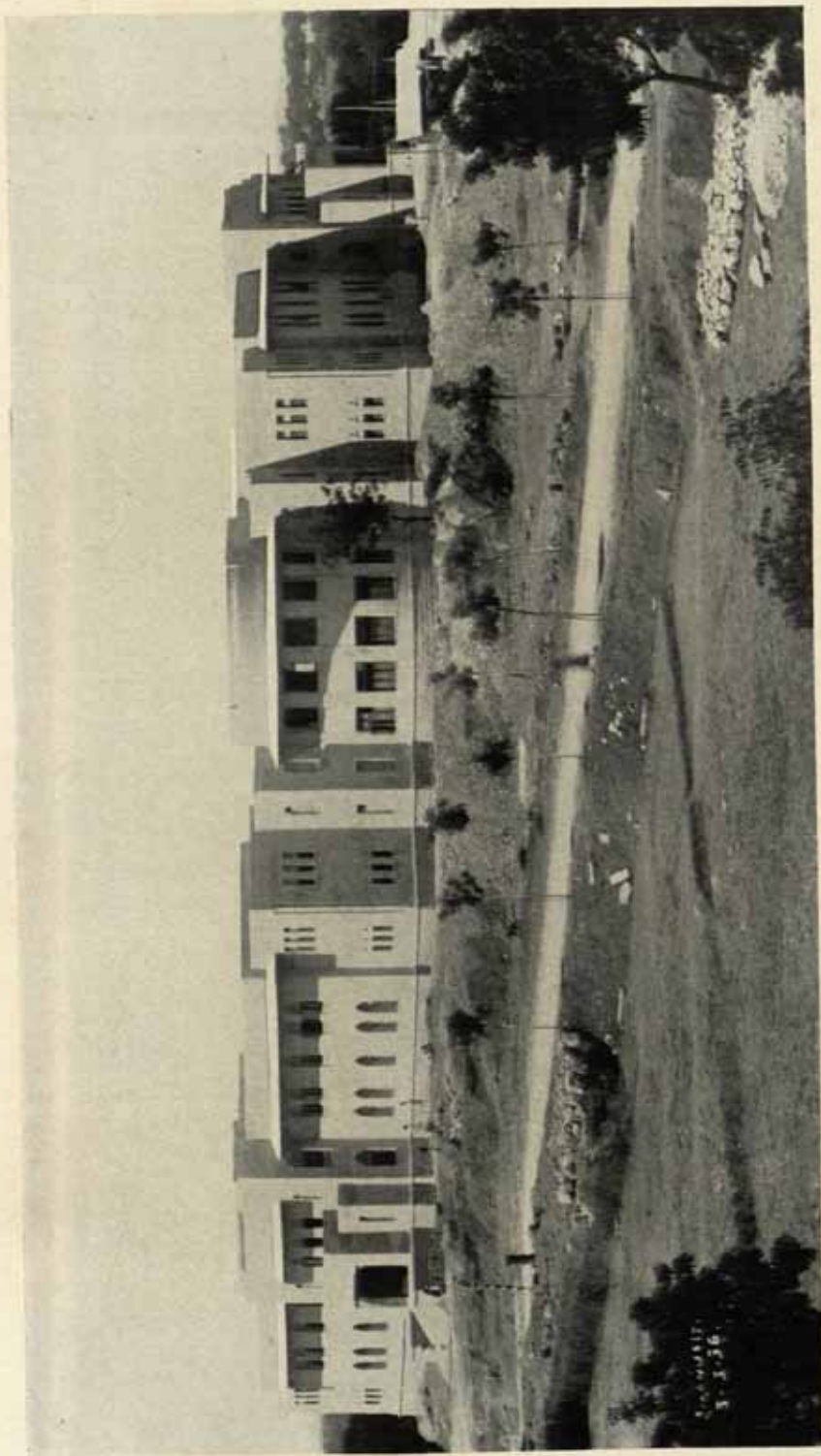
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY: FRONT VIEW OF THE ARTS COLLEGE IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION.





OSMANIA UNIVERSITY : VIEW OF THE GARDENS.

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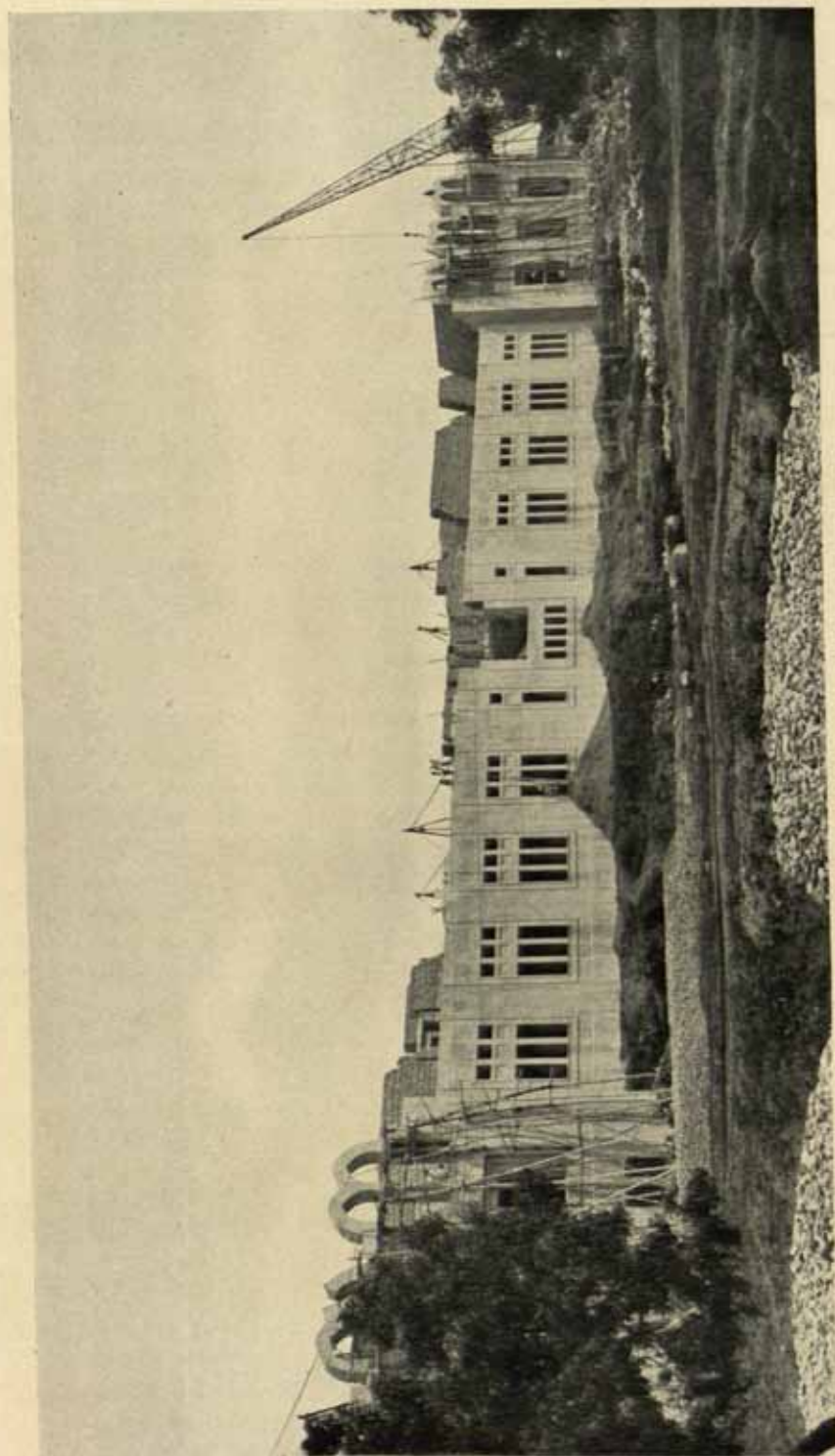


OSMANIA UNIVERSITY: VIEW OF ONE OF THE NEW STUDENTS' HOSTELS.

Cultural Developments in Hyderabad.

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OSMANIA UNIVERSITY: VIEW OF THE ARTS COLLEGE FROM THE REAR IN 1936.

*Copyright returned.*

## FEMALE EDUCATION

Special consideration is given in the scheme to the education of girls. Women have been given a voice in the control of girls' education. The Nizam has accepted the suggestion outlined above, that there shall be a statutory board composed predominantly of educationalists, on which women will be represented. One of the statutory committees of the board, composed mainly of women, will have the right of advising on any question concerning girls' education.

On this general question of women's education the Princess of Berar, who made such an impression by her beauty and intellect on those whom she met in Europe at the time of the Coronation, in an address which she gave as President of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference, warned those present against accepting indiscriminately Western or any other culture. The Princess expressed her pride in the part now being played by Hyderabad women in cultural enlightenment. Her Highness said:

"Very few States have women's colleges. It is with a sense of gratification that I can mention the Osmania University College for Women, which has lately shown such brilliant results, and the Mahbubia, which is a model institution. The Women's Association also deserves our congratulations for so earnestly seeking to meet the increasing demand for mass education through the medium of its four free schools in poor areas. But you will agree with me that these and a few others are not enough to supply all needs. There are thousands within the districts who are beyond the reach of this life-giving light. It must spread; it must be like sunshine available for all, rich and poor. Here we see the necessity of making free primary education in the Dominion as universal as practical considerations will possibly allow. The present system should be suitably revised and re-organized, especially in view of the problem of our educated unemployed. A significant step in the direction of reform has already been taken by the Hyderabad State Educational Inquiry Committee."

The Princess considered that one of the problems seriously challenging the attention of India was that of the economic independence of its women. As women must be taught the dignity of work and every woman ought to be in a position to support herself by means of an honourable livelihood, should the occasion arise, she welcomed a scheme for an Arts, Crafts, and Home Industries Institute for women in Hyderabad. Her final words were:

"Let your deepest concern be for the health of your minds and bodies. Let your persistent thoughts be for your goal in life, which is the reason of your being. Have confidence in yourselves and in your capacity."

With such inspiration and encouragement from the wife of the Heir-Apparent of Hyderabad, it is little wonder that those responsible are pressing ahead enthusiastically with the development of girls' education.



## STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

While modern educational ideals are thus being followed, the special treasures of the State are not being overlooked. The temples of Ellora and Ajanta and other places of beauty and historic interest to be found in various parts of the Dominion are being preserved by the State Archæological Department. Mr. G. Yazdani, who is Director of this Department, in a lecture given to the India Society in London, referred to the good fortune of Hyderabad in possessing a vast number of the most beautiful monuments reared by men of different faith—Buddhist, Jaina, Brahmanical, Moslem, and Christian. Sir Akbar Hydari has been largely responsible for promoting the policy of preserving these rock-hewn temples as a great national heritage, irrespective of the religions with which they are associated. Today they are being explored, examined, and preserved under highly trained archæologists, and, thanks to the air service, can easily be visited and examined not only by native students of the culture of the Deccan, but by the increasing number of tourists who wish to see the works of a long-forgotten art.

## BROADCASTING

Another aspect of education in Hyderabad is the use of broadcasting, especially as a means of reaching remote villages and giving instruction in schemes of rural reconstruction and the popularization of tried methods of cultivation and veterinary knowledge. This instruction is definitely practical. Recently the Information Bureau broadcasted a talk through the Hyderabad State wireless station on the problem of water supply. This explained how in the past failure of the monsoon often led to the evacuation of villages. Today some 1,550 wells have been constructed or remodelled, many on cement concrete platforms, so that the villages might be provided with a protected water supply.

The wireless has also been used for teaching the peasants the simple laws of public sanitation. They were recommended, for example, to fill in all the ditches which, like moats, at one time surrounded many villages, and which are places where mosquitoes breed. Broadcasting has been harnessed to rural reconstructural work. There are now talks, as well as demonstrations, on poultry keeping, goat breeding, fish rearing, fruit and flower gardening and the cultivation of crops. Cottage industries, like hand-weaving, dyeing, and lacquer work, are being encouraged. Day schools for children and night schools for adults are being opened under the direction of the village schoolmaster.

With a view to developing the influence of the wireless still further and as an aid to education mixed with recreation, a State Broadcasting Department has been established. With the construction of the new transmitting station at Saroonagar and another at Aurangabad, this new department is in the course of a thorough reorganization so as to be able to carry out its duties of rural and urban broadcasting with efficiency and a wider public appeal. Transmission is a State monopoly in Hyderabad and a new regulation is about to be introduced levying a licence fee on broadcast receivers. The scheme of expansion consists of the establishment of two further stations, one in Gulbarga and the other in Warangal. While broadcasting from the station in Hyderabad is being done in Hindustani and English, the district stations will broadcast through the media of Hindustani and the language of the area they will be serving. The Information Bureau has also enlarged its functions connected with Press and publicity. Besides keeping the public informed, it serves as a useful medium of contact between the Press and the Government.

Other developments, such as the expansion of external trade, the improvement of transport of rail, road and air, the spread of irrigation schemes, famine relief measures, and public health services have all had an educative effect.

The Indian Science Congress, which celebrated its 25th meeting in January, and was attended by men and women drawn from almost every British University, was one sign out of many of the increasing contacts between the culture of the Western world and of Asia. Dr. Ernest Barker described in *The Times* how he had spent some time at Hyderabad among the laboratories and hostels of the new Moslem Osmania University, which "is already in large part, and planned to be altogether, a residential university, and which is growing apace under the fostering care of the Nizam's Government." He paid this tribute to educational progress in Hyderabad and elsewhere in India: "This contact with Indian universities has been an education; it has vivified what had been names into living realities; it has shown us, at first hand, the buildings, the equipment, the teachers, and the students (growing and growing from year to year in number) of some of the most lively, the most crowded, and the most eager of the universities of the British Empire."



## THE HYGIENE CONFERENCE IN JAVA: SOME OF THE LEADING PERSONALITIES

BY A. S. HAYNES, C.M.G.

(Malayan Civil Service, ret'd.)

DR. J. OFFRINGA was the President of the Conference. He is the Director of the Netherlands Indian Public Health Service, with headquarters at Batavia. To realize the importance of this post one must visualize firstly the island of Java with 45 million inhabitants; add to that the rest of the Netherlands Indies, making a total population of some 60 millions, about equal to the sum of the population of all the territories under our Colonial Office. The maximum length of the Netherlands Indies from west to east is equal to the distance from Ireland to the Black Sea; from north to south it is equal to the distance between the White Sea and Rome.

Courteous and calm, Dr. Offringa had the rare quality of permitting himself to speak only when speech was necessary, an invaluable gift at a Conference. After the Conference many of the delegates spent a few days travelling in Java to see something of the admirable system of medical work, both preventative and curative, which has been built up by the Dutch throughout this great island. And it is not too much to say that not one of the delegates of any of the countries concerned left the Netherlands Indies without a feeling of warm appreciation towards Dr. Offringa for the self-effacing manner in which he carried out his duties as President. On the last night, work being over, at a farewell dinner given by Dr. and Mrs. Offringa, there were opportunities of expressing that appreciation. They were taken: the dinner lasted from 10.30 p.m. till 1.30 a.m.

Sir MIRZA ISMAIL, the Dewan of Mysore, was the leader of the Indian delegation. He is a statesman of broad outlook and progressive ideas, and revealed himself in this rôle through the address he gave as leader of his delegation. After a fitting tribute to the Government of the Netherlands Indies for their generous welcome and admirable arrangements, he expressed his appreciation of the opportunity of learning something of the scientific and administrative methods followed in that country. "It has been a matter of surprise to me that there should have been so little collaboration between this country and India in dealing with problems which are common to both." The fact is, the Conference opened the eyes of all the delegates to the magnificent accom-

plishments of the Dutch in their administration of Java. They have been in that island for three hundred years; and if every country in Europe (to go no further) could say that its people were as happy as the people of Java, the world itself would be a happier place. Doubtless many of the delegates had some book knowledge of the Netherlands Indies; but their visit brought revelation and understanding and crystallized these into valuable experience, which each has taken back to his own country. Already an achievement for the Conference.

Sir Mirza dealt illuminatingly with the condition of the Indian peasant; with nutrition, stressing the rice milling problem; with malaria; and with soil fertility, urging the return to the soil of all the waste products which have come out of it, "turning waste to wealth by composting." His final observation on the future was hopeful and constructive. He was the President of Commission No. 2 on Rural Reconstruction. One of the most pregnant recommendations of this commission noted that there were successful examples of rural reconstruction in various countries and requested the League of Nations to collect and make available information regarding them.

Dr. W. R. AYKROYD is Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratory at Coonoor in South India, and was a member of the Indian Delegation. That nutrition is fundamental is a commonplace; that the difficulties of improvement in the East are prodigious is known to all. Dr. Aykroyd brought a trained mind to bear on these problems; and in clear and vivid English, to which it was a delight to listen, explained the needs and the difficulties, and then made practical proposals. He quoted Sir Mirza Ismail to the effect that the Conference was concerned with half the human race and that these nine hundred millions do not form a homogeneous population.

He urged that recommendations must be of a severely practical nature. "Public health workers tend to become sternly realistic in outlook, and they cannot expect to pay much attention to schemes which, however admirable on paper, are a strain on financial resources and unlikely to produce immediate practical results." This telling note resounded throughout all the deliberations of the Conference; it was a meeting of practical workers whose unanimous recommendations were framed with a view to action. And so recommendations about diet must bear in mind economic and social realities, and methods must be thought out by which existing diets can be slightly improved and yet remain within the means of those consuming them.

Within the limits of space, I can touch on only two points more. Dr. Aykroyd urged the importance of liaison between nutrition workers and agricultural departments. The aims of nutrition re-



search, agricultural research, and agricultural departments are essentially the same: to improve the food of the people. The findings of the nutrition worker can be given effect only through agriculture, and it is rational that these should be made the basis of agricultural policy. Will this really be acted on and not overlooked? The central government of a country cannot attend to everything; let us hope that the departments of governments concerned will adopt this attitude in their day-to-day work. And in this work of co-operation between nutritionists and agriculturists the writer would suggest that they get down to the fundamental question of the soil itself; for, as has been pointed out, impoverishment of the soil brings a whole train of evils: poor quality of pasture, of stock and therefore of meat, of vegetables and other foods. There is a wide belief, based on the observation and experience of many people, that proper soil conditions are necessary to grow proper food, and that the processes of nature which returns all wastes to the soil are better than the artificial stimulation common today.

Dr. Aykroyd did not omit reference to the rice problem. There is in the East a problem of polished or milled rice analogous to that of white bread in Western countries; but it is one of infinitely greater gravity. Rice is the staple diet in most of the Eastern countries, and the age-long custom has been to eat it in its most nutritious form—that is to say, with the husk only removed leaving all its vital elements intact. But the mechanical milling of today removes in the process many of these vital elements, and outbreaks of beriberi often result. Without, however, reaching the condition of actual disease, there is an impairment of health and vitality as the result of diet amongst poor people whose food consists almost solely of a rice milled to this degree. The use of milled rice is extending year by year in rural areas, and this makes the problem more urgent.

Dr. Aykroyd was hopeful that something might be done to check further extension, to encourage the use of unmilled or partially milled rice in boarding schools and government institutions and to make such rice easily available everywhere. In the report of the Conference definite recommendations were made on these and further points.

Finally, I cannot omit this pregnant sentence which everyone would be wise to absorb: "I have been struck in the course of our investigations by the remarkable results, in the shape of improvement in general health, which may follow an amelioration of diet; and one finds that, in a strange manner, diseases which have been ascribed to this or that parasitic or microbic agent simply disappear as the result of a little more food of the right kind to eat."



Professor T. SAIKI is well known as the Director of the Imperial Institute of Nutrition Research in Tokyo. He was one of the three rapporteurs on nutrition, the other two being Dr. Aykroyd and Dr. A. G. van Veen of the Netherlands Indies. His technical remarks were not always easy for the non-expert to follow. But when he came on to his personal creed as regards rice he was illuminating. His researches have convinced him of the grave dangers inherent in milled rice. And touching on his personal experience he said in effect: "I am a rice eater. In Japan I never eat milled rice (often called polished or white rice); I eat only under-milled rice. This good rice can be got everywhere in Japan; the Emperor has made known that he eats it and people follow his good example. But when I leave Japan I cannot get it. On the steamer coming to this Conference I could get only 'white' rice; again in the hotels in Singapore and Java only 'white' rice; on the trains only 'white' rice." This simple relation of fact made a cogent appeal, at any rate in my ears.

In spite of the thorny nature of the problem, governments must show that they have the interest and the vigour to tackle this great nutritional question. For the first time a Conference has reached unanimity on the subject and made clear-cut recommendations. Those recommendations simply cannot be pigeon-holed.

Dr. P. M. DOROLLE, a brilliant young member of the medical service in French Indo-China, was secretary of the delegation from that country. I believe I am right in attributing to him the composition of the very fine Indo-China report which was, in common with all the other national reports, circulated some months before the Conference. He had been detailed by his government the previous year to accompany the members of the Preparatory Commission on their tour through Indo-China. We had spent most of the long hot day in a Siamese train; in the torrid heat of the afternoon we left the train at Aranya on the frontier, and were met there by our guide, cool, fresh, debonair. Our rapid and complete tour was made possible only by the competence of his organizing power; and our enjoyment of it was heightened by his pleasant companionship. At the Conference Dr. Dorolle was one of the rapporteurs for the subjects of Health and Medical Services; it goes without saying that a clear and concise account was given of the principles governing their organization, their personnel, their curative and preventative agencies, and of budgets. In French Indo-China the gradual displacement of European doctors by their Indo-Chinese colleagues, inevitably less highly paid, as they serve in their own country without the risks and expense attendant on expatriation, will make it possible to employ a more numerous staff without increasing expenditure.

Dr. J. L. HYDRICK, Adviser for the Hygiene Organization of



the Netherlands Indian Public Health Service, was Chairman of Commission No. 1 on Health and Medical Services. His youthful appearance tends to conceal the greatness of his work in Java. It is based on simplicity and getting down to fundamentals. A well-qualified observer states that he was impressed with the smoothness with which the activities fit into the normal village life. There are no shocks of suddenly imposed measures, but the activities are so planned that they quietly and gradually penetrate and become a part of normal village life. There is simplicity of the materials and methods, and simplicity of approach; and the effectiveness of this simplicity is obvious.

Dr. Hydrick has based his activities on the following quotation from an American source: "Doing things to people is often easy, but it is expensive and of temporary benefit. Showing people how to do things for themselves may take a little time, but it is relatively inexpensive and its results are lasting. Moreover the people are strengthened by the latter process and weakened by the former."

These principles are put into force in intensive health units, the most striking of which is the Health Unit at Poerwokerto (Banjoemas). The Preparatory Commission had the privilege of being shown in detail the work of this unit; it made a profound impression. No one interested in the subject should fail to read his book *Intensive Rural Hygiene Work in Netherlands India*. In addition to the interest of the text it is full of the most illuminating photographs. It is perhaps a common feeling that one knows, broadly speaking, what public health work is in such countries, and that it is almost impossible to get the people of them to change their insanitary habits, and so on. With the reading of this book will come a realization of the general ignorance and a pleasant translation into a new land full of hope. The dark cloud of financial difficulties is also lightened. Apart from the ultimate gain by which better health increases economic capacity and productive power, the initial steps are made lighter by a wise adaptation of native methods and materials, resulting from the patient and accurate observation of native life. Those who will follow up the reading of the book by personally visiting the Health Unit will appreciate these methods and be put in the way to urge on their administrations the wisdom of applying them.

One cannot leave Dr. Hydrick without referring to the great exhibition organized for the Conference: he was responsible for that striking section which illustrated in lifelike forms of technical skill and beauty the intensive hygiene work and education of the Netherlands Indies Public Health Service.

Dr. SPENCER HATCH was one of the Indian delegation, being sent by the State of Travancore. He is District Secretary of the



Y.M.C.A. for that State and Cochin. He is an American citizen, has a degree in agriculture and is a doctor of philosophy. These are qualities of head: the qualities of his heart are revealed in his work and his life, almost synonymous terms. He had the distinction of being the only one of all the delegates, at this inter-governmental Conference, who did not hold some government position. His selection was a tribute not only to his own qualities, but also to the broadminded wisdom which rules in Travancore. For perhaps no one brought a greater contribution to this great assembly. His contribution was a successful example of actual rural reconstruction in being.

Most of us approached rural reconstruction with a view to discuss, learn, plan, urge, and plead. Dr. Hatch came bringing an exhibit in the case, a concrete instance of what has been accomplished at Martandam in Travancore, and an example of what can be accomplished elsewhere. Lord Willingdon, late Viceroy of India, in a foreword to Dr. Hatch's book,\* records his personal knowledge of the good service done by Dr. Hatch in his endeavours to improve the conditions of the rural classes. The central principle of his work is self-help with intimate, expert counsel.

"The villager," wrote Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey, "has the keen instincts of a man who lives very close to nature; he will not be persuaded by those whom he has not learnt to trust, charm they never so wisely, and he will not trust those who do not seem prepared to put aside all other claims and considerations, in order to live with him, to learn his troubles, and to support him through them." Dr. Hatch possesses and practises these qualities; he has thus succeeded in what many might call the impossible. A recommendation of the Conference, already mentioned, calls upon the League of Nations to collect and make available information regarding successful examples of rural reconstruction. It is presumed that this will be done. What attention will governments pay to these examples when collected?

Amongst Dr. Hatch's secrets are two which (if an Irishism be permitted) lie open and revealed to all. The first is his spirit of self-sacrifice; the second, like unto the first, is that success means success for his work not for himself.

Mr. R. BOYD, of the Malayan Civil Service, was leader of the Malayan delegation. Mr. Boyd is Director of Co-operation in Malaya; the organization and system of work in his department are based on the Indian model taken from the Punjab. In his opening speech he pointed out that the problem of rural hygiene in Malaya is largely the problem of the Malay peasant. "The Malay of the *kampung* (village) is a person of great charm; and

\* *Up from Poverty*. By D. Spencer Hatch. Oxford University Press.



in the simplicity of his outlook he is but little stirred to action by the prospect of wealth or by the fear of loss. He will listen to advice with patience and courtesy, but he will weigh it in his own balance, and it is not unlikely that the acceptance or rejection of it will depend more on his estimate of the character and understanding of the giver than on the quality or the substance of the advice itself."

Mr. Boyd is a realist and does not minimize the difficulties of approach. But to see those difficulties clearly is the first step towards overcoming them, and the Co-operative Department has already been surprisingly successful in a field which is admittedly thorny and has often met with cynicism where support would have been fitting.

In his speeches he passed from grave to gay with a mysterious facility; at one and the same time funereal and frolicsome, lugubrious and light-hearted, sombre and sportive, woebegone and waggish, he would cause us to rock with laughter and sit down to make us sit up and wonder where he had led us. And with his Irish temperament he would often put a spoke in an agreeably revolving wheel, with the stimulating effect of inducing a little deeper consideration.

He does not wear his heart on his sleeve; it is firmly planted in his work. And to those who know him intimately his zeal for his work is of the missionary order, wisely tempered with a sagacious realism.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928), of which the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, was Chairman, urged local governments to give the co-operative movement all the encouragement which it lies within their powers to give. A high authority in India expressed to the writer the opinion that co-operation was the sole hope of salvation for the peasant. A French Indo-China report has it "*l'association devient la condition indispensable du succès; elle apporte aux agriculteurs connaissances et capitaux, elle est elle-même un merveilleux instrument de propagande civilisatrice.*" Similar views could be quoted from Siam and from Java. Mr. Boyd labours in good company.

Dr. P. F. RUSSELL, of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, now working in Madras, was appointed by that government as a member of the Indian delegation. He was chairman of the technical committee on malaria. The other members of that committee were Dr. Morin of French Indo-China, Major Mulligan of India, Dr. Overbeek of Java, Dr. Pampana of the Health Section of the League of Nations, Dr. Soesilo of Sumatra, and Dr. U. Tin of Burma. And they produced a most valuable report.

"Malaria kills more people and does more damage to physical,

social, and economic welfare in rural portions of Far Eastern countries (especially in the tropics and sub-tropics) than any other disease." These striking words form the prelude to their recommendations. Every administrator in these countries should read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest all they say. I can select only two points: the importance of naturalistic methods of control, and the necessity of co-operation between health officers and engineers to avoid engineer-made malaria, the amount of which in some countries is said to be appalling. Dr. Russell is a big man in more than one sense of the term, and is not daunted by the magnitude of the problem. He enjoys the great benefit of practical working experience over years in various countries such as the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, Malaya, and India; what they tell him cannot be done in one country he can often tell them is being done in another country. Happy is the land which enjoys the gift of his services. He is patient, persistent, persuasive, and practical. Being both serious and humorous he is irresistible; but you don't feel that you are being swallowed.

Dr. L. RAJCHMAN is well known in many countries as the Director of the Health Section of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Can those who read these ineffective words realize the burden he sustained as General Secretary of the Conference? No one at the Conference failed to recognize it. He was everywhere and did everything. I believe he went to bed sometimes, because some members of his staff told me that they did occasionally for a few hours. But in view of what was accomplished during the ten days of the Conference belief is not easy. We saw it being performed daily—and nightly—and yet no one quite understood how it was done.

Within a couple of days of the closing session the complete proceeding had been despatched by air to Geneva. *Res ipsa loquitur*. And yet there was very much more than is printed in the published Report.\*

It is left to the imagination to number the difficulties in organizing a Conference embracing all the nations of the East and the Western Pacific, not on the spot but ten thousand miles away; and again in directing the secretarial side during the Conference itself with efficiency and promptitude. Dr. Rajchman was the first to give credit to the admirable help both of the Netherlands Indies officials and of his own staff. But there was not a single delegate who did not appreciate and acknowledge the full measure of credit due to the driving power and organizing ability of the General Secretary. It was a *tour de force*.

There were many personalities. I have selected only a few. The omissions are many. But I set out to give a selection, not

\* Series of League of Nations Publications. III. Health. 1937. III., 17.



compile a catalogue. Yet, as I write, the delightful companionship of Bandoeng is vividly before me; and I see many familiar faces of friends old and new whose voices I would fain make heard. *Apa boleh buat?* in the Malay language of the country.

I will conclude with a brief epitome. The Conference was under the auspices of the League of Nations, the only body which could have initiated such a gathering under such conditions of complete and competent preparation and organization. Japan, though not a member of the League, sent a delegation. All these nations had assembled, in a common and noble endeavour, to promote not merely the health but the general well-being and happiness of half the human race.

The result has been a series of most carefully considered recommendations, framed from the pooling of the views and experience of not only health and medical officers but administrators and experts in nutrition, agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, education, co-operation, and social sciences—experts, moreover, who are at the same time engaged in practical work.

These recommendations will go to the governments concerned. It is to be hoped that they will be given the consideration due to such a body of opinion, and that they will be put into effect according to the needs and capacities of the varying countries.

This much is certain. There is a stirring in Asia and elsewhere. The time for mere consideration is past. The time for action has come. The duty of States towards the cultivator on the land calls for it; economic progress and stability demand it; the health and happiness of the countryside compel it.

## THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE: AN HISTORICAL REVIEW

By H. B. DUNNICLIFF, M.A., SC.D., F.I.C.

(Chemical Adviser, Central Board of Revenue, Finance Department,  
Government of India.)

WHEN the ripe capsules of the large white poppy, *Papaver somniferum* L., are lanced on the growing plant, a white, pale yellow or pink juice exudes. On exposure to the air, coagulation takes place and this latex becomes increasingly viscous and simultaneously changes colour until it is finally darkish brown and quite hard. This product is called "opium," and is best known as the source of the important alkaloid, morphine, commonly called "morphia." When this material is subjected only to the necessary manipulation for packing and transport, it is known as "raw opium"; that from the United Provinces being designated as "Benares opium," while the product from certain States in Rajputana and Central India is called "Malwa."

"Prepared opium"\* is obtained from raw opium by a series of special operations, particularly dissolving, boiling, roasting and fermentation, designed to transform it into an extract suitable for consumption. This includes "dross" and all other residues remaining when opium has been smoked.

"Medicinal opium"† is raw opium which has undergone the processes necessary to adapt it for medicinal use in accordance with the requirements of the national pharmacopœia, whether powdered, granulated or otherwise, or mixed with neutral materials.

### RAW OPIUM

Raw opium is brown and soft inside; it has a characteristic smell and a bitter taste.

The variety of raw opium sold and exported to administrations in the Far East until 1935 was called "provision opium," and was made up into spherical "cakes" containing about 71 per cent. of dry opium. They were packed in wooden chests, each containing forty cakes and weighing about one hundred and forty pounds. The morphine content was from 10 to 11 per cent. calculated on the dry opium, loss of morphine during the period which immediately succeeds the collection of opium from the poppy head being eliminated by making the cakes after the lapse of one or even two years.

\* The Hague Convention, Chapter II.

† Dangerous Drugs Convention, 1925.



For over a hundred and fifty years, export was permitted only via Calcutta or Bombay, but the sale of provision opium has been stopped since December, 1935. The other form of raw opium—*i.e.*, medical opium—is exported from India only in execution of definite orders from manufacturing chemists approved by the High Commissioner for India under a licence from the British Home Office. It contains 87 per cent. of opium and about 10·5 per cent. of morphine as required by the British Pharmacopœia.

Opium waste products and contraband opium are used for the manufacture of morphine and other opium alkaloids. Excise opium is used in medicine, but a large quantity of Indian opium is eaten in harmless quantities. Selected chalans of raw opium used in the preparation of medicines contain from 9·5 to 10·5 per cent. morphine.

### MEDICAL OPIUM

Opium solely for medical use is said to have been introduced into China by the Arabs. Dr. Eakins of the Chinese Customs Service states that the poppy was cultivated very early in Italy and that, at the time of the last of the Roman Kings, it was commonly sown in gardens. As the Arabs studied Greek medicine and practised it, opium became well known among them by its Greek name *ὀπίον* or poppy juice.

After Baghdad was founded in A.D. 763, the Arabs of the Caliphate started trading in drugs and ultimately reached Canton, where the first mention of the cultivation of the poppy in China in the eighth century is made. So long ago as 1589, and again in 1615, opium appears in Chinese tariffs as an article paying import duty which was fixed by an Imperial decree in 1722. Opium smoking was first prohibited in 1799, not so much on moral grounds as in consequence of the drain of silver from the country.

Subsequently, the Dutch and the Portuguese supplied some of the drug, and the opium sent to Java and China yielded enormous profits. The small quantities of Malwa opium imported formed part of the return cargo of Chinese junks and were used entirely as a domestic remedy for dysentery, diarrhœa and fevers.

Akbar, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, found opium a characteristic product of Cambay and Malwa. The Moghul Government farmed out the right to produce opium and looked upon this as a state monopoly. As a result of Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 and the Emperor's cession of the Diwani eight years later, the monopoly of opium cultivation passed from the Moghuls into the hands of the East India Company. The former system was replaced by a Government monopoly of manufacture and export, with the intention of restricting excessive consumption in India without regard to the effect on consumers in other parts

of the world. A large trade, however, had been going on in opium between India and the surrounding countries long before the Company had undertaken the supervision of its manufacture in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1773. At first the system of farming the exclusive right of opium manufacture was continued, but this was found to entail many abuses. Indian contractors paid only a royalty to the Company and the consequences were very injurious to the revenue. In 1758, the contract had been sold to the highest bidder on a four years' agreement, and this system was in force when Lord Cornwallis arrived. The duties of the Company's servants, when once the contract had been signed, were limited to a general right of enquiry in order to prevent the oppression of the cultivators. In 1787, the system of agency was revived through commercial residents.

Under the state monopoly, no person might cultivate the poppy except with a licence from the Government, and every cultivator was bound to sell the opium produced from his crops to the Government, which possessed two factories, one at Patna and the other at Ghazipur, where it was manufactured into the opium of commerce. A portion of the manufactured opium was retained for consumption in India through vendors licensed by the Excise Department and the remainder sold monthly by auction in Calcutta to merchants, who exported it.

Until 1767, the business with China in the hands of the Portuguese was relatively small, being only about 200 chests per annum, but, by 1790, there was an increase to 4,054 chests a year. About this time, the habit of opium smoking began to spread in China and was an incentive to the extension of poppy cultivation in China itself. The East India Company established an opium depôt at the entrance of the Canton river and the trade continued to increase. At first the East India Company attempted to restrict the use of opium to medical purposes, but that policy was eventually abandoned as impracticable.

### THE OPIUM WAR

China continued to be the chief customer for Indian opium in spite of its prohibition by the Chinese Government. In 1834, a decree was issued by the Emperor of China against opium and its importation, and edicts forbade the entrance of opium-laden ships into the river, but, in spite of this, exports reached 7,000 chests per annum. Ineffective complaints from the Chinese authorities culminated in the war of 1839, commonly known as the Opium War, the immediate cause being the seizure and destruction of 20,291 chests by the Chinese Government.

After Captain Elliot, the British representative, had seized the



forts about Canton, a preliminary treaty was drawn up in January, 1841, but it was subsequently disavowed by both the Chinese and the English Governments. Lord Palmerston directed Sir Henry Pottinger, the newly appointed Envoy and Superintendent of the British Trade in China, to replace this treaty by a satisfactory compact which should open China to British trade, but, before his arrival in China, the arrogance of the Chinese Commissioners had led to a renewal of hostilities. Sir Hugh Gough carried anew the forts about Canton in May, 1841, and, while he was preparing to attack the town itself, Pottinger reached Macao. A further display of force being necessary, the two co-operated and, with Sir William Parker, captured Amoy, Chusan, Chintu, Ningpao and the great fortified city of Ching-Keang-Foo. On June 13, 1842, the Yangtze river was entered with the object of taking Nanking itself. After many successes on the way, an assault on that city was imminent in July when Pottinger announced that the Chinese were ready to treat for peace on a satisfactory basis. Eventually peace was signed on August 29, 1842, on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* before Nanking. By the Treaty of Nanking, Hongkong was ceded to England and an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars was paid to the English, while the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-foo, Ningpao and Shanghai were opened to English traders and English Consuls were to be appointed to each. The legitimate trade in opium by the East India Company for the half century preceding the Opium War had involved five hundred million dollars, of which 60 per cent. was profit.

After 1858, the year in which the Treaty of Tientsin was signed, the Chinese Government had a perfectly free hand in the matter of the importation of opium, subject to a duty of 30 taels per chest being levied thereon, but, in the treaty itself, there was no mention of or allusion to the opium trade. The drug was scheduled in the tariff as a foreign medicine, but the amount taken from India was relatively small. However, in 1870, the exports from India amounted to 55,000 chests and increased to 95,000 chests in 1880. An agreement called the Chefoo Convention was arrived at on September 13, 1876, between the Governments of Great Britain and China, in which the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, promised to move his Government to make certain special arrangements as to the import of opium. These arrangements were finally carried out by an additional article, signed in London in 1885, which provided for an addition to the import duty of 30 taels per chest already imposed. This extra duty was 80 taels per chest, freeing the opium at the same time from any further duty or tax whilst being transported in the interior.

About this time the Chinese began to grow their own opium and the export of the Indian product declined to 50,000 chests in 1907. The following statistics of the opium trade between India and China will, however, be of interest:

Period.	Average Annual Export from India to China.	
	Opium. Rx†	Per Cent.*
1827. (Statistics imperfect at this period) ... ..	1,058,252	54
1833-35. East India Company monopoly expired 1834 ...	1,955,236	66
1837-46. Preceding the Opium War ... ..	3,209,958	69
1842-46. After Treaty of Nan-king ... ..	3,712,920	74
1854-58. Preceding the Second China War ... ..	6,365,319	72
1859-62. After Treaty of Tient-sin ... ..	9,540,211	87
1878-82. Under Chefoo Con-vention ... ..	11,909,815	84
1883-87 ... ..	9,770,775	75
1888-91 ... ..	8,207,818	58½

#### OPIMUM COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

The year 1895 was noteworthy for the report of the Commission appointed by an Act of Parliament in 1893 to enquire into the extent of opium consumption in India, its effects on the physique of the people and the suggestion that the sale of the drug be prohibited except for medicinal purposes. The Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Brassey reported that there had been much exaggeration regarding the evil effects of opium consumption. They declared that it was for China to take action if she desired to prohibit the importation of the drug, that state control was necessary and that the Indian exchequer could not afford at that time to surrender the revenue from opium.

Opium factories had been in existence at Ghazipur‡ in the United Provinces and at Patna§ in Bihar (Bengal) since early in the

\* Per cent. of total value of all exports from India to China.

† Rx was the symbol for Rs. 10, formerly equivalent to £1 or nearly so.

‡ The oldest building was constructed about 1810 and was added to on many subsequent occasions. The *Gazetteer* states that the site was acquired in 1820. It is possible that land other than that already in occupation was acquired in that year.

§ The date of the opening of the Patna factory is not on record.



nineteenth century. In 1895, the exports from India to China were 51,000 chests of 140 lbs. each. According to an English expert, the Chinese production at that time was 360,000 chests, while a Chinese contemporary gave the figure as six lakhs (6,00,000).

An export duty was levied on every chest of opium when it left the Indian States in transit, while the British Government reserved to itself the monopoly of Malwa opium. This was purchased by the Resident at Indore and sold by auction at Bombay or Calcutta. In 1831, on account of the large amount of opium smuggled to the Portuguese settlement on the coast, the monopoly, which caused much undesirable interference in Indian States, was relinquished, and trade was opened to private enterprise, revenue being recovered in the form of duty on passes to cover transit of Malwa opium through British territory. All opium intended for export to Bombay was, however, to be sent by certain specified routes and the Ruling Princes had to prevent smuggling in their respective territories.

The average number of chests in the five years ending 1900-1901 was about 2,400, the average number exported by sea from Bombay being about 2,300, the rest of the Malwa opium being consumed in India.

In 1907, besides Bengal and the United Provinces, the only Province in British India where poppy cultivation was allowed was the Punjab. Outside British India, the Indian States of Central India, Rajputana (Malwa) and Baroda cultivated it.

Poppy seeds are eaten parched or worked up as a condiment in the preparation of food. They are mostly used for expression of the oil, which is edible and used largely as a substitute for and to adulterate salad oil. It is also used as a burning oil, in soap making and in the paint and varnish industries. The oil cake is rich in nitrogen and is eaten by poor people and by cattle.

In that year—1907—the Government of India concluded an agreement by which the amount of opium exported to China was to be reduced by 10 per cent. annually, provided that there was a similar decrease in production in China and in the imports from Persia and Turkey. After this undertaking had been in force for three years, the Government of India was satisfied that the Chinese were fulfilling their agreement, and, after a further period of three years, exports to China were discontinued.

By this discontinuance of the export of opium to China, the Government of India suffered a very heavy loss of annual revenue.

Unfortunately, in 1916, a reversion of policy took place in China which, chiefly in Szechuen, Yunnan and Kweichow, now produces more opium than any other country in the world; in fact, the development of poppy growing has been so great there

that it has seriously interfered with the cultivation of cereals, and has therefore been prohibited in some parts of China.

In order to supplement and safeguard as far as possible their agreement with China, the Government of India simultaneously limited the sale of opium to other Far Eastern countries by subjecting their exports to restraining agreements.

In 1923, a certificate procedure was introduced as proposed by the League of Nations, by which all exports of opium from India had to be covered by the Government of the importing country, which was required to declare that the import was approved and that it was required for legitimate purposes; but no issues have been made under this head since 1931.

In 1925, the Government of India discontinued the auctioning of opium for export and undertook the business direct, their policy for many years having been only to supply Governments and not merchants or private individuals. Finally, in the following year, the Government of India decided to reduce exports to Far Eastern countries for other than medical and scientific purposes by 10 per cent. annually, so as to extinguish exports by December, 1935. Effect has been given to this decision at great financial sacrifice, as will be seen by a comparison of the figures for exported opium for 1911-14 with those of the past ten years. Between 1914-15 and the present time India has ceded no less than one and a quarter million pounds of annual revenue in its effort to improve the world situation with respect to the trade in undesirable drugs.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>No. of Chests.</i>	<i>Values in Lakhs of Rupees</i> (1 Lakh = 1,00,000).
1911-12	26,860*	748
1912-13.		
1913-14	9,070†	192
—	—	—
—	—	—
1926-27	8,012	336
1927-28	7,531	301
1928-29	6,194	248
1929-30	5,500	220
1930-31	4,481	179
1931-32	3,911	156
1932-33	1,161	43
1933-34	2,823	113
1934-35	663	27
1935-36	257	10

\* Excluding 10,607 chests of Malwa opium shipped from Bombay.

† Excluding 10,341 chests of Malwa opium shipped from Bombay.

‡ Excluding the quantity of Malwa opium shipped from Bombay, exact figures not available.



Although the Bihar agency was not closed till 1912, the Patna factory ceased manufacture in 1911, though it continued to exist as a dying concern till 1913, but the Ghazipur factory was maintained and is in operation at the present time.

#### SCIENTIFIC CONTROL AND RESEARCH

Increasing attention has been paid to the scientific control of the manufacture of standard opium for sale. Experts have been employed periodically to enquire into the industry and, for nearly thirty years, the technical side of the manufacture has been under the control of a chemist at Ghazipur in the United Provinces. For an account of the chemistry of Indian opium and its alkaloids and research work, reference may be made to the author's article in *Nature*, 1937, 140, 92.

#### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OPIUM

The main products of the factory at Ghazipur are Abkari or Excise opium, medical opium cake and medical opium powder for use in India, and certain alkaloids. Excise opium provides the principal out-turn of the factory, which is sold at cost price to Provincial Governments. It is of standard quality and contains from 9.5 to 10.5 per cent. of morphine on the dried product, but usually contains about 10 per cent. of moisture when marketed. Excise opium is a blend of natural opium produced in different areas of cultivation and is only dried for purposes of standardization and caking. Fresh Malwa opium containing not more than 6 per cent. of oil is acceptable for the manufacture of excise opium, but it has to be mixed with non-oily opium from the Indian States or the United Provinces in order to make a blend of opium of standard composition.

#### "HARD BALL" OPIUM

In addition to Benares and Malwa opium, "hard ball" opium is sometimes accepted at the factory from the Indian States to blend with excise opium, though its quality is inferior to that of fresh opium of other kinds.

This variety of opium is peculiar to the Central India States and Rajputana, where it is called "patharphor" (tr. stone-breaker) because it is hard, having a consistence\* of 95, and can only be broken by being hit with or struck on a stone. It used to be popular in China, to which country large quantities were exported.

The process of manufacture is lengthy. Crude opium is mixed

\* Consistence = percentage of dry matter on total weight.

with either poppy or linseed oil and the consistence is raised until it is high enough to permit of its being formed into balls about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. These are placed in very finely ground trash (dried crumbled poppy leaves) or "pali," as it is called, in layers, and the room is made airtight. After some time these balls are taken out, cleaned, cut open and the opium re-mixed. They are then put back into the "pali" and this process goes on until they mature—a process which takes about five years.

In some of the Rajputana and Central India States *biscuit* and *tikia* opium are manufactured by the same process, but biscuit is moulded while *tikia* is not.

Here also crude opium is mixed thoroughly into a paste with linseed oil and small quantities are placed between layers of "pali." These are turned and buried and later re-buried standing on edge. After the biscuits are firm enough to be handled, they are placed in cotton bags between layers of "pali" and subjected to pressure, the position of the bags being changed periodically. In about two years these biscuits are ready for the market.

Some Indian States, for instance Baroda and the Central India Agency States, manufacture their own opium.

#### ADULTERATION OF OPIUM

United Provinces cultivators usually produce reliable and pure opium, but sometimes adulteration is attempted with sugar, starch and fine earth or water. Malwa opium, on the other hand, is frequently contaminated with varying proportions of poppy seed and sesame oils. Part of the oil arises from its use in facilitating the recovery of the sticky latex from the scraper used to remove the latex from the capsules, but oil is sometimes added deliberately in order to increase the weight of the opium submitted for purchase.

Opium which contains oil is not bought at the same price as the oil-free product. For the last sixteen years, the factory superintendent has evaluated the Malwa opium received from the cultivators on the basis of its oil content.

The decline in the consumption of excise opium in India, noticeable for some years (from 1,276 maunds in 1919 to 263 in 1935), may be attributed to the recent economic depression and the increase of duty on opium, both of which factors tend to restrict the use of opium by the very large number of consumers who take it in moderation for its euphoric qualities as a tonic or a restorative or to avert or lessen fatigue—uses which are regarded by many as being no more harmful than the similar use of tobacco and alcoholic drinks.

This attitude of the Indian public towards opium as a house-



hold remedy has much justification, for it should not be forgotten that, in India, much opium is consumed on account of its curative, alleviating and prophylactic properties, and it is thus a very common and treasured household remedy of the poorer classes, to the majority of whom qualified medical assistance is inaccessible.

#### SALES OF MEDICAL OPIUM AND ALKALOIDS

The sales of standard medical opium to the medical profession from the Indian Opium Factory have increased from 511 lbs. in 1922 to 1,800 lbs. in 1936. The sale of alkaloids is also important, 1,587 lbs. of crude morphine, 130 lbs. of morphine hydrochloride, 14 lbs. of morphine sulphate and 284 lbs. of codeine, as well as smaller quantities of other products, having been sold from the factory in the same financial year.

#### PREPARED OPIUM

There is a tendency to confuse "prepared opium" and "opium preparations." The former is produced from raw opium by such operations as solution, boiling, roasting and fermentation, by which it is converted into an extract suitable for smoking. "Prepared opium" includes "dross" and other residues which remain after opium has been smoked. "Dross" is the residue which is left in the pipe after opium has been smoked, and consists of ash and unburnt opium containing morphine. It is misused in several ways, particularly by eating it or by drinking it mixed with some beverage. It is also utilized to fortify "prepared opium" to strengthen the effect when smoking. The consumption of dross is considered more harmful than smoking prepared opium, because larger quantities of morphia enter the human system by eating than by smoking.

G. H. M. Batten, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, expressed his views on opium consumption before the Royal Society of Arts in March, 1892. His evidence that most of the opium is consumed in innocuous quantities and as a medicine was confirmed by the Royal Commission on Opium presided over by Lord Brassey in 1893 and reported on in 1895.

The physiological results of smoking opium are quite different from those observed when it is eaten, and it is significant that the opium most appreciated by opium smokers contains a relatively small percentage of morphine. In spite of the serious views held with regard to opium smoking, many authorities are of opinion that the habit is not more injurious than the use of other stimulants in moderation; in fact, in China, opium seems to be used for the same purpose as alcohol in other countries.

The Drug Addiction Enquiry Committee was set up in 1926-27, and has published a number of valuable reports. Interesting observations on the opium habit in India have been made, particularly with a view to studying the effect of climate and environment. The administration of opium to juveniles, especially the doping of children so that they may sleep while their parents are out at work, has also been reviewed. The morphine habit is of comparatively new incidence in India, but is said to be spreading.

At the same time, as stated by Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari at the 1936 session of the League of Nations, the internal consumption of Indian opium is strictly controlled. All stages, from cultivation to consumer, are under close Government supervision, and the annual consumption is falling. He stated that in the international traffic, Indian opium is not an important factor, as in recent years there had only been negligible seizures of Indian opium.

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## INDIAN ECONOMISTS IN CONFERENCE

BY EDWIN HAWARD

It was natural that, at the annual conference of Indian economists held recently at Hyderabad (Deccan), the delegates should have their attention specially drawn to the new responsibilities discharged by Indian Ministers under the régime of Provincial autonomy. In no field of research is India more vitally interested today than in economics. On this the supreme Government at Delhi, commercial opinion in the big Presidencies, and, now, ministerial activities reflecting the will of the people as expressed at the polls, appear to be generally working in accord.

The Government of India has taken unto itself a Chief Economic Adviser in the distinguished person of Dr. T. E. Gregory, who is now touring India in the first stages of his five years' engagement. Dr. Gregory has gone to India with a world-wide reputation; it may be doubted whether to any newly created post in that country has any man carried so many high credentials, such a wealth of experience and such an alert mentality.

In the annual report of Messrs. Premchand Roychand and Sons, Ltd., commercial views on India's economic needs are recorded in the following passage, which sets out to discover how India's prosperity can best be achieved under present conditions:

"... measures framed to raise the general standard of living, and therefore of consumption, remain as the only effective solution, a conclusion which does not blind us to the difficulty either of devising such measures or of carrying them into effect. Perhaps in no part of the Empire is the need for development along these lines more perceptive or even obtrusive than in India, owing to the tendency of population to increase more rapidly than production and therefore to impose increasing strains on rural resources. It follows also that in no Empire country do present economic conditions offer a more direct or formidable challenge to constructive statesmanship and the application of new energy and ideas to the solution of old problems."

Economic statesmanship could hardly have a more direct mandate from the mentors of commerce and finance.

In inaugurating the Conference at Hyderabad, Sir Akbar Hydari, on behalf of the Nizam's Government, was no less emphatic in his demand for economic progress. He referred to

the enquiry into the banking problems set up by the Nizam's Government. The investigators, he revealed, are being charged to review

"The economic burdens of our agriculturists and the possibilities of relief through consolidation of holdings, liquidation of debts, and increased security of tenure; combined, as must obviously be the case, with improvements in methods of agriculture and in the condition of the land."

Sir Akbar hopes that preparatory measures for increasing credit facilities, for providing cheap power and for devising additional railway works will duly emerge, the balance between private enterprise and State action being carefully preserved. A survey of hydro-electric resources is being made, and it is also expected that the plans already initiated for scientific marketing and the grading of produce will make valuable contribution to the financing of the farmer and peasant-proprietor. In justifying the claims which he made on behalf of his Government, Sir Akbar was inclined to the view that the new régime in British India might, in the long run, find inspiration in some of the achievements in Indian States. An Indian State, if beneficently disposed, has a greater elasticity in action and can thus more readily embark upon experiments than is always possible in British India, where the administration in its executive aspects has to proceed on certain well-defined lines and assumes therefore a rigidity which even the dynamic force of the new autonomy cannot wholly affect. Indeed, it may be useful for the Provinces to depend for experimental guidance on the operations in well-run Indian States. That consideration Sir Akbar did well to impress on his hearers. He thus indicated how valuably the two Indias, when brought together under the auspices of Federation, can assist each other. From the vigorous doctrines of the new Ministries the States may find a real stimulus to political and economic activity. From the alert coherence of the executive system in an Indian State empiricism may derive a strength and effectiveness which may relieve the Ministries of the necessity for undergoing that difficult treatment known as proceeding by trial and error. The argument cannot be pressed too far, for, whereas in British India there exists a wealth of data from which economic policy can evolve most of its plans for adapting modern needs to ancient processes, in Indian India the science of government still largely takes its tempo from the personal qualities of the ruler. If, as seems likely, many of these rulers are now disposed to press forward more resolutely than in the past with precise schemes for representative institutions in the true sense of the term, this disparity between the standards of achievement in the two Indias may be sensibly reduced.



Yet in Hyderabad, as Sir Akbar showed, material is available for guidance on the complex problem of the rehabilitation of provincial finance. Hyderabad considers that its system of making triennial allotments for each department on the basis of annual average expenditure facilitates well-devised schemes of long-range development and eliminates the waste which accrues from the lapsing of balances to departmental credit at the end of the twelve months under an annual budget. The idea was tentatively adopted in the Defence Department of the Government of India on a limited scale a few years back. Departments such as Railways have their own methods of arriving at the same result by slightly different means. Nevertheless the Hyderabad method is worth noting, if only because it has the device of disposing of the surplus at the end of the triennial period by sharing it between the department concerned and "the various nation-building departments of the State."

So, too, with a Statistics Department which has been running for nearly twenty years, Hyderabad can rightly direct attention to the importance of accurate statistics for formulating economic policy. The Conference, drawn as its delegates were from all parts of India, in the discussion of problems common to the whole country, could not help assisting to break down barriers to political communication. Its labours thus deserve special appreciation at this time.

The presidential address of Dr. P. J. Thomas, of the University of Madras, plunged at once into the vital issues of Indian economics by defining the problem as consisting in the prevalence of poverty and the consequent low standard of living. He made the bold assertion that there had not been any appreciable improvement in the standard of living of the masses for the last seventy years. He ascribed this to inefficient and inadequate production and inequitable distribution. Unfair tenancy conditions, unjust loan transactions and inequitable methods of marketing, had, he thought, brought about such conditions. He drew a picture which showed middlemen, who had obtained profits from agriculture and handicrafts, failing to invest their earnings in India's productive enterprises, but rather seeking to buy gold or lands or to indulge in usury at exorbitant rates. He admitted that "the influx of British capital into the railways, jute mills, and tea plantations of India since 1860 did something to relieve the persistent paucity of purchasing power in this country. But such investments have almost ceased since the war."

Dr. Thomas' solicitude seems to be more accurately directed than his choice of comparisons. Although he quite properly described India's standard of living as too low and argued that economic effort should be directed toward raising it, he appears



to have been far too sweeping in his contention that stagnation had marked the economic history of India over a period of seventy years. Lord Halifax, during his Viceroyalty as Lord Irwin, stated on unimpeachable authority:

“Within half a century India rose to that of fifth or sixth among the trading nations. Not less prodigious than the growth of communications was the spread of education, particularly of British education, and just as railways, telegraphs, and roads united the four quarters of India in the material sense, so the spread of Western knowledge was to give the political classes of India a common intellectual meeting-place.”

In creating a single economic entity known as India, the achievements of the Government during the latter part of the period so disparaged by Dr. Thomas undoubtedly conferred real economic benefit from which the masses must have derived definite advantages—although, admittedly, the progress has not been as great as counsels of perfection rightly demand. Is it not something that famine today is no longer the dread spectre which haunted Indian administrations even so recently as the last decade of the nineteenth century? This does not imply a conviction that the situation should be complacently regarded, but it is doing no service to the new Ministries to pretend that they have to tackle these problems without any support from the actual administrative achievements of their predecessors.

There is no question but that in certain Provinces, notably in Madras, Bengal, Bihar, and the United Provinces, the land tenure systems lead to considerable unrest, the basis of which, of course, is economic disability. The new Ministries are already giving their attention to the matter. They have all the more ground for confidence because their departmental files as well as their provincial statute books contain valuable material for proper examination and treatment of the issues involved. Dr. Thomas finds that “the present economic system of India is overweighted on the agricultural side and this must be rectified.” It is difficult to see how this can lead to economic salvation, considering that 90 per cent. of the population are dependent on agriculture. In advocating further industrial development Dr. Thomas sagely observes that it is dependent on agricultural improvement, which he suggests—again most sagely—should proceed by removing “mal-adjustments in rural economy arising from imperfections in land tenure, rural credit, and marketing.” He does not appear to take into account recent progress, to say nothing of earlier stages of advance arising from such important events as the Famine Commission's Report of 1880, out of which, among other benefits,



came the classic work of Dr. J. A. Voelcker on "Improvement of Indian Agriculture." Later came the labours of Mollison in Bombay, Barber and Benson in Madras, Hayman in the United Provinces, and Milligan in the Punjab. Lord Linlithgow's own contribution to the subject is well known, but its more modern appeal should not be allowed to obscure the pioneer work of Lord Curzon, whose despatch of 1903 was a landmark in agricultural reform.

As for recent developments, let Lord Linlithgow's report speak, for it specifically drew attention to the admirable work performed in the first twenty-five years of the present century, although it elaborately and authoritatively drew up a programme for the future. It pointed out forcefully that the field was enormous and demanded concentrated effort from all concerned. Dr. Thomas has therefore firm support for his general thesis that the standard of living is too low, and it seems unfortunate that he should have felt impelled to enforce it by making an extravagant and unnecessary comparison.

The appointment of Dr. T. E. Gregory should result in the provision of information which may avert controversy of this kind in future. It is not by dwelling on past failures—imagined or real—that progress can be best assisted. A true economic survey of conditions in India is sadly required. It can be laboriously obtained in a varying degree of completeness from the excellent reports of various authorities in the Central or Provincial Governments, but as the Whitley Commission pointed out seven years ago there are certain definite *lacunæ* in the documents available. For instance, machinery is required for a comprehensive wages enquiry. That is where experts such as those assembled at Hyderabad can make valuable contribution. To quote from the Whitley Report:

"Anxious as we are to see a great extension of economic enquiries bearing on the standard of living we must emphasize the difficulties in the way. The collection of statistical material from the workers on any extensive scale requires special qualifications. For an untrained investigator to descend on the workers' homes and collect such particulars as he can in a casual visit is valueless. The preliminary difficulties have been faced already by the Bombay Labour Office, and they have evolved a technique which can be studied with advantage by others who propose to embark on similar enquiries."

It is to be expected that Dr. Gregory's general advice to the Government will greatly stimulate the attention to economic

questions which have already prompted various Provinces to establish Economic Boards and other organs for the purpose of securing the foundations of a sound economic policy.

On the general question of the need for agrarian reform to which passing reference has already been made it will be agreed that Dr. Thomas has rendered a great service by specially stressing that point. The non-Congress Government in Bengal, no less than the Congress Governments in Madras, United Provinces, and Bihar, has taken early steps to put land reform in the front of its programme.

The Permanent Settlement has long acted as an economic stranglehold on the most populous Province in India. The former administration, like its predecessors, hesitated to interfere with what was regarded almost in the light of a treaty right. An administration which is based on the representative system of provincial autonomy has the duty to examine the question free from the trammels of an agreement of that kind. This can be done without abandoning fundamental principles of equity. Reform of the Settlement is urgently required, and the measure now proposed in Bengal is neither unjust nor confiscatory. It compares very favourably with efforts made in Europe to deal with similar difficulties which have found expression in Bengal in unrest. Indeed, the new régime is bound to give the problem its most careful consideration if only because the discontent arising from the abuses of the Settlement must strengthen the hands of revolutionary organizations. The Bill does not pretend to solve Bengal's land problem; indeed, a large-scale enquiry is about to be instituted with the view of fortifying the Government with appropriate information for a comprehensive measure of reform in due course.

Similarly in Bihar the Congress Government has managed to effect a rent reduction by agreement with the landlords pending more elaborate investigation of the grievances now exercising the minds of the peasants. It must at once be added that in the course of the last elections the successful Congress contestants promised reform on what might be called an extravagant scale. In that they whole-heartedly imitated electioneering politicians in quite respectable countries, and, in those Provinces where they now hold office, they have to face the fact that, once again, performance must fall short of promises made before the poll. They will not be dismayed, for to sobriety induced by responsibility the proof that enthusiasm has to be damped down is not always unwelcome or even inconvenient.

Finally, Dr. Thomas' observations on the part to be played by the Central Government in lightening the burdens on the rural population may be cited. He advocated a "bold increase of ex-



penditure" and a modification of the Government of India's "conservative" loan policy. He will have been encouraged by Sir James Grigg's Budget, with its unexpected contribution to the Provinces for rural development, although he may not be disposed to consider that the caution which the Finance Member showed in outlining the financial capacity of the Central Government was favourable to the evolution of a "much more energetic policy than hitherto." At the same time Sir James might well claim that Dr. Thomas did not really offer much guidance for attainment of that goal, in the definition given to the Conference :

"Not only our internal requirements, but external circumstances such as the tendency to economic self-sufficiency and the declining trend of population in the West call for such an active policy. At this juncture, therefore, India's interest lies in safeguarding her trade with a few steady markets and in developing our internal demand. We must have a co-ordinated economic system, wherein there must be a balance between industrial and agricultural production and a balance between different industries and crops."

There are blessed words here, but little else for the enlightenment of a Finance Member who is faced, as Sir James is, with a circumscribed revenue and a standardized expenditure, between which there is little margin for flights of fancy or superabundant feats of energy.

## PALESTINE AGRICULTURE PAST AND PRESENT

By M. T. DAWE, O.B.E., F.L.S.

(Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, Palestine.)

IN biblical days Palestine was described as a land flowing with milk and honey and was famed for the production of seven main crops, which were wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates. In the course of centuries wars, poverty, and neglect by rulers and inhabitants resulted in a considerable reduction of the area under cultivation and of the yields of crops and in general impoverishment of the soil. Forests and trees were felled and not replaced; soil erosion, caused by the heavy winter rains and other climatic factors, denuded the hill lands of soil and rendered many hills barren, exposing the rocks. Marshes were, moreover, formed in the internal plains, causing malaria. Sand dunes advanced year after year from the sea coast, burying good and cultivated land, and wherever crops were grown the yield became increasingly low, as no proper rotation or manuring had been followed to maintain the fertility of the soil.

In short, at the close of the World War, Palestine had not only long ceased to be a land flowing with milk and honey, but could hardly support the bare existence of a reduced population. The peasant cultivator was still farming on most primitive lines, using his half-starved bullock, camel, or donkey for drawing his wooden nail plough, his sickle for harvesting his crops, and the trampling hoofs of his animals, or the wooden sledge, for the threshing of his cereals.

Although orange and lemon growing had been started a century or so previously, the area was very limited and confined to the coastal plain. The citrus plantations were mainly owned by the wealthier Arab families and by the early Jewish settlers, who started their agricultural colonization work about two decades before the war.

The peasant knew little or nothing of orange or vegetable growing and contented himself with the raising of wheat and barley for his family and his animals' needs, and the surplus, if any, for sale to the towns. His standard of living was very low; there were no schools and no sanitation or medical attention in the villages. He was heavily indebted to the moneylender, who charged him an exorbitant rate of interest and gradually seized his land in payment of debts due.

As already mentioned, Jewish immigrants, mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, started agricultural colonization about two



decades before the war. These were helped by the Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.), the World Zionist Organization, and other colonizing bodies. While a few of the settlers continued to grow cereals and started to grow fodder crops for their cattle, most of them adopted fruit growing as their main occupation—principally citrus, wine grapes, almonds, and olives. A large winery, built on modern lines, with funds supplied by the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris, was built in Richon-le-Zion, and the vineyard owners organized themselves into a co-operative for the sale of the wine.

The main agricultural exports from Palestine before the war were oranges and lemons, wines, olive oil and soap, barley, and almonds.

The foregoing is a general outline of Palestinian agriculture as it was at the outbreak of the war. Conditions became worse during the war, as most of the farmers' animals, and a large proportion of their produce, were requisitioned by the Turkish army. Olive, fruit, and forest trees were felled indiscriminately for fuel, plantations were neglected, and fields were not sown, due to the shortage of seed grain.

Since the establishment of the present régime great changes have taken place in Palestine agriculture, and the development has been amazingly rapid.

The keynote of the agricultural development in Palestine in the post-war period has been intensification. The main progress made has been in the development of citriculture, dairying, poultry and beekeeping, the production of vegetables and deciduous fruits and tobacco, and in the transition, wherever possible, from extensive to intensive agriculture, based on irrigation. These developments have been mainly due to the labour, enterprise, enthusiasm, and investment of capital by private individuals and colonizing institutions. Nevertheless, these developments, as well as other improvements in agriculture, which will be referred to hereafter, are necessarily bound up with the constructive agrarian policy of the Government of Palestine and several other contributory factors, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

(a) The growing local demand for dairy and poultry produce and vegetables due to the rapid increase of the urban population.

(b) The acquisition of wider and better knowledge in the practice of modern agriculture through Government activities and propaganda, agricultural schools, literature, and Government and Jewish research institutions.

(c) The abolition of *musha'* system or communal holding of land in the villages, thanks to the land settlement and partition of holdings carried out by Government.

(d) The rise in land values due to Jewish immigration.

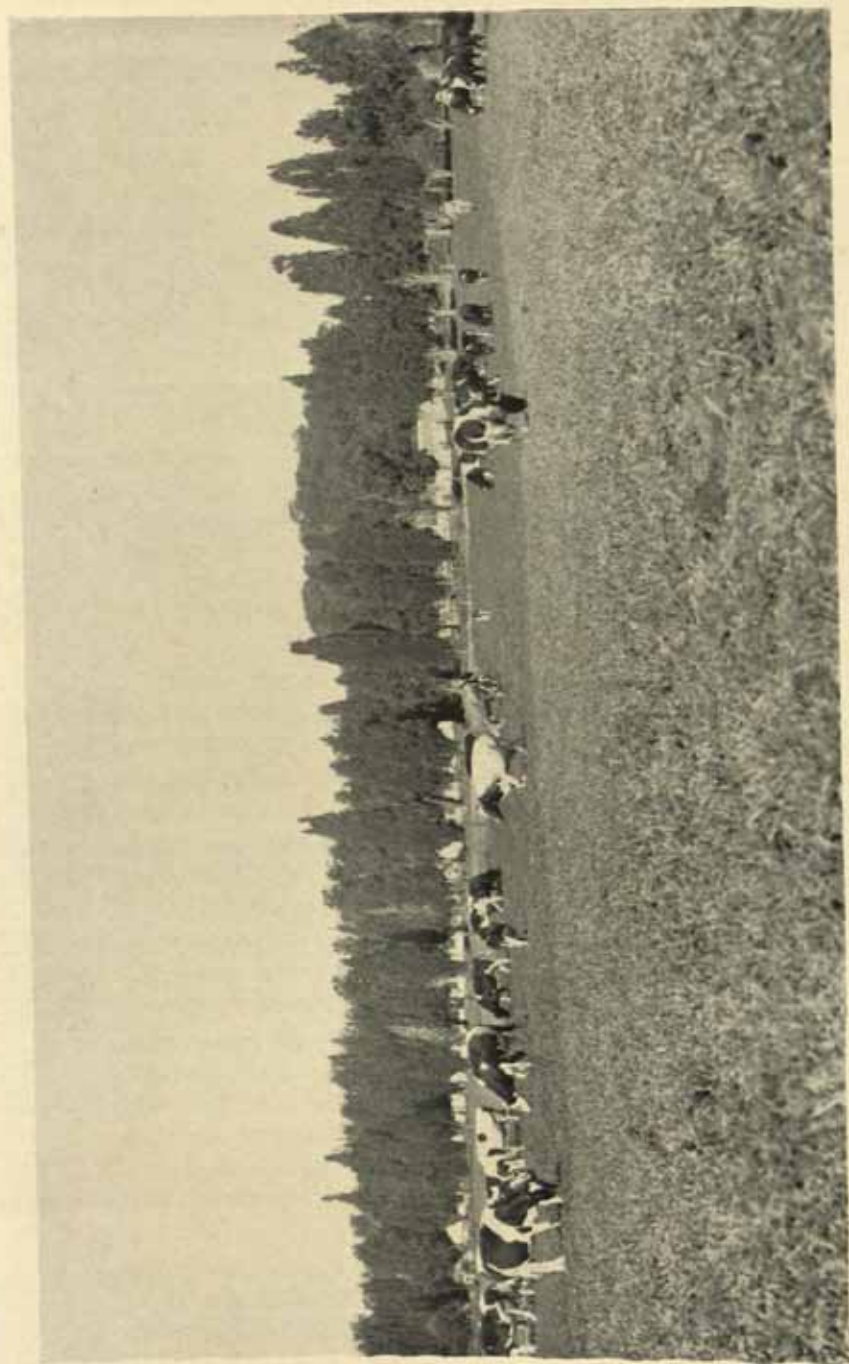


AN AERIAL VIEW OF CITRUS GROVES IN PALESTINE.

Palestine Agriculture, Past and Present.

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MIKVEH ISRAEL AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL: A FRISIAN DAIRY HERD.

*Pasture Agriculture, Past and Present.*

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(e) The finding of new, and the better exploitation and utilization of water resources for irrigation purposes.

(f) The abolition of the Government tithe on agricultural crops and the substitution thereof of the rural property tax.

(g) The construction of roads, railways, harbours, and the general improvement of transport facilities.

(h) Fiscal Government measures to maintain prices and encourage local production, through protective tariffs.

(i) The introduction of new crops and of improved varieties of cereals, legumes, vegetables, as well as improved breeds of dairy animals, poultry, and bees.

(j) The raising of the standard of living of the peasant through education, Government village schools, better sanitation and housing.

(k) The impetus in the use of fertilizers and the adoption of a rational rotation of crops by the local farmers through Government co-operative demonstration plots in the villages.

(l) The mechanization of farming, through the use of tractors, harvesters, threshing machines, and combines.

In the actual development that has taken place in the post-war period citrus cultivation ranks first. Before the war the area under citrus fruit cultivation was about 7,500 acres, and today it is in the neighbourhood of 75,000 acres. The export of citrus fruit was about 1½ million cases in the year before the war; the export last year reached nearly 11 million cases, which included about 1½ million cases of grapefruit, the cultivation of which was almost unknown before the war. This rapid development in citriculture has taken place mainly on the light sandy soils of the coastal area, where underground water is abundant, and irrigation is obtained from wells or bores. The accompanying air photograph (a) shows the development which has taken place in orange growing on the coastal plain. As it costs on the average about £P.300 as investment and maintenance, in planting, irrigation system and cultivation, to bring one acre of citrus into bearing, the total capital investment in citrus groves, not including the cost of the land, will be in the neighbourhood of 22½ million pounds.

A large proportion of the export of citrus fruit is through co-operative societies, and efforts are being made to extend the co-operative movement and co-ordinate shipments. A Fruit Inspection Service has been established by the Government to control shipments—to examine and eliminate all unsound or blemished fruit from shipments, and also to ensure all packing being done in accordance with approved standards. An Advertisement Ordinance was enacted to levy a tax from exporters to establish a fund which is being used for advertising campaigns in the United Kingdom, foreign and local markets. The object is to stimulate sales and



assist in the marketing of the yearly increasing crop of citrus. Government grants have also been made to the Agricultural Research Station of the Jewish Agency for citrus research, the results of the investigations being made available to the industry.

A Government Citrus Demonstration Station has been established at Sarafand to study various stocks and citrus strains and varieties and to investigate certain problems connected with the industry.

Good progress has been made year after year in the construction of roads, particularly in the citrus belt, to facilitate the transport of the fruit to the railway stations and ports. Railway transport facilities have also been much improved, and storage sheds for the fruit have been erected in a number of stations. Finally, the improvements in the Jaffa port and the construction of an up-to-date harbour at Haifa have been of considerable assistance to the citrus export trade.

Dairying ranks next in importance. Before the war very few milch cows were kept and no dairy industry as such existed. The native cows kept in the village were ill-housed and ill-fed, and the annual yield per cow did not exceed 700 litres. Today there are over 10,000 dairy cows, mostly the crosses of imported Friesian bulls and local cows, particularly of the Damascus breed, almost entirely in the Jewish settlements, with an average annual milk yield of 3,500 litres a cow. The accompanying photograph (c) is of a herd of Friesian cows taken on the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School Farm. In a number of cases record yields of 8,000 litres a year have been attained. These cows are kept in well-constructed byres and are fed with balanced rations composed of grain, green fodder, hay, and concentrates. Most of the milk is sold co-operatively in the towns through modern well-equipped dairies. The Tnuva Central Co-operative Marketing Organization alone, which is the principal organization of its kind, increased its milk sales from a few hundred thousand litres in 1920 to over twenty-five million litres in 1936. While a considerable part of the milk is disposed of as fresh liquid milk, a good proportion is converted into butter, cheese, cream, and sour milk or "leben." The fresh milk is generally sold at satisfactory prices, but great difficulties are experienced in the sale of butter, due to the competition of the imported product from countries rich in pasture. A special committee was set up to study the problems of the dairy industry and to submit proposals for its further improvement, including, if necessary, its protection from foreign competition.

The sheep and goat population of the country is in the neighbourhood of 600,000, and these subsist mainly on natural pastures and stubble. A considerable part of the milk of these animals is converted into a salted cheese and native butter (boiled) or



"samna," which is consumed by villagers and by the native urban population.

Vegetable growing has made marked progress in recent years. The increasing population, particularly in urban areas, constitute an assured and expanding market for all kinds of vegetables. Due to the increased facilities for irrigation and the introduction of numerous kinds of improved varieties of vegetables by Government and private bodies, Palestine, with its suitable climate and soils, is rapidly becoming self-supporting in vegetables, except for potatoes and out-of-season vegetables, that have still to be imported. Fifteen years ago it was difficult to obtain sufficient and regular supplies of vegetables other than cucumbers and tomatoes. Now there is a steady supply of all kinds and of good quality—cabbages, cauliflower, lettuce, beets, radishes, marrows, garden eggs (aubergines), peas, beans, artichokes, and peppers. Among more recent introductions are asparagus, rhubarb, celery, and mushrooms grown from English spawn.

Prior to 1930, it was generally believed that potatoes could not be grown successfully in Palestine, and the production was negligible. Since then, as a result of experiments on the times of sowing, methods of cultivation, manuring and variety tests, it has been proved conclusively that potatoes can be grown profitably, and the annual production at present is in the neighbourhood of 10,000 tons. In addition to the experiments carried out, and propaganda by means of demonstration plots and pamphlets, the Government imported, in recent years, several hundred tons of seed potatoes from the United Kingdom for sale to growers at cost price. In order to stimulate further and protect local potato growing, the Government has increased the customs duty, from £P.1 to £P.3 per ton, during the season when the local crop is on the market.

Tomato cultivation has similarly been encouraged by the introduction of suitable varieties and the doubling of the customs duty, which was £P.2 per ton. Production has increased from 7,000 tons in 1931 to 35,000 tons in 1937.

In recent years the Department of Agriculture has devoted considerable areas at its experiment stations to the raising and distribution, free of charge, of millions of seedlings of improved varieties of vegetables, which are gradually replacing the poorer types all over the country.

In addition to the coastal area, where the bulk of vegetables are grown, the Jordan Valley, in localities where water is available, is particularly suitable for "early" and "out-of-season" varieties. In the hill districts, however, vegetable growing is dependent mainly on the winter rains. A start has been made in the export of "early" vegetables to the neighbouring countries and to



Europe, and successful trial shipments of "new" potatoes and tomatoes have been made to the United Kingdom in the winter months.

Most of the vegetables from the Jewish settlements, where modern methods of irrigation, cultivation, and manuring are practised, are marketed co-operatively through a central marketing organization, the "Tnuva." The vegetables are carefully graded and packed and distributed to various markets and towns, having regard to supplies already on the market and the prices ruling from day to day. In this way higher prices are obtained.

Modern vegetable canning has been introduced to deal with the surplus production; tomato fruit, juice and ketchup, cucumbers, peas, cauliflower, cabbages, mushrooms (imported and local), and mixed pickles are now successfully canned and marketed.

Considerable progress has been made in fruit and forest trees and ornamental plants, a number of nurseries for which has been established all over the country. Another source of income, in a number of farms, is cut flowers, for which there is a ready sale and market in the towns.

The cultivation of tobacco, which was very limited before 1918, due to the Tobacco Regie Monopoly, has made considerable progress. The monopoly was abolished in 1921, and within a year production increased from 265 tons to 694 tons in 1922, and reached the record figure of 1,845 tons in 1924. Exports of tobacco leaf are negligible, but a small quantity of leaf, representing about 10 to 15 per cent. of local production, is imported annually for blending. Thus practically the whole of the crop is used in the local manufacture of cigarettes. The varieties grown are mostly Turkish, and cultivation is confined largely to the hills in the north. Locally produced tobacco pays excise fees, and is protected by adequate import duties. The keenness displayed in the production of a crop largely in excess of local requirements, and for the greater part of a quality unfit for the export market, the resulting large unsaleable surplus, and failure to obtain imperial preferential customs duties on the British markets, have led to a reduction in annual production to about 1,000 tons, which is at present absorbed by the local factories.

Together with dairying and vegetable growing, poultry keeping has kept the same pace of progress in the development of mixed farming. About fifteen years ago modern poultry keeping was unknown in the country, and local fowls were kept as "back-yard" poultry in the most primitive fashion. The new Jewish settlers have started to pay increasing attention to this branch owing to the considerable local demand for eggs and poultry. Pedigree fowls of several breeds have been imported, principally by the Department of Agriculture, from Europe, acclimatized, and bred



locally in large quantities, and the industry today can compare favourably with that of the highly specialized European and American countries. The development of this industry can be gauged from the capacity of incubators in use by poultry farmers, which amounts to 630,000 eggs. The average annual egg-laying capacity on poultry farms is 120 per hen (as compared with only 40 to 50 eggs on primitive farms). The poultry population, according to the enumeration made last year, amounts to two and a half million birds approximately, of which about half a million are raised in modern poultry farms and the remainder in villages. It follows that village poultry, though raised in more or less primitive conditions, play an important rôle in the local industry, and every effort is being made to improve the conditions by instruction and demonstration, and the native breed by selection, and crossing with improved cocks of the heavy imported breeds which are distributed in villages in large numbers annually. Though modern poultry farming is practised mainly in settlements, several modern Arab poultry farms have been established recently, and the development of modern poultry in villages is progressing.

Although about 100 million eggs are still being imported annually to meet the local demand, local production is in the neighbourhood of 108 million. Large numbers of live poultry for the table continue to be imported, but with protective duties on poultry and eggs, it is hoped that the country will gradually become self-supporting in poultry and egg production. In addition to the main Government poultry farm at Acre, ten poultry stations have been established in the districts, wherefrom large numbers of hatching eggs and day-old chicks are distributed at low prices. Poultry diseases are constantly being investigated, and two poultry disease officers have been appointed to advise farmers and to carry out laboratory investigations.

Beekeeping, which had only existed on primitive lines with earthen native hives, has also progressed considerably in recent years. Five years ago there were practically no Arab modern beekeepers in the country, and to encourage beekeeping the Department of Agriculture commenced to issue movable frame hives and equipment on the hire-purchase system. This measure, coupled with instruction given by departmental bee inspectors, the sale of bee swarms at reasonable prices, the control of hornets, the distribution of duty-free sugar for bee-feeding, and short courses of instruction for beginners, stimulated beekeeping to a great extent. There are now in the country about 25,000 populated modern beehives, and last season's honey crop is estimated at 275 tons. The honey produced is of excellent quality, local production is increasing, and a considerable part of the yield is available for export to the United Kingdom and Europe.



Together with the marked development in intensive farming, considerable improvement has been made in cereal and field crops grown under dry farming. Imported and local varieties of cereals and legumes have been bred and tested out at Government stations. After improvement through selection, the most suitable varieties and strains have been graded and issued in large quantities to farmers, to replace the uncertain and inferior seed previously sown, with the result that much heavier yields of cereals are being obtained. This development is largely due to the introduction of a rational system of rotation and the use of fertilizers which have been demonstrated in the villages through co-operative field experiments.

The increasing use of tractors, harvesters, and combines has been a contributory factor in the development of arable farming and the adoption of the approved "dry farming" methods—viz., deep ploughing of the land before the rains and frequent summer cultivation for the preservation of moisture in the soil.

The Government policy to further agricultural development has aimed all along at increasing the quantity and improving the quality of crops and livestock and the intensification of farming. The adoption of improved irrigation and farming practices and the application of the results of research and experiment through demonstration have been amongst the activities of the Government as well as of the various colonizing bodies. Legislation has also been enacted, not only to protect tenants, but to protect the crops and livestock of farmers by safeguarding same from pests and diseases. Fiscal and protective measures, as already mentioned, have been introduced to deal with competition and secure to the grower reasonable prices for his crops.

Six agricultural and nine horticultural experiment stations have been established by the Government in various parts of the country for investigations at different altitudes and in various types of soils. The Government stations are open to visits by farmers. The results obtained from the stations are disseminated in the villages and settlements by itinerant officers and also through co-operative demonstration fields.

At the Government Stock Farm at Acre native breeds of cattle, sheep, and goats are improved by selection, and sires are distributed for service during the respective breeding seasons. Inferior village male stock are castrated in large numbers, and the progeny of Government sires is very promising. At this farm small herds of Guernseys and Keries are also maintained, and the male progeny is used for crossing with cows in villages and settlements.

A very successful achievement in crossing the imported pure-bred Karakul ram with the local fat-tail "Awasi" ewe is to be recorded; the skins of the first and second generations have been



recently very favourably reported on by experts, and they compare favourably in quality with those of South-West Africa.

A staff of qualified veterinary surgeons is employed to control and suppress animal diseases, and fourteen frontier veterinary quarantine stations are maintained. Despite the large imports of livestock, the country is continually kept free from serious epidemics, and the control of bovine contagious abortion, which was introduced over twelve years ago with imported dairy cattle and spread rapidly throughout the dairy herds, is well in hand. The Government Veterinary Laboratory is conducting most useful work in the control of the afore-mentioned disease and dourine. At this institution various diseases are being studied and vaccine and anti-sera prepared and sold at reasonable prices.

Imported plants are inspected to prevent the introduction of injurious pests and diseases. The life-histories of injurious insects are studied to evolve the most efficacious methods of control.

Two agricultural schools were established, one for Arabs in 1931 and one for Jews in 1934, from the bequest of the late Sir Ellis Kadoorie.

School gardens have been established in 192 Arab villages and in 100 Jewish schools to give a rural bias to education. Weekly talks to farmers on agricultural subjects are broadcast over the radio, and an Agricultural Supplement to the *Palestine Gazette*, in the form of a simple worded pamphlet, is issued monthly and distributed free to farmers and others interested.

A great hindrance to development had been the land tenure system in the villages which was in common—that is to say, the site of the area cultivated by each farmer as his share in the village lands changed every year. This is being remedied through the Land Settlement Commissions which partition the land and provide security of title. Individual effort and improvement of private land holdings are thus encouraged. To ensure security of livelihood to agricultural tenants, which may be affected by changes of ownership, a "Protection of Cultivators Ordinance" is in force.

A Department of Development was created to initiate and supervise development measures generally and to supervise the resettlement of landless Arabs. Water supplies in Arab villages and Jewish settlements have been improved, and a sum of £P.90,000 has recently been made available for a hydrographic survey in Southern Palestine, the Jordan Valley, and Trans-Jordan. A number of marshes have been drained by Government and Jewish institutions and the land reclaimed made available for agriculture.

Irrigation and duty of water experiments are carried out and underground water resources have been surveyed and a water table compiled. The irrigation system at Jericho has been reconstructed



by Government. Experiments have been made to conserve winter flood water in dams.

The rural property tax, instituted in lieu of the old Turkish tithe and Werko (land tax), has helped the poorer farmers in providing for a graduated tax on various categories of land determined by productivity. The lowest categories of land are exempted altogether, and the tax on field crops land possessed by the poorer cultivators is low.

Government short- and long-term loans have been given from time to time to assist cultivators to purchase seed in bad years and to carry out reclamation and development works. Cultivators have also been assisted by the Government in the remission of taxes in years of drought and poor crops. In addition to the protective duties on crops mentioned earlier, a licensing system on the imports of wheat and flour has been instituted to avoid surplus on the markets and protect the local grower and miller. A system of graduated duty on wheat and flour to maintain prices and encourage local agriculture has been adopted.

A Registrar of Co-operative Societies was appointed in 1932 for the primary task of organizing co-operative societies among Arab farmers to improve methods of marketing.

Finally, a General Agricultural Council, comprising official and non-official representatives, with the Director of Agriculture and Fisheries as chairman, was instituted in 1931. The council, with its ten committees of experts, numbering some 150 in all, functions in the co-ordination of the work of various branches of the Department of Agriculture and other agricultural research and education institutions, and advises Government on agricultural legislation, on matters of citrus fruit, agricultural economics and marketing, horticulture, plant protection, agricultural chemistry research, irrigation, animal husbandry, agronomy, agricultural education, as well as fisheries.

From the survey I have just outlined it will be realized that, considering agricultural development is normally a slow process, much has been accomplished in a comparatively short period.

In conclusion, I desire to express my thanks to various officers of my Department for assistance in compiling this article, and in particular to Mr. M. Brown, M.B.E., Secretary of the General Agricultural Council, and Mr. S. Antebi, Agricultural Officer of the Southern District.

## THE ACADEMIA SINICA

BY DR. CHU CHIA-HUA

THE Academia Sinica (National Central Academy) is, as its Organic Law states, the highest institution for scientific research in China, supported by, and under the direct control of, the Chinese National Government. Its functions are twofold: first, to carry on original scientific research, and secondly, to act as an organ for promoting, directing and co-ordinating scientific progress in China. As at present constituted, it consists of three component parts: (1) the Administration headed by the President and a Secretary General; (2) ten Research Institutes, covering the subjects of Physics, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, Astronomy, Meteorology, Psychology, History and Philology, Social Sciences, and Zoology and Botany, and (3) the National Research Council. As provided for by the Organic Law, a national scientific library and other institutes of research may be established, whenever the finances allow.

The National Research Council is composed of (1) thirty leading scientists of the country formally appointed by the National Government, and (2) the President and the Directors of the Research Institutes of the Academy serving as ex-officio members. The Council plays the part of a central co-ordinating organ to link together the Academy and the rest of the scientific world and to decide the policy or programme of research to be undertaken by the Academy.

### HISTORY

The Academia Sinica owes its origin to the far-sightedness of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who in his broad visions for the reconstruction of a modern China, included among his political reform programmes a provision for the advancement of indigenous scientific research. When he left Canton for the Northern Capital in the winter of 1924, he advocated, along with his policy for calling a national convention to settle political problems, the foundation of a central research academy as the highest scientific organization of the country, with a view to effecting the national reconstruction through scientific studies. He appointed Messrs. Wang Shao-min, Yang Chien and Huang Ch'ang-ku to draft the plan and regulations of this organization, which, however, did not materialize at the moment because of the untimely passing away of Dr. Sun.



When the present National Government was formed in Nanking, the idea suggested by Dr. Sun was soon carried into effect. Through the efforts of Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei the scheme for founding the present Academy was carried through, and a committee of three, consisting of Dr. Tsai and Messrs. Li Yu-yen and Chang Ren-chi, was formally appointed by the Government in May, 1927, for the establishment of the National Central Academy.

In October of the same year, when the Ministry of Education and Research was inaugurated with Dr. Tsai at its head, a Draft Committee of over thirty members was appointed to study the details of the contemplated organization. In November, the Committee met and drew up a constitution for the Academy. Minister Tsai was made its ex-officio President, and Vice-Minister Yang Chien was appointed concurrently as the Chief Secretary. Four institutes were then planned for—namely, the Research Institutes of Physical Sciences and Technology, Social Sciences, and Geology and a Meteorological Observatory. Committees were set up for drafting the constitutions and rules of these organizations.

In April, 1928, with the separation of the Ministry of Education and Research into the Ministry of Education and the Academia Sinica or the National Central Academy, the latter became an independent organ directly under the National Government. The constitution of the Academy was amended and promulgated in the same month as the present Organic Law of the Academia Sinica. Dr. Tsai was appointed President of the Academy and, in November, the office of the Chief Secretary was changed into that of the Secretary-General, with Mr. Yang, the former Chief Secretary, reappointed to the post.

A general reorganization and expansion of the Academy also took place. The Meteorological Observatory was separated into the present Institute of Astronomy and the Institute of Meteorology, both located at Nanking. The Institute of Physical Sciences and Technology was separated into three independent institutes—viz., the Institute of Physics, the Institute of Chemistry, and the Institute of Engineering. The Institute of Geology remained, while a new Institute of History and Philology was established. With the formal opening of the First Executive Conference of the Academy on June 9, 1928, the Academia Sinica may be said to have begun its active research activities. The Institute of Psychology was added in May, 1929, while the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History was inaugurated in January, 1930. In July, 1934, the Museum was reorganized as the Institute of Zoology and Botany, thus making ten institutes in all. By arrangement with the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, their Institute of Social Survey in Peiping was incorporated into the Institute of Social Sciences with its

headquarters in Peiping. At the same time a National Textile Laboratory was jointly organized by the Academy and the Cotton Industry Commission of the National Economic Council to conduct scientific research with the object of carrying out systematically the study of various technical problems confronting the cotton industry of the country. The bye-laws governing the National Research Council of the Academy were promulgated by the National Government in May, 1935. The first plenary meeting of the Council took place in September of the same year and the second one in April, 1936. Important resolutions were passed for the furtherance of scientific co-operation and for the solution, by concerted measures, of those urgent problems with which China is confronted during the present national crisis.

#### ORGANIZATION

The present administration of the Academia Sinica consists of the President of the Academy, the Secretary-General and two Departments: the Secretariat, and the Treasury. The President is entrusted with the duty of directing the policies of the whole Academy, while the Secretary-General takes charge of all the administrative matters of the Academy under the direction of the President.

The Institutes are independent units for carrying on research work, each under the supervision of a Director.

The personnel of the Institutes are classified as follows:

*The Director*, who is responsible for the direction of the administration and research work of the whole Institute.

*Chiefs of Sections*, who are responsible for the research activities of their respective Sections. Chiefs of Sections are concurrently Research Fellows, and carry on research work themselves.

*Research Fellows*, either full-time or part-time, are regular members of the research staff whose duty it is to direct work done by assistants, research students, and clerks.

*Assistant Research Fellows*, either full-time or part-time, undertake research work themselves but are of inferior rank to that of the Research Fellows.

*Honorary Fellows*.—Chinese scientists who have achieved notable scientific contributions may, upon the recommendation of at least one-third of the members of the National Research Council, and upon the unanimous approval of the Council members, be elected Honorary Fellows of the Academy. Foreign scientists who have achieved important scientific contributions may, upon the recommendation of at least one-third of the members of the National Research Council and the approval by over two-thirds of the Council members, be elected Honorary Fellows of the Academy.



*Assistants and Research Students* do their research work under the guidance of Research Fellows of the Institute to whom they are attached.

Besides those already named, there are librarians, fieldworkers, clerks, technicians, and others who are employed as the needs of the different Institutes require.

*The National Research Council.*—The National Research Council, as mentioned above, is composed of thirty scientific experts of the country, appointed by the National Government. The President of the Academia Sinica is ex-officio President of the Council, and heads of the research units of the Academy are ex-officio members. A secretary is selected from among the members by the members themselves and is in charge of the administrative work of the Council. He is also entrusted with the task of preparing the agenda for the coming conference, handling, in the name of the President, the correspondence of the Council and of editing the Council's reports, etc.

#### BUILDINGS

Owing to the lack of an adequate initial foundation fund, it was impossible for the Academy to plan for the buildings and equipments of the different Institutes in an ideal systematic manner that one would wish. Thus the Institutes were scattered in different places where it was most convenient for them to carry on their work. The Institutes of Physics, Chemistry, and Engineering were set up in Shanghai for the proximity of electricity and gas supplies. The Institute of History and Philology was located in Peiping for the convenience of conducting researches on historical archives in the former Imperial Palace. The Institute of Psychology was also set up in Peiping for co-operation with the Peiping Union Medical College to carry on various tests.

At the annual Conference of the Academy in June, 1930, it was decided to group the Institutes as far as practicable at the National Capital in order to attain higher administrative efficiency and better co-ordination among the different units. In the absence of a special building fund the project has been made possible by the savings accumulated year by year through economy, and at present it may be said to have been near completion. It was considered desirable to have the Institutes of Physics, Chemistry, and Engineering located in an industrial centre as Shanghai, and the China Foundation for Promotion of Culture and Education has donated a sum of \$600,000.00 for their buildings. They were completed by the end of 1933. The other Institutes are all centred in Nanking. The Institute of Meteorology and that of Zoology and Botany have been located in Nanking since their inception. The Head Office of the Academy and the Institute

of Social Sciences were completed by the end of 1931. A new building is being erected for housing these two institutions and will be completed in spring, 1937. The Institutes of Geology and Astronomy were completed in the summer of 1934. The latter is on the top of the Third Peak of the Purple Mountain and is one of the outstanding sights in the suburb of Nanking. In September, 1934, another building was completed at the foot of Pei-chi-ko to house the Institute of History and Philology. The Institute of Psychology was moved from Shanghai to the capital in 1935. Thus the building programme of the Academy has almost reached the stage of completion.

#### RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

At the time of the foundation of the Academia Sinica, a complete plan was drawn up which envisaged the work and gradual progress of the different Institutes for the first six years. So far the plan has on the whole been closely followed. According to this plan the energy and resources of the Institutes should in the early years be principally spent on the providing of scientific equipment, books, and collection and classification of data.

The following may serve as a brief summary of the kinds of research activities which have been going on in the past years:

*Observation.*—The Institute of Meteorology is well provided with the instruments for making hourly and daily records of the meteorological conditions of Nanking, including barometric pressure, wind direction and force, and solar radiation. It is working in co-operation with about one hundred and ninety stations in China, Japan, Korea, Siberia, Formosa, Indo-China, the Philippine Islands and the South Sea Islands, which send out meteorological telegrams and wireless weather reports. It is planning to establish many branches in China for a systematic study of the weather conditions, for which purpose students are being trained at the Institute. Daily weather forecasts are sent out, which are of valuable help to the aviation and navigation services. A special study of upper air conditions above Nanking has also been made by the sending of balloons with self-recording instruments. The Institute of Astronomy is equipped with a first-class telescope and other instruments for astronomical observations, which made possible the carrying on of important observation work, besides work on almanacs and other astronomical studies.

*Laboratory Work.*—The choice of subjects of study of the Institutes of Physics, Chemistry and Engineering is made with a view to meet the special needs of the country, such as studies in the manufacture of chinaware, paper, paint, pigment, glass and Chinese medicines. The shop of the Institute of Physics has been making scientific instruments both for the use of the Institute and



for supplying the orders of outside organizations. The plan of expanding this shop and of increasing its products has just been carried out. The Institute of Engineering has done important work in its National Ceramic Laboratory, while an Iron and Steel Laboratory has also been put up. Experiments in the manufacture of glasses, which had been carried on by the Institute of Chemistry up to July 1, 1935, were taken over on that date by the Institute of Engineering. All such studies include improvement in the method of manufacture as well as the examination of raw materials available in this country. The study of the machinery, raw material and manufactured products of the cotton industry has been undertaken by the newly established National Textile Laboratory under the joint auspices of the Academia Sinica and the Cotton Industry Commission of the National Economic Council.

*Geologic Surveys.*—Many parties have been sent out to different interior parts of China to survey geological conditions and mine deposits. The results of these surveys are embodied in the memoirs of the Institute of Geology. Important theoretic, as well as practical, problems on earth formations and bearings on palæontology have been studied.

*Collection of Biological Specimens.*—After the success of the Government Kwangsi Scientific Expedition in 1928, the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History was established. Two expeditions were sent out in July and November, 1929, to Szechuen, and another expedition to Kweichow in April, 1931. Each of these expeditions was properly staffed with a botanist and a zoologist as well as a few taxidermists and assistants. The Museum had in 1933 more than 20,000 samples of zoological specimens and about 32,000 samples of plants. The collection was greatly enriched by the expedition sent in 1932 to Yunnan which lasted nearly two years. A South Sea Expedition party was organized at the beginning of 1934 in co-operation with the China Science Society. In the summer of 1934, the Museum was reorganized as the Institute of Zoology and Botany. An expedition was sent out, in May, 1935, to study oceanography and marine biology along the sea-coast of the Gulf of Peichili and the Shantung Peninsula. In pursuance with a resolution adopted by the China Sub-committee on Oceanography of the Pacific Science Congress in April, 1935, a marine biological station at Tinghai, Che-kiang, has been newly created under the supervision of the Institute.

*Studies in Physiological Basis of Sensation and Comparative Neuro-anatomy.*—The Institute of Psychology has been conducting experiments on the electro-physiology of the different parts of the visual apparatus, the effects of labyrinthectomy on albino rats and the effects of temperature and conic concentration on the



cerebral sinus. Works on the microscopic structure of the cerebral cortex of the Chinese brain have been published. Besides, the Institute is carrying on studies in the comparative anatomy of the brains of the different orders of mammalia.

*Social and Ethnological Surveys.*—Social survey and research have been undertaken by the Institute of Social Sciences. The Section of Sociology has concentrated its energy on research on agrarian problems, and has, among other things, made investigations on the agrarian systems in Shansi, Wusih and Paoting, etc. Attention has also been paid to the studies of agricultural and commercial economics, such as the food problem in relation to the population, and statistics of foreign commerce in China. The Section of Ethnology has made important first-hand studies and collected valuable ethnological data of the aborigines in Formosa, the Tungus in Manchuria, the Lolos in Szechuen and the aborigines in the Hainan Island. In July, 1934, this Section was transferred to the Institute of History and Philology. Recently it has just completed a survey in Yunnan.

*Linguistic Survey and Research.*—The Section of Linguistics of the Institute of History and Philology has made extensive phonetic studies of the Wu dialects, the dialects of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and the dialect of Amoy, besides others. Instrumental studies of Chinese tones are being carried on. Besides the recording of dialect data, the Section is also undertaking important research work in ancient Chinese phonology. Studies of ancient rhyme books, ancient scripts (especially the bone inscriptions) and the reconstruction of old sounds are undertaken by different research fellows. Original studies of the Tibetan language, and studies of the Si-shia literature are being conducted. The study of folk-lore constitutes one of the many phases of the Institute's activities.

*Compilation of Historical Archives.*—The Institute of History and Philology has undertaken the great work of studying the original Cabinet Archive manuscripts of the Manchu Dynasty, which form a veritable mine of information regarding the late Ming and Ching Dynasties. Along with the manual work of preserving, labelling and chronological classifying of the manuscripts and brushing away the accumulated dust of three centuries, the work of compilation of important reprints is going on under a special Compilation Committee.

*Archaeological Excavations.*—The Section of Archaeology of the Institute of History and Philology has done very notable work in excavations at Honan and Shantung. These expeditions may be said to be the first scientific excavation parties entirely organized and staffed by Chinese scientists. Important finds have been unearthed at both places, which, with the new methods of study,



have thrown important light on the early history of Chinese culture. A large quantity of bone inscriptions of three thousand five hundred years ago have been discovered and their contents methodically studied. The excavations at Chêng-tze-yai, in the neighbourhood of Tsinan, Shantung, have revealed an early Black Pottery culture which is so far the earliest known in ancient East China. The Section is now conducting for the fourteenth time the excavations of ancient tombs at An-yang, Honan.

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

In consonance with the second object of the Academia Sinica, which is to promote, direct and co-ordinate scientific progress in China, the Academy has also served in many ways as a central scientific organ for organizing scientific conferences and scientific surveys, and for establishing contact between China and foreign countries concerning scientific matters. Among such activities may be mentioned the following: (a) The calling of the National Meteorological Conferences in April, 1930, and 1935, for establishing a national scheme of co-operation among the meteorological stations. (b) The compilation of a complete bibliography of scientific treatises written by Chinese scientists as well as those relating to China by foreign scientists. (c) The sending of delegates to participate in the various international conferences, such as the International Botanical Congress held at Cambridge University, England, in August, 1930; the Conference of the Commission for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, held at Geneva, in July, 1931; the Fifth Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress in Canada, 1933; and the International Astronomical Union Congress at Paris, in July, 1935. (d) The delivering of a series of lectures on scientific subjects through the Central Broadcasting Station at Nanking. (e) The giving of technical counsel on questions of pure and applied science and acting as a government agency for giving reports on scientific problems and projects submitted for examination. (f) The organizing of national research expeditions, such as the National Scientific Expedition to the Northwest, for the study of the geologic, archæological and ethnological conditions in Inner Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, and Thibet, a project which was scheduled to last four years and which may be considered the first extensive scientific undertaking of the National Government of China. (g) The establishment of a National Textile Laboratory in co-operation with the Cotton Industry Commission of the National Economic Council for studying and improving the raw materials, manufactured products, and factory management of the industry. (h) The co-operation with the Ministry of Education in establishing a National Central Museum in Nanking.

# KASHF AL-MAHJÚB

THE OLDEST PERSIAN TREATISE ON SUFIISM

By 'ALI B. 'UTHMAN al-JULLÁBÍ al-HUJWIRÍ

Translated from the text of the Lahore edition, compared with MSS.  
in the India Office and British Museum.

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## FAR EAST

THE FAR EAST IN RECENT HISTORY. By G. F. Hudson. (*Humphrey Milford.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

To all who wish to get the many complications of the Far East in true proportion, Mr. Hudson's terse, lucid and scholarly book is cordially to be recommended. His selection of the essential facts and the manner in which he shows the interplay of continually changing forces give the whole book an interest and distinction which will commend itself even to those already familiar with the history it traces. For others it supplies just the key that is needed to present perplexities.

The story begins about a century ago with the West forcing its way into the East (Japan as much as China) in search of trade; then in due course came the contest for territory and concessions: many people will remember when the partition of China was as much expected as the break-up of Turkey. Russia was always the chief villain and still is, with her recent absorption of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang: it is easy to understand Japan's historic dread of her. At the Washington Conference the Powers agreed to abjure the "gunboat policy" and be good. They were not a little surprised that Young China refused to be good also. As Mr. Hudson says, "It was not enough that the privileged Powers should cease to advance; Chinese nationalism demanded that they should retreat . . . it was now China's turn to attack."

The wonder is, not that China has had intermittent fits of violent anti-foreignism, but that she has not had more. On the other hand, as Mr. Hudson justly points out, the Powers, by indulgent toleration of her breaches of treaty after 1922, must share the responsibility for China's humiliation in Manchuria. When China, or as Mr. Hudson seems to prefer it, the Young Marshal, "tried to force Japan out of Manchuria" she presumed too far. Japan was passing through an excruciating economic depression, and the combination of events broke the last bonds on the military men's impatience with Baron Shidehara's famous conciliatory policy. Some extremely interesting pages show without rancour or prejudice the futility of expecting help from the League of Nations.

MAKASSAR SAILING. By G. E. P. Collins. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by R. T. BARRETT.)

Mr. G. E. P. Collins takes us pleasantly to the Island of Celebes. He is sure of readers, for few of those whose imaginations wander afield can have failed to wonder about the nature of this curiously shaped island and the ways of its people. Mr. Collins has the power of being able to write in



simple and matter-of-fact style of what he has seen, and illustrates his subject with the kind of photographs that are wanted. He spares his readers anthropology and ethnology, but he gives, in his accounts of the ceremonies he has seen and the tales he has been told, the raw materials of these sciences.

A good sense of proportion is kept, for while he paints no fanciful Arcadia, he suggests that despite dirt and epidemics it is no bad thing to be an untutored native of Bira, in the southern corner of Celebes.

The descriptions of native life, including weddings, funerals, marital customs and superstitions are all felicitous, and those who have known the East will quietly relish the record of the tricks played upon him by the builders of his *prahu*, in order to get a little more money out of him.

He harbours no illusions about these people, and one of the few rather bitter passages scathingly attacks untravelled politicians who declare that these lands are not better for white overlordship.

Mr. Collins has here unquestionably written an ideal book, with appropriate pictures, for a quiet evening by the fireside on an English winter evening. For that, both those of us who have been East of Singapore, and those who travel there in spirit only, will owe him a debt of gratitude.

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JAPANESE EXPANSION ON THE ASIATIC CONTINENT. Vol. I. By Yoshi S. KUNO. (Cambridge University Press.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by R. T. BARRETT.)

This is a most interesting and revealing book. Everyone studying the Far East should read it, and then read it again, not only for the story that it relates of the past, but for the light it throws on the present conflict between China and Japan. Professor Kuno, who has been Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of California, describes his book as: "A study in the history of Japan, with special reference to her international relations with China, Korea and Russia," and he unfolds a chapter of history almost unknown to the West.

The value of the book is that it gives, with admirable restraint and fairness, the Japanese point of view. The triumphs, diplomatic and military, of his country are soberly described, the defeats are not glossed over; but there is never a doubt of the essential rightness of the course pursued by his country.

This volume, the first of three, which will bring the record down to modern times, starts with the legendary beginnings of Japan, and ends with the attempts of Hidyoshi, "the Japanese Napoleon," to conquer China, as a preliminary to bringing all the known world under his own rule.

It might seem that the reading of a record of such far-off days is a waste of time to the student anxious to understand the nature of the present conflict. But Professor Kuno reveals how the Japanese view their own heroic age, and the profound effect which these olden triumphs must have when presented to a people of simple mentality, through the medium of strongly nationalistic history.

The impression, for instance, of the scattering of the invading armadas of Kublai Khan, upon the Japanese mentality, was even deeper than that of the defeat of the Spanish Armada upon England.

Professor Kuno says: "Ever since the destruction of Kublai Khan's armada by the divine wind in the thirteenth century, it has been the national belief that Japan is a divinely protected nation and that she can never be conquered by a foreign power. So strongly are the people imbued with this faith that there is absolute national confidence in the ultimate success and justification of all her causes and claims in any dealings with foreign nations."

When an Englishman writes about Japan he finds himself in a strange land, with standards entirely foreign to himself and his readers. But to Professor Kuno, what he relates is the natural and correct standard. That is where the value of his book lies.

The position of the Emperor of Japan, the semi-divine ruler, who was shorn of power, and made almost a prisoner for centuries, is made clear. There has never been any suggestion of abolishing the throne, nor have usurpers sought it. The holder, by right of inheritance of the three Three Emblems—the sword, the mirror, and the jewel—delivered by the Sun Goddess to her child, the first emperor, is sacrosanct. In the struggle for unification the Emperor's champion held an advantage over rivals, and the Shoguns, as the Emperor's deputies, were able to command the allegiance of the common people.

In many ways the book is disappointing. The language is stilted, and the narrative turns back upon itself with needless repetitions. Much that one would like the author to tell us is omitted. A great part of the record deals with war, but no account is given of the Japanese army, of equipment, tactics, strategy and training. Even the revolutionary introduction of fire-arms is dismissed in a few lines. How much one would like an account, for instance, of the Samurai, their traditions and influence. His readers will, however, be grateful to Professor Kuno for what he has revealed of the spirit of his country, and the remaining volumes of this important work will be awaited with every interest.

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A ROVING COMMISSION. By Henry Newman. (*G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.*)  
7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Newman adopts a discursive style in writing of his experiences as War Correspondent in China, Tibet, and the North-West Frontier of India, and he recalls to memory many events of the Boxer Rising and the march to Lhasa with Sir Francis Younghusband.

His reminiscences of frontier fighting during and after the Great War are of interest, as they record numerous little-known incidents. In particular, he sheds a humorous light on the Peace Conference which took place at the conclusion of the 3rd Afghan War in 1919.

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TOWARDS ANGKOR. By Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales. (*Harrap.*) 12s. 6d. net.  
(Reviewed by DR. ARNOLD A. BAKÉ.)

It certainly was a happy idea of the author to make Angkor the climax of his recent book. The wonders of that mighty and wonderful complex of royal and sacred ruins have filled the world with admiration for some decades, and every effort to explain the evolution and growth of the culture that produced Angkor must be warmly welcomed. Here we have before us the results of two expeditions, which have a much wider range than that which the author chooses as his official climax. When reading the book I seemed to hear objections from rigidly scientific quarters to its form, half account of travel, half exposition of historical and archaeological facts. But the author's method certainly has produced a book that will appeal to a wide public, and will awaken response in every heart that possesses sympathetic strings, and as long as the scientific part of it bears all the marks of being the result of sound research and logical reasoning, the popular form seems to me rather an advantage than otherwise. The rise and development of one kingdom after another, appearing for a short period in history and then vanishing for ever; the culmination of that period in the centuries of domination of the Emperors of the Śailendra Dynasty; and the interplay of political interests dimly discernible in the account of Chinese contemporary records, sometimes suddenly corroborated by archaeological finds, deserve to be known in a much wider circle than that of scholars alone. For the understanding of the great Indian culture, the culture of Greater India, they are of immense importance.

One cannot but admire the logic and ingenuity with which the course of history is reconstructed from the find of three Hindu images twelve miles higher up the river than where they originally belonged, even if the assertion "if these images had not been carried twelve miles up the Takuapa river (on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula), Angkor, in Cambodia, would never have existed" (page 50), is perhaps a little too sensationally put. Still, the discovery of this overland route from Takuapa to the Bay of Bandon, with, as its sequel, the establishment of contact with the Far East out of reach of the all-powerful pirates of the Strait of Malacca, who had effectively stopped the intercourse between India and the Indonesian Archipelago; the consequence of renewed quickening influences of different waves of Indian settlers in the Far East; the second colonization of Java from the East of Malacca; and even the identification of Chaya at the Bay of Bandon with the capital of the mighty Śailendra kings—all these fit in so well with the historical facts that the numerous opponents of this new and rather revolutionary theory will have to bring forward very solid facts to undermine this structure.

The book impressed me as a sound contribution to our knowledge of a little-known but extremely important and interesting period in the history of Greater India, and the numerous good photographs and very clear maps, bibliography and index greatly enhance its value. A few more photographs of Indian types of architecture to elucidate comparisons would have been welcome, especially as the book addresses itself also to a general, more or

less lay, public; a photograph, for instance, of the Gupta tower of Bhitargaon next to its relative, the Indian tower at Cri Deva, certainly would not have been out of place, nor some typical examples of Pallava art.

Possibly the theory will have to be modified in details, but I would not be surprised if the basis of Dr. Quaritch Wales's theory, the importance of the overland route and its falling into disuse as soon as the Śailendras had freed the Strait of Malacca for traffic again, has very materially advanced our progress to a fuller understanding of the history of Greater India.

FAR EAST IN FERMENT. By Guenther Stein. (*Methuen.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Stein's book on the Far East as it is to-day is written with considerable skill and good knowledge of Japan, China, and also Russia. It has another advantage: all the main occurrences which will affect the future of the Far East are stated and reviewed in an impartial spirit. Peace and war are in the balance; they depend upon the relations between Japan and Russia, and he comes to the conclusion that neither of them are prepared to venture on a conflict. A victory of Russia would mean a Bolshevization of Asia, while a victory of Japan would bring about Japanese dominion to the detriment of Europe.

What plans Japan has no one can say; perhaps the Japanese rulers themselves do not know. Of Russia Mr. Stein holds the view that they have for the present shelved the idea of a world revolution. As regards her armed forces which can be brought out in the Far East, he is of opinion that they are equal to those of Japan, and that Russia's air fleet causes much anxiety to the Islanders. Mr. Stein's observations will be studied not only in England, but also in Russia and Japan.

BOOK OF SONGS. Translated from the Chinese by Arthur Waley. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Waley is one of the foremost scholars of Chinese and Japanese, whose books have in the past rightly earned and received a great welcome, not only on the part of the British reading public. The same reception is in store for his latest output: the *Book of Songs*. It appears that Mr. Waley has intentionally omitted from the title-page, the *Shi Ching*, in order not to frighten the reader or student of Chinese poetry. The *Shi Ching* has been translated several times into English, but the statement can hardly be contradicted that those editions have appeared like voices from the grave compared with the new rendering that has just been placed before us. It is to Mr. Waley's credit that he has transformed an old book into a new one which will appeal even to the most modern taste. Is it the translator's better insight, or is it his fine poetical rendering which shows the volume in a really human form? Short introductions and notes serve to stimulate the reader and enlighten him on the themes in a pleasurable form.



WE, THE TIKOPIA. A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia. By Raymond Firth. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 30s. net.

We, the Tikopia, is the expression of self-consciousness used by a tribe who live on a small island of the Solomon group. A map of the island shows its topography, and another depicts the sociological features. Mr. Firth has resided a year amongst these primitive people in order to familiarize himself with their social organization. The fruit of his work is a large-size volume of over 600 pages, produced by the publishers in their usual handsome style and provided with 25 plates, with plans, whilst the author himself has prepared for the text a number of tables and even genealogies. This shows with what earnestness the author has approached his subject and carried through his work. All branches of human relationship have been searched from beginning to end with the result that we see before us the village community life, that of the family and their separate members.

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LA CHINE HERMÉTIQUE : SUPERSTITIONS, CRIME ET MISÈRE. Souvenirs de Biologie Sociale. Par le Dr. J. J. Matignon. New edition. With 42 plates. (Paris : *Paul Geuthner.*) 75 fr.

The first edition of this remarkable work was issued forty years ago, followed by other editions. One of the chapters deals with the enormous number of suicides, of which the author describes the various reasons and also gives the modes of suicide. According to statistics, most of such deaths occur in a rage, half that number on account of poverty. We learn to our great surprise that the peaceable, lovable Chinese suffer frequently from ill-temper, and this from early childhood. The system of Eunuchs in the ancient Imperial Palace is dwelt upon, as well as the horrible practice of infanticide. Dr. Matignon's observations on these and other vices and on Chinese psychology bearing on these matters are strong, but improvements in recent times have done much to modify the picture.

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CHINESE LYRICS. Translated by Ch'u Ta-Kao, with a preface by A. Quiller-Couch. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 4s. 6d. net.

The volume contains 54 poems belonging to the Sung dynasty. So far, not much is known of Sung poetry, perhaps chiefly because this period, which rather excelled in learning and philosophy, did not produce many poets, but also because the poems do not offer a special charm like those of the T'ang times. However, we have to be grateful for these examples. It is creditable that a Chinese should give these translations in such perfect English, and be able to produce in them that musical touch which appeals to our own ears.

---

JEHOL, CITY OF EMPERORS. By Sven Hedin. Illustrated. (*Kegan Paul.*) 18s.

Sven Hedin, one of the world's best-known explorers, is well known in England through his works in English on his previous expeditions and researches. No title could have been more appropriate on this occasion, as Jehol is in the mind of many readers. We should have liked to obtain more information regarding present conditions in this important Manchu city, as also a description allowing the reader to familiarize himself with the seat of the present great trouble in Manchuria. There are, indeed, some historical notices and chapters rendered from the Chinese, but the major part of the book deals with the temples of the city, which were built chiefly by Chienlung. The account is very conscientiously written and in an interesting style, but at the present time a more general and up-to-date statement of its political importance would have been more acceptable. At the same time it is useful to learn something of its past history, as that enables us to judge of the present in better perspective.

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HANDBOOK OF JAPANESE ART. By Noritake Tsuda. With 345 text illustrations and 10 plates in colour. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 25s. net.

Mr. Tsuda has attempted and succeeded in compiling a handbook of the whole range of Japanese art. Here we find in handy form information on architecture, painting, sculpture, metalwork, lacquer, textiles, prints, pottery, and on landscape gardening. The 524 pages of text, interspersed by numerous illustrations, do, of course, not pretend to treat the various subjects critically, but they give more than sufficient information to the educated reader wishing to understand and appreciate the beauty of Japanese art. It must give the Japanese intense satisfaction to know that art in their country is not confined to privileged classes, but that it is part of the general education. One of the first Westerners to appreciate Japanese art was Edmond de Goncourt and through him more than through anybody else this art became known and began to be appreciated in Europe. Mr. Tsuda's book will contribute to a better knowledge of Far Eastern art in general amongst us.

The handsome volume is divided into two parts, of which the first is a historical survey, beginning with the archaic age, leading up according to periods to contemporary art. The second part forms a guide to temples and museums, which are dealt with according to the chief cities. The text illustrations are perhaps as good as they can be on the shiny clay-paper, but the colours on the plates do not give a proper idea of the high quality of the objects. At the end is to be found an excellent bibliography of English books on Japanese art, as well as a map showing the distribution of Japanese arts.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PACIFIC. By Gregory Bienstock. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 12s. 6d. net.

This work is the outcome of much shrewd observation and hard work. The author is of the opinion that the first World War has given rise to new situations which were certainly not taken into account at the time of the war. New aspirations, especially of Japan and Russia, have gained ground. According to the author, the interests of the Anglo-Saxon races in the Far East are so enormous that they do not favour a success of either of the two nations. All the possibilities in the preparation of a second World War, deciding for some time to come the fate of the countries bordering the Pacific, are studied and discussed. It should be stated that Mr. Bienstock has a most unusual insight into present-day politics, and that his views are worthy of the greatest attention. He has added notes of reference, some quite lengthy, and much bibliographical information. In the preface it is stated that the volume is a translation.

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LAND UTILIZATION AND RURAL ECONOMY IN KOREA. By Hoon K. Lee. (*Oxford University Press.*) 17s. net.

Apart from a few works on politics, the present volume is probably the first scholarly, specialized treatise by a learned Korean in any European language, except a thesis of doctorate which was issued in German through Leipsic University. That this was made possible is probably due to Dr. Lee's American training. This treatise on Agricultural Economics is all the more welcome, as we already have similar books on China and Japan. The types of land use are admirably described, nor do other chapters leave anything to be desired. The author has spared no pains to enlighten us upon the whole land colonization, such as forests and mines, which contain much wealth, the farm products and their prices, and also farm labour conditions.

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WANG AN-SHIH, A CHINESE STATESMAN AND EDUCATIONALIST OF THE SUNG DYNASTY. By H. R. Williamson. Two vols. (*Probsthain.*) £3.

Various studies on Wang An-shih have appeared in recent years in various languages, but the first comprehensive work on this most eminent statesman has only just been issued by an English Sinologist, Dr. Williamson. The Chinese Government itself has expressed its admiration for this great reformer by making his political and economic doctrines a part of the curriculum for officials. The first volume of this extensive work contains chiefly the life of the eminent reformer who became, at least in doctrine, the father of state socialism. The chief measures which he introduced were nationalization of trade in the country, with authority of government agents to buy food in the cheapest market and dispose of it at fixed prices. The Agricultural Loans Measure provided rural credits. The Militia Enrolment Act provided for military training of the people. The second volume contains a number of Wang's Essays, which display his unorthodox opinions on methods of government and his views on education.

The politician, nay, the thinking public, as well as the scholar, must thank Dr. Williamson for the difficult task which he has undertaken and so ably completed. The present volume forms vols. 21 and 22 of Probsthain's well-known Oriental Series.

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LA CHINE. Par Maurice Percheron. With 148 photographic illustrations and 4 fine coloured plates. (Paris: *Fernand Nathan*.) 20 fr.

In opening the pages of this book one is agreeably impressed by the numerous exquisite illustrations, and even more so by the coloured plates, which are most attractive. The text illustrations are collected from a number of sources, and they give the volume a distinct charm, displaying objects of Chinese civilization. From the letterpress the reader will derive no less pleasure: Monsieur Percheron has a fluent, lively style, and in these all too brief pages gives an account of various episodes in Chinese history, life and culture. Great emperors, poets, Buddhist travellers appear before our eyes as human beings, not as dry history. Marco Polo and Kublai Khan speak to us, and especially the tragic Empress-Dowager Tzu-hsi tells us of her worries, and finally passes out of sight. Anyone wishing to get an idea of the long history of China in a few chapters and possessing some knowledge of French cannot do better than acquire this volume.

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#### GENERAL

THE GROWTH OF LITERATURE. By H. Munro and N. Kershaw Chadwick. Vol. II. (*Cambridge University Press*.) 30s. net.

The authors have set themselves an enormous task, and in studying this big volume of eight hundred pages one is convinced that the work undertaken must be the result, happily concluded, of a life-time of study. It is true that the final volume is only in preparation, but, of course, it must have taken formal shape. The work on which the authors have been engaged is a kind of unwritten—*i.e.*, oral—literature, and in the volume before us there are treated the Russian, Yugoslav, including Muhammadan, Early Indian, and Early Hebrew literature. This oral literature is the basis of all further development. What is very creditable is that the authors have mostly given their own translations, and only for the Hebrew section have they used the revised version of the Old Testament. Each of the four parts is heralded by an able introduction, and each of these again is divided into chapters of almost equal length. The subjects are such as we find them in the literature—*i.e.*, heroic, historical, saga, descriptive, religious poetry and stories. Most readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will be more or less familiar with Indian literature, and yet it is fairly certain that the treatment from the point of view of oral tradition, its rise and growth, will arouse their deep interest as supplements to their knowledge of written literature, and they will pay tribute to this exceptional work.

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MAKING OF THE STATE. By M. Ruthnaswamy. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 21s. net.

The title-page informs us that the author is a barrister, and has also held distinguished positions in various legislative councils. This cannot be wondered at. The volume discloses an unusual amount of substantial learning, and the compilation can be well compared with the best books that have been produced in this country. The author knows, of course, the Sanskrit bases necessary for a work of this description, but he is equally a master in English, French, and German. Even the difficult foreign words are correctly spelt. There is just one slight mistake on page 190, the work on *Ethnography of Castes and Tribes* is by Bains and not by Baine's, but this slight error shows the great care Mr. Ruthnaswamy has taken. However, the name is properly spelt in the index. Apart from these general observations, we can further compliment him upon the way in which he has compiled this book. It is an exceedingly interesting work, not merely for people in India, to whom it is specially addressed, but also for people in Europe. Mr. Ruthnaswamy has made a fascinating book out of a subject which is generally dry to the ordinary reader. Every page teems with interest, sound information, and attractiveness. The author is of opinion that India is now well on the road to the making of her own state.

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POTEMKIN. By George Soloveytchik. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 18s.

This biography is in the nature of a rehabilitation of an historical figure which has been persistently caricatured.

Potemkin's rise to power was meteoric. Associated with the five brothers Orlov in the *coup d'état* which brought Catherine to the throne, he was shortly afterwards introduced to the new Queen at an intimate soirée, and, on being questioned by her regarding his impersonations, greatly daring, answered her in her own voice. The *coup* succeeded and launched him on his great career.

In an early chapter, entitled "The Russian Scene," the author holds up to the reader a mirror of the times with its eccentricities and extravagances, and helps him to see Potemkin's more notorious deeds in their true perspective, but, commencing where some of his other biographers ended, he recounts the many services rendered by him to his Sovereign and to Russia.

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THE TRAVELS OF PETER MUNDY IN EUROPE AND ASIA, 1608-1667. Edited by Sir Richard Temple and Miss Anstey. Vol. V. Hakluyt Society (*Bernard Quaritch*).

The fascinating account of Peter Mundy has reached its close with the present volume. Undoubtedly Mundy was one of the greatest travellers of his period. He started life as a cabin boy, sailing for Spain, where he became apprenticed to an English merchant. At the age of twenty he went on his first voyage overseas to Constantinople in the service of the Levant

Company. Finally, his journeys took him to various countries of Europe, to India, where he saw the Emperor Shah Jehan; to Southern India, the Dutch East Indies, and even China. In this last volume he describes the third journey to India, and his life in and impressions of his home country. What is vividly revealed in this book is his power of observation: nothing seemed to escape his keen eye. He witnessed the state funeral of Cromwell and also the restoration of the Stuarts. Yet, in spite of his wonderful experiences, he found himself a lonely man. Great credit is due to both editors of the work, as it requires a great deal of knowledge and of research to follow our Mundy throughout the world. The notes are stupendous; a list of the books and manuscripts used for the preparation of the work is a testimony of what had to be gone through. A few text illustrations, plates, and a map of the Malabar coast add to the general interest of this great work.

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ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN, 1837-1907. By William Habberton. (Urbana: *University of Illinois*.) \$1.50.

The position of Afghanistan as an independent state has for the last hundred years been the source of anxiety for both Great Britain and Russia. Professor Habberton of America has entered upon his task with great independence of opinion which is based on extensive study, mainly from English sources. The monograph does not dwell upon details of the Anglo-Afghan wars, although he explains their causes. Professor Habberton rejects the use of war for imperial aims altogether. He holds the view that Britain in an age of annexations wished to bring Afghanistan under political influence in order to defend the frontiers of India. The best solution seemed to be to adopt the plan of a buffer state, and this appears to be the real policy, although a new inroad into Afghanistan is most unlikely today. Professor Habberton has gone very deeply into the subject, every page shows the reference to authorities, and an exhaustive bibliography which includes articles in periodicals ends the study.

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OBSERVATION IN RUSSIA. By Sidney I. Luck. (*Macmillan*.) 10s. 6d. net.

The author has the double advantage of having lived in Russia before the Revolution and of visiting it again recently, not as a tourist, but a member of an eclipse expedition to Omsk. He recounts his experiences in the form of a day-by-day diary, and his narrative is very stimulating. One reason is that it is written with obvious sincerity, commending and criticizing with great impartiality. Of his visit to Leningrad he writes: "I can go wherever I like. I wander into courtyards similar to those that are known in Glasgow as 'closes,' I speak to people, I go into shops; I even tell the assistants that their prices are exorbitant. No one cares and no one bothers."

In a foreword Professor Carroll, of Aberdeen University, gives some account of the technical side of the expedition, and refers to the excellence of



the pre-arrangements of the special committee of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the lively interest of the Soviet Ambassador in London.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO, TOGETHER WITH THE TRAVELS OF NICOLÒ DE CONTI. Edited from the Elizabethan translation of John Frampton. With introduction, notes and appendices by N. M. Penzer. Second edition. With eleven maps. (*A. and C. Black.*) 18s. net.

There is a great attraction in the remarkable adventures of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo. Many editions have been issued, and that of Frampton's English translation is not one of the least esteemed.

Mr. Penzer, the able editor of the *Ocean of Story*, issued in 1929 an edition de luxe, provided with a long masterly introduction and with explanatory notes which must appeal to the well-to-do man of leisure. The editor has done well in reissuing it at a price more within the reach of the average reader of culture, and the publishers have combined with him to make a wider circulation possible. The notes and appendices should be appreciated by the readers who are not satisfied with the text only. It is a fine, attractive publication at a low price.

#### RECENT FRENCH BOOKS

L'INDE SECRÈTE ET SA MAGIE, by Jean Marquès-Rivière (*Les Œuvres Françaises*); VOYAGE AUX INDES, by F. Goethel (*Gallimard*); COURRIER D'ASIE, by O. P. Gilbert (*Gallimard*).

(Reviewed by CHARLES A. KINCAID.)

India still continues to attract men of all nationalities. No Englishman feels his education complete unless he has paid it at least one flying visit. The mere name of India fills Frenchmen with strange thrills and longings, and it appears that even Poles are not immune to its uncanny lure. The first of the three books before us is by a French author, and the second by a writer from Cracow, whose work has been translated into French.

Although M. Rivière, the author of *L'Inde Secrète et sa Magie*, armed himself with the circular ticket of the ordinary tourist, he went out resolved to see the India of yogis and fakirs, the land of strange legends and stranger happenings. To do so he had to wear Indian dress, to eat Indian food, to sleep on village cots, to expose himself to malarial attacks, to fast, to study astrology, to frequent Hindu temples; in fact, to become as nearly a Hindu as a European can. In this way he contrived to collect more experiences during his short stay than most foreigners gather in thirty years. By relating them M. Rivière has achieved a most fascinating and original piece of work.

On leaving Bombay, M. Rivière first visited the Kathi State of Jasdan, and was present at the Dasra festival; from Jasdan he made his way to Benares, the Rome of the Hindu faith. There he looked with understanding on the bodies in the burning ghats, the holy cattle in the crowded streets. He

bathed face and hands in the sacred river and discussed with a wandering ascetic the respective merits of Hinduism and Christianity.

From Benares the train took the wanderer to Central India, where he was present at a tiger shoot; but he was more interested in psychic phenomena than in the chase, and the remainder of the book describes experiences with yogis, anchorites, and mahatmas. Most of his stories are told at second hand; of these the most striking was the adventure of a Hindu who went in search of Kamarup, the fabled woman's kingdom that is believed to exist somewhere in the far north of India. The Hindu reached Kamarup, was taken prisoner and turned into a ram. A similar tale has been told by Victor Dane in *Naked Ascetic*. That traveller met an Englishman who had tried to pry into the secrets of the woman's kingdom, but had been turned into a he-goat. Possibly both stories are echoes of Circe's garden in the *Odyssey*. M. Rivière, however, had several weird adventures of his own, and these he has related admirably. Indeed, his book is quite different from any other work on India that I have seen. I can thoroughly recommend it.

*Voyage aux Indes*, by M. Goethel, is a very different type of book. It relates the writer's adventures—all of a mild type—during a three months' tour through India. The book's chief attraction is that it is from the pen of a Polish writer of distinction; it has been translated into French by another Pole, M. Bohomolec. Forgetful of Poland's centuries of glorious history, Englishmen were before the Great War apt to regard Poland as a mere province of Russia. Really it was Poland that gave to Russia such civilization as it ever possessed. Once more independent, Poland has again become what it was in the days of Sobieski, the great frontier fortress of Christendom; while Russia, stripped of Poland and the Baltic provinces, has relapsed into its pristine barbarism. M. Goethel's outlook, as befits a citizen of the new Poland, is sturdily Western, and, although he does not seem much to like Englishmen, he likes Indians still less. Nevertheless, his book is full of well-expressed wisdom and excellent judgments. He travelled from Bombay to Udaipur, of which he duly appreciated the romantic setting. Lahore was his next halt, and then Delhi. Like M. Clemenceau, he foresaw the time when the ruins of New Delhi would be added to those of its seven predecessors. He visited Benares and disliked it, but his account of the Buddhist monastery in Sikkim is most entertaining. The part of his tour that he seems to have liked best was, I think, his meeting with a Polish missionary who worked in the tea plantations of Assam; and, indeed, Father Piasecki seems to have been fully worthy of his countryman's esteem. He had devoted his life and health to help the coolies in the tea plantations. They were mostly parias from Madras and the easy prey of grasping agents and "get-rich-quick" managers. Above all, Father Piasecki could and did talk through the night to M. Goethel about their beloved Poland.

The third book, *Courrier d'Asie*, is not about India, but about China. It consists of three rather lengthy "short stories," written with rare skill and knowledge. The French and English characters in the book are mostly worthless, but the villainy of the Chinese characters is naked and wholly unashamed. Indeed, the Indian Penal Code lacks provisions with which to punish their wickedness. The first of the tales is about an appalling personage



called Ruiten, who trafficked in drugs, white women, and Chinese coolies. Eventually he met with poetic justice, for the coolies broke loose, hit him over the head, and flung him into the sea. In the second tale we read of the siege of French engineers by Chinese bandits. The third story is concerned with the White Russian female refugees in Shanghai.

I can thoroughly recommend all three books to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

## NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

**TRIUMPHANT PILGRIMAGE. AN ENGLISH MUSLIM. JOURNEY FROM SARAWAK TO MECCA.** By Owen Rutter. With two portraits. (*Harrap.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This is the story of a young man who, after service in the British Navy, tried his fortune in city life and finally landed at Sarawak in order to fill a post in the Rajah's service. That work did not fulfil his aspirations, but he had occasion to observe the religious and practical side of Islam amongst the Malays. The young man, called David Chale, found at last his peace of mind, but also remarked that it was necessary to strengthen Islam, and decided to undertake the pilgrimage. In order to do so, and for his own purpose, as he admits, young Chale marries a Malay woman. Both of them make the journey and after many difficulties succeed in finding their way to King Sa'ud, and finally perform the ceremonies of the Haj. Having found peace and happiness in Islam at Mecca, they turn to Medina and at last each of the happy pair return to their respective homes in the hope that some day Chale will return to Sarawak to join his spouse. The intention is to bring the Malays back to the realities of Islam, probably when he has grown a little older, and make it once more a living force. He is of opinion that the two great forces—Islam and British imperial democracy—will work for the good of humanity.

Mr. Rutter assures us that the adventures and the personality of the young convert are authentic. Whether his aims will be fulfilled remains to be seen, but the account of his life and the picture of the religion are interesting and trustworthy.

**A SHORT GRAMMAR OF OLD PERSIAN.** With a Reader. By T. Hudson-Williams. (*Cardiff: University of Wales.*) 5s. net.

Professor Hudson-Williams has now added to his introduction to the study of comparative grammar a short grammar of Old Persian, a group of the Indo-Iranian group. This book of fifty-one pages, though small, contains everything that is necessary for the beginner. It has the advantage of teaching in easy stages the elements of that grammar. The Reader is most helpful, being in transcribed Roman characters, with interlinear translation and explanatory notes; finally, there is a vocabulary of words that occur in the text. Surely, compared with the old clumsy Oriental grammars, this new one on Old Persian should be a real pleasure to the student.

## INDIA

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, VOLUME IV.: THE MUGHAL PERIOD.  
(Cambridge University Press.) 42s. net.

(Reviewed by J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

This volume almost completes the Cambridge History, for only Volume II.—probably the most difficult of all to write—now remains unpublished.

The central theme is, of course, the often-told story of the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire, beginning with Babur and ending with the accession of Shāh 'Alam II. Though the several European Powers appear on the scene, references to them and their fortunes are only incidental; but the histories of the Deccan kingdoms, of the Marathas, and of Burma are traced in considerable detail.

Much sympathy will be felt for Sir Wolsley Haig, whose ill-health has prevented him from completing all the chapters which he undertook to write, and also from editing the whole volume, the plan of which is his; but Sir Richard Burn, besides making himself responsible for the important chapters on Humāyūn, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, has carried out the labours of general editor with great skill. Of the other contributors, Sir Denison Ross finds a congenial subject in Bābur; Sir J. N. Sarkar writes learnedly on Aurangzeb and his successors and on the Hyderabad State; and Maratha and Burmese history receive expert treatment from Messrs. H. G. Rawlinson and G. E. Harvey. Mr. W. H. Moreland, unquestionably the leading authority on his subject, makes hard things clear in his chapter on the emperors' revenue system; and Mr. Percy Brown describes, with the aid of his wide personal knowledge, their magnificent architectural achievements.

These writers make a strong team, and their work has been well co-ordinated; there is none of the overlapping which is apt to mar joint productions. The volume is rounded off with maps, bibliographies, and chronological tables; and the illustrations (nearly a hundred) of Mughal architectural monuments make a delightful book of themselves, provoking the reflection that, whatever our verdict on the emperors' system, they have furnished unanswerable proofs of their greatness in stone and marble.

The Empire, from its peculiar nature, was dependent on the character and power of its rulers. Even Mr. H. G. Wells, who hates the hero, calls Akbar one of the "hinges of history," and has quite a lot to say about him. Apart from Akbar himself, no dynasty in history provided a greater variety of types than the Mughal. Moreover, while the authors of this volume will no doubt be criticized for the conservatism of their method, and for telling us more about the rulers than the ruled, they can plead that the Indian historical sources contain but little information about the people and their social life.

One of the outstanding merits of the book is its impartiality. The characters of the great figures of the age—Akbar, Shivaji, Aurangzeb—about whom so much controversy exists, are dispassionately estimated; while on the vexed question as to who was responsible for the design of the Taj Mahal



Mr. Percy Brown displays a similar spirit. "The truth seems to be that Verroneo was invited, as were others, to produce designs, but that prepared by the Mughal master-builders was the one eventually selected."

This fourth volume may not please everybody. It is not, perhaps, completely satisfactory as a critical history; it might, with advantage, contain more on the literary and intellectual movements of the age; it does not, by the eliciting of fresh facts, change perspectives greatly. But as a well and fairly written account of one of the most colourful periods of Indian history, and as a valuable reference book, it has a value far above its price.

INDIA: A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY. By H. G. Rawlinson. (*The Cresset Press.*) 30s. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Mr. Rawlinson has given us a very impressive book: well written, well produced, and most admirably well illustrated. I do not remember having seen more pleasing plates in any publication; and I should desire to congratulate the publishers upon the excellence both of the plates themselves and of their reproduction.

This book will enhance the deservedly high reputation for sound scholarship that its author already enjoys. True, it is not the book for which many of us are still waiting. But the responsibility for this does not, I feel sure, lie wholly with Mr. Rawlinson.

My criticisms are directed to two points. In regard to one, I feel entitled to express disappointment. In regard to the other, I feel that Mr. Rawlinson has himself been the victim of circumstances.

To deal with the first point. I am not sure that I know the exact meaning of the adjective "cultural" as applied to history. Is a "cultural history" the same thing as a "history of culture"? Or is it history of the ordinary political kind with the addition of chapters at appropriate intervals dealing with contemporary art and literature? In my view, Mr. Rawlinson's book occupies a position intermediate between these two very different things. To class it in the second category would be ungenerous; for Mr. Rawlinson's chapters on art and letters are far from being mere interpolations; they are part and parcel of his main narrative. At the same time, I am clear in my own mind that Mr. Rawlinson has not written a history of Indian culture; for he is little concerned with the development of abstract thought, with the contraction or enlargement of mental horizons, and in general with the long and complex process which has made the Indian *Weltanschauung* something so remote from the comprehension of the British. Since it is the author's avowed—and most commendable—aim to reveal the significance of India's contribution to world culture, I cannot but deem that his book would have been more complete had he devoted some attention to the history of Indian thought both in politics and in æsthetics. "Today," as he justly remarks, "when India is once more emerging, with that persistent vitality which has

been her characteristic through the ages, from eclipse, it is more than ever incumbent on us to realize the greatness of her past achievements, in religion, politics, art and literature." Quite so; but the omission of "philosophy" is surely to be regretted.

The second point is, I am sure, not the fault of Mr. Rawlinson. No doubt the editor of the series has not realized the extent to which Western influence contributes to the corpus of Indian culture as we see it today. In the case of the volumes on Japan and China, there is no doubt a good case for refusing to enter upon the controversies inseparable from a consideration of modern times. But, in the case of India, a limitation of this character is most regrettable. If this or any book is to lead Englishmen to a better comprehension of India's greatness, its readers must be familiarized not merely with India's past achievements, but also with their present-day resultant. Such a synthesis is lacking. "Indian cultural history," as no one knows better than Mr. Rawlinson, did not cease with the rise of British dominion in India; it was (and is still) profoundly influenced by that phenomenon. Owing no doubt to the limitations imposed upon him by the design of the series of which this book forms a part, Mr. Rawlinson devotes 398 pages—not a page too many—to the task of bringing his narrative to the middle of the eighteenth century. He is thus left with 20 pages for the British period; and with no pages at all for estimating the effect of the impingement of Western culture upon the cultural elements already present in India. Possibly from the strictly chronological standpoint, such a distribution of space may be defended. But we are here not concerned with chronology; the objective is "cultural history." The "cultural history" now being made in India is a typically Indian synthesis, consisting partly of the diverse cultural elements present in the country before the rise of British power, and partly of the Western elements introduced thereafter. I am quite sure Mr. Rawlinson would agree that these Western elements are just as real a part of present-day Indian culture as the indigenous and earlier-imported elements which have in time preceded them. I feel strongly that no "Cultural History of India" can afford to ignore this fact, or can escape the duty of illustrating the processes from which it resulted.

These are my only criticisms of the book. For the rest, I have nothing but commendation. The narrative stretches in its stately range from the earliest chapters of India's history and artistic achievement, as revealed by the recently discovered settlements in Sind, with their marked Mesopotamian affiliations, to the period when the impact of British sea-power was introducing a new factor into the eventful history of the country. Mr. Rawlinson has wide sympathies. His dealings with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, as well as many other religious cults and creeds, are enviably impartial. He well maintains the balance between Hindustan and Southern India; and has avoided the temptation—to which many English writers fall victims—of reserving his best efforts for the more eventful history of the North. He is perhaps at his best when treating of some great figure such as Akbar; for his strength lies most notably in dealing with the concrete and the tangible rather than with the theoretical and the speculative. But his chapters on literature are most admirable, both for skilled selection and for sympathetic



interpretation. They will be read with pleasure by many to whom his political chapters present little that is new.

Mr. Rawlinson's love of India and all its peoples is revealed in every line. His style is worthy of his subject. It is always dignified, often stately, and on occasion, as when enthusiasm fires him, touches high levels of eloquence.

I should like to bring to Mr. Rawlinson's attention the fact that in the first sentence of the first page there is an unfortunate *lapsus calami*. According to Mr. Rawlinson, *The Times* declared that Indian history has never been made interesting to Indian readers, except by rhetoric. This, of course, reads like nonsense. Indian readers are as a rule pathetically interested in Indian history; and often complain that English historians fail to do it justice. What *The Times* actually wrote in its issue of February 12, 1892, was that Indian history had never been made interesting to *English* readers, except by rhetoric—a statement which was perhaps truer than it is today.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR  
THE YEAR 1933-34.

(Reviewed by HAROLD H. MANN.)

IN view of the share which the Indian States will have in the coming Indian Federation, it is of more interest than ever before to know the actual conditions in the various States which are to form part of that Federation. This is particularly the case in connection with the larger and more important States whose area is comparable with that of an Indian Province. It is well known of course that these conditions differ very much. Some of the States, such as Mysore or Baroda, have the reputation of being very advanced, and in these it is certain that the condition of the people and the development of the country has received at least as much attention as in British India. In other cases, however, it is generally supposed that the condition of affairs is far otherwise, and that some States are looked upon by their rulers as being rather in the nature of private properties, which exist primarily for the benefit of the ruler, than as States in which the condition of the people is the first consideration.

The largest State in India, the Nizam's Dominions, occupies one of the key positions in the Indian peninsula. It represents on the whole an area whose development as a centre of population and of government dates from a far earlier period than either the Bombay Presidency on the West or the Central Provinces on the East. When Poona was a small provincial town situated in the wild approach to the Western Ghats, Hyderabad and its surroundings were among the richest parts of India. The key position of this State was so much recognized by the Mogul Emperors that the capital of the whole of their possessions was at one time transferred to Aurangabad, as being the most convenient spot for the supervision of their vast empire.

But not long ago the Hyderabad State was usually considered very backward in comparison with the British Provinces in India. I remember, myself, long before I knew anything about this State, standing in Khandesh and

looking over towards the plateau which I knew was part of the Nizam's Dominions, and considering it as rather an undeveloped portion of India. Things, however, have changed under the rule of the present Nizam. The report here reviewed represents the latest published account of the administration of a State which has become very progressive. There is no doubt that these developments were very badly needed. From whatever point of view the State was considered, it is clear that thirty years ago comparatively little had been done to modernize its organization, or to do those things for the people which, however inadequately done, have become the commonplaces of administration in the British provinces. Railways were insufficient, roads were poor and, except for a very few among them, were difficult to use in the rainy season. Irrigation, except from the tanks, which, in the eastern half of the State at any rate, are of very old standing, hardly existed. The various so-called "nation-building" departments were in a very primitive condition, and, except perhaps in Hyderabad and the cantonments near it, one felt on entering the Nizam's Dominions from a British province that one had gone into an area which recalled descriptions of pre-British India.

There is no doubt that the situation in Hyderabad offered peculiar difficulties. The organization of the State is definitely aristocratic, with large areas—about one-third of the whole—forming the domains of the Nizam himself and of his nobles, over which the activities of the State authorities, as such, are severely circumscribed. Then, again, we have a Mussulman State with a predominantly Hindu population, and in spite of complete tolerance, this will always be a handicap to real advance. Further, even less than in British India, the people have had little voice in determining what should be done for them.

In spite of all these difficulties, however, a very great change has taken place during the last thirty years, and very great credit is due to the present Nizam and his administrators for the way in which the State has been brought into line with the rest of India. No doubt a great deal of leeway has to be made up, but there is an atmosphere of progress which cannot be missed by anyone who now visits even the outlying parts of the country, and I think that the heartiest congratulations of all well-wishers of the Indian States must be given to those who have been responsible for the developments of the last few years.

It is impossible in a review like the present to do more than indicate three or four of the lines of development which have led to the improved position of which I have spoken. Of these I will choose three. The first is the remarkable improvement in the finances of the State which in recent years has been connected with the name of Sir Akbar Hydari. At present it would seem that we should have to go far to find a state or province whose economic position is sounder than that of Hyderabad. In thirty years the State revenue has risen from Rs. 4.69 crores to Rs. 7.95 crores, and, though expenditure has risen to about the same extent, yet the most remarkable thing is that at the end of a long period of development the total Government debt is now little over 6 crores of rupees for a State of 82,000 square miles and a population of 14½ millions, while no less than 1¼ crores of Government debt were paid off in the year under review.



The second line of development has been the extension of irrigation. The eastern part of the State, the Telingana, has always been a great area for tank irrigation, but little effort had been made to utilize the waters in the rivers of the State for similar purposes. Now, however, a fine irrigation system has been built up based on the waters of the Manjhra River. This represents one of the larger Deccan schemes. Even now the actual utilization of the water has not been completely organized, but the main and branch canals of this scheme have been completed to the extent, with distributaries, of 338 miles, and water was, in the year under report, let out over an area which makes this one of the very important irrigation protective works of the Deccan. This is only one of quite a large number of similar though smaller schemes which have been either partially or wholly brought into use. Still larger projects based on the Krishna, Tungabhadra, and other rivers are under preparation, and I fancy that it is not the fault of the Nizam's Dominions that some of these have not gone further towards realization than has hitherto been the case.

A third line of development on which a great deal of energy has been expended in recent years is the Agricultural Department, and I know no part of British India where the response of the people has been more ready than in a number of parts of Hyderabad. There is no more interesting portion of the report than that which describes all that is being done to apply agricultural discovery to the needs of this State. In this connection I might call attention to the fact that certain parts of the dominions are peculiarly subject to famine, the Raichur district being an extreme instance. The protection of the country against famine is one of the most serious preoccupations of the State authorities, and, apart entirely from the extension of irrigation, which is, of course, the method *par excellence* of mitigating the danger of famine, a very great deal has been done by other well-known methods to make the country more independent of the vagaries of the season.

I have been asked how the condition of the people, and especially of the rural classes, of the Nizam's Dominions compares with that in British India. The report shows the preoccupation of the State authorities with the improvement of that condition. As to results, I can only compare, from personal knowledge, the Marathi-speaking districts with those of the adjoining Bombay Deccan, and I think I may say with certainty that the people appear as well off as those in the adjoining British province, with the additional advantage that there seems little or no doubt that money will be available in the next few years to apply effectively all that is known which may make for further improvements. Personally, I hope to see big reductions in the land revenue in the comparatively near future, and if this can be done it may make this State one of the pioneers in making the advance in the condition of the people the primary preoccupation of the Government.

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ANNUAL REPORT ON H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S STATE RAILWAY FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1937. (Secundarabad Deccan: H.E.H. The Nizam's State Railway Press.)

(Reviewed by G. H. ORMEROD.)

The Nizam's State Railway serves the territory ruled by H.E.H. the Nizam, which has an area of about 65,000 square miles and a population of 11 million. These figures exclude Berar. The total mileage of the system is 1,348—667 of the 5' 6" and 623 of the metre gauge—and includes 58 miles of line owned by the Government of India, but worked by the Nizam's State Railway Administration.

The Report under review, which was compiled by Mr. Firminger, the acting Agent, and is made to H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway Board in London, must have given equal pleasure to the compiler and to those to whom it was addressed. It is a record of a most successful year's working, and reveals a spirit of grappling with the difficulties which in these days beset all railway administrations. It is well deserving of study by all who are in any way responsible for railway working in India.

This is attested by the following figures :

Capital at charge	...	...	...	Rs. 14.65 lakhs.
Gross earnings	...	...	...	" 2.16 "
Working expenses	...	...	...	" 1.07 "
Ratio working expenses to gross earnings				49.8
Percentage of net earnings on capital	...			7.4

The above figures are for the railway only, but this administration has faced road competition in a wholehearted fashion, with financial results favourable in themselves to this extension of their undertaking, and which must have preserved revenue for the railway by the co-ordination of feeder services with railway working.

In May, 1936, a separate department for road transport was organized under the Agent, and expanded from 137 vehicles, goods and passenger, to 318, with an increase in earnings from Rs. 13.34 lakhs to Rs. 22.96 lakhs. Per vehicle mile there was a decrease from 81.7 pies to 71.8 pies, mainly due to special circumstances.

The financial results of the road services in the year under report were as follows :

Route miles	...	...	...	...	3,977
Capital at charge	...	...	...	Rs. 46,61,119	
Gross earnings	...	...	...	" 22,96,473	
Working expenses	...	...	...	" 19,15,060	
Ratio working expenses to gross earnings				...	83.4
Net	...	...	...	" 3,81,413	

The Report, in dealing with road competition, generally states that this is increasing, particularly by privately owned goods lorries operated on parallel and short-circuiting routes. It is, however, one of the many satisfactory points of this Report that the Road Development Committee is studying



the question, and in the subject of road construction are in touch with the Road Board of H.E.H.'s Government. It is also satisfactory to notice that the Railway Administration does not regard every road parallel with the railway as necessarily detrimental. A road with a bus and lorry may, it is recognized, enable the speeding up of trains between important stations. This question is ultimately one of comparative economy between the light mixed train with frequent halts and the Diesel-engined lorry and bus, and is at present in an early experimental stage.

The co-ordination of road and rail services has been expedited by the establishment of out agencies for the collection and delivery of goods by lorry, charging 1 pie per maund per mile, and in one instance experimentally  $\frac{1}{2}$  pie per maund-mile. It is anticipated that progress will be made with the extension of these services. When one realizes that these road services already are in route mileage double that of the railway, it becomes clear how important these services are from the viewpoint of publicity alone.

In connection with these services the Railway Administration has also instituted combined bus and rail excursions at low fares, and has issued most interesting and well-produced brochures illustrative of the points of interest and beauty in the territory. The financial results of these excursions are not impressive, but Indians are a nation of sightseers, and apart from direct earnings the excursions are a valuable national service, and a service which should be made by a national railway.

This brings the reviewer to an impression which he has gained from a study of this most interesting Report—viz., the inestimable value of a railway being in close and intimate relations with the State, as in this case, and in British India with the Province, its Government and people. The interests of both are identical, and yet in British India, with railways controlled by the Government of India in far-away Delhi, there would seem to have been in the past almost a total absence of co-ordinate working in the development of agriculture and industry. Consultation on the development of resources between railway commercial departments and corresponding departments in Provincial Governments are unknown. In H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway the Report states:

"The Chief Commercial Manager is a member of the Industrial Area Development Committee, Hyderabad, and he is preparing an art-paper booklet entitled *Industrial Development, Hyderabad*. A close liaison is maintained between the Commercial Department and the Commerce and Industries Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, and efforts are being made to establish industries which would necessitate the import of raw materials and thus improve the average lead of traffic."

The Report is amply provided with the tables and graphs usual in a Railway Administration Report, some of which show comparative results with railways in British India.

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THE HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY ARMY. By Sir Patrick Cadell. (*Longmans.*)  
18s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT.)

A military history of this kind, founded on the author's long personal contact with the races of the Bombay Presidency, his acquaintance with all its parts, his experience as Chief Secretary to the Local Government in the war period, and as a Volunteer Military Officer of high standing, carries with it exceptional authority. Bearing every mark of elaborate research and careful thought, it appears at an opportune moment, for now hard facts have compelled sensible persons to recognize that in human affairs there is no lasting haven, and that, whether we like it or not, we are afloat on largely untried and somewhat tempestuous seas. But, in Kipling's words, "Was there storm? Our fathers faced it and a wilder never blew, Earth that waited for the wreckage watched the galley struggle through." Past experience and careful study of our history in India are wonderfully cheering; and by his work on this book Sir Patrick Cadell has made a valuable addition to his long record of devoted service.

In his first chapter he gives as the strongest justification of his history "the consistent loyalty of the Bombay army and its freedom from the stain of insubordination," and quotes the words of Sir Charles Napier: "I feel fearless of an enemy at the head of Bombay troops. With the Bombay soldiers of Meeanee and Hyderabad I could walk through all lands. They are active, daring, hardy chaps worthy of Sivaji himself." In the second chapter we are told how the patriotic Hindu revival under Sivaji, by embracing all castes to an extent unknown in any other part of India, welded the population of Maharashtra, "the natural hinterland of Bombay and afterwards the bulk of its Presidency," into a national race of warriors and set an example which was followed by the British in later times, for they recruited not only from the castes which supplied Sivaji's army, but also from the Beni Israel, a small community of Jews who had been located for more than a thousand years on the coast near Bombay and now produced many good native officers. Other sources of supply were the out-caste pre-Aryans, and notably the Mahars or Parwaris. Men were also accepted from other parts of the country, although recruiting parties were not sent into the Deccan until after the conclusion of the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. But eventually just as caste feeling caused the elimination of the lower castes from the armies of the Peshwas who supplanted the successors of Sivaji, so did it tend toward the same result in the regiments of the Bombay army. The main element in that army was the Maratha, "always a good and reliable soldier, whether he came from the Konkan or the Deccan." But in the long run he succumbed to the caste consciousness which is so powerful in India.

The book describes the immense difficulties which beset the first British settlers and garrisons of Bombay. From land and water their existence was threatened, and more than once affairs "vibrated to the edge of perdition." Their masters at home were stupid and parsimonious; their neighbours were often hostile; their boundaries were extremely insecure. But Gerald



Augier, governor from 1669 to 1677, by organizing defence forces from unpromising materials, by meeting an attack from a powerful Dutch fleet with undaunted front, by sending garrisons to outlying factories imperilled by pirates and predatory county powers, preserved the infant settlement from strangulation. He temporarily enlisted Muslims and Rajputs to meet Dutch and Portuguese menaces; and after his time, in 1684, orders came from London to enlist permanently "two companies of Rashpouts from the main." Thus was laid the foundation of the Indian portion of the Company's army. Meantime the population of Bombay island had rapidly increased under Augier's administration, which offered a refuge from the tyranny of neighbouring rulers and the proselytizing zeal of the Portuguese. It is remarkable that from the year 1690, when the English were besieged for some months in their castle by the Sidi's forces under orders from Aurangzeb, Bombay Island, in spite of its circumscribed limits and weak defences, was never again invaded by any considerable hostile force. Although, as is here stated, this emergency taught the necessity of strengthening the island's defences and of keeping a stronger force at sea, the settlers would hardly have been so fortunate had not the Peshwa's Government, after taking the adjacent island of Salsette from the Portuguese in 1737-9, concerned itself with "concentrating its strength in the interior to meet Nadir Shah and other adversaries," and entertained "a healthy respect for the sea-power and trading usefulness of Bombay." But the occupation of Salsette by a Maratha force was obviously a standing menace of grave moment; and Sir Patrick practically endorses the verdict of Warren Hastings on its conquest by the forces of the Bombay Government in 1674 as "an act of necessity and of good policy, not inconsistent with the most rigid principles of political justice." There is no doubt that the determination of Governor Hornby to forestall the Portuguese and secure the island for the Company without delay was dictated by regard for the vital interests of his employers. It did no real injustice to the Marathas, always freebooters themselves, who about thirty-five years before had forcibly captured Salsette from the Portuguese; and it placed the safety and the trade of Bombay on a far more stable footing. Bombay has been fortunate in its governors on critical occasions: in Gerald Augier, Hornby, Mountstuart Elphinstone, his nephew Lord Elphinstone, and in our own time Lord Willingdon.

In the first Maratha war the Company's Bombay Sepoys, led by British officers, first "established their name." We may quote Grant-Duff's eulogy of James Hartley, one of their most forceful leaders: "He was well known to the Sepoys, who have much discernment in the character of their officers, and are very different under different men; but in the hour of need, where they have experienced kindness and seen their officers worthy of confidence, there probably never was an instance of misconduct. An officer, even in a subordinate rank, has a charge not only difficult in itself, but of higher national importance when leading the natives of India than is likely to fall to the lot of a junior officer in any other branch of the British service." A striking instance of the devotion of the Bombay Sepoys to their officers is given on page 109 of this book; and although the Local Government, being



merely a coastal power and enjoying no territorial revenues, dependent therefore in the main on the general resources of the Company, was unable to offer even the meagre rates of pay obtainable by junior officers in the other two Presidencies, there was keen competition for military commissions as the life with its unlimited opportunities for sport and adventure, its chances of prize money and distinction, appealed strongly to British, and especially to Scottish, youth. In the King's army, too, service in India was popular; and transfers to the Company's European regiments were sometimes permitted. Scarcity of money, however, must mean inadequate forces in emergencies; and we learn that under the strain of Bombay's participation in Cornwallis' war against Tipu, so great was the lack of troops at the centre of the Presidency that the garrison of Salsette was merely "the small invalid corps." It was in the course of this war that Captain Little won the battle of Shimoga on December 29, 1791, with 800 men, his casualties being 62, including all his British officers killed or wounded. Later on the conduct of Bombay troops at Seedaser in the last Mysore war was declared by Lord Wellesley never to have been surpassed in India.

In the second Maratha war the Bombay army again proved too small for the needs of the occasion and took little share in Arthur Wellesley's brilliant campaign in the Deccan.

With the conclusion of the third Maratha war and the overthrow of the last Peshwa, the Bombay Presidency at last became a continental power, and the Bombay army was more largely recruited from up-country Muhammadans, Rajputana men, and "Poorbeahs," all "Pardesis" (foreigners). But it preserved its earlier characteristics; and Sir Charles Napier, whose "striking and picturesque personality made him a popular favourite with the army in India," observed on his final departure from that country: "I love the Bombay army most. I never think of its Sepoys without admiration." After the conquest of Sindh he introduced a Baluch element; but Marathas were still the main strength of the army and their amenity to discipline leavened the rest. The loyalty of the force in the Mutiny and its fine conduct in the field are described in Chapter XII.

Afterwards the old Indian Navy, previously known as the Bombay Marine, ceased to exist. The army had often greatly profited by its co-operation. The chance of internal disorder had now practically disappeared, and the centre of military gravity had shifted further toward the north-west frontier. As Sir Patrick observes: "Only the fact of its readiness and convenience for overseas service and of its holding Sind and therefore the road to Baluchistan and Southern Afghanistan saved the Bombay army from the danger of stagnation." In the Abyssinian war it supplied almost the whole of the Indian portion of the force which, under the Bombay commander-in-chief, Robert Napier, and with "a strong stiffening of British soldiers," in Fortescue's words, displayed an "extraordinarily fine spirit." In a chapter on the part played by the Bombay army in the second Afghan war the disaster of Maiwand is discussed, and it is pointed out that the Bombay soldiers on that occasion "fought stoutly till the limit of endurance was reached." In 1893 the Bombay army was merged in the army of India for reasons given on pages 248-50. Industrial development, extension of



railways, alterations in fashions of thought, processes going on day by day, had affected recruitment in the Presidency; the true Marathas were resenting enlistment from castes whom they considered their inferiors. Altogether the change was inevitable. Class companies were introduced, and the old mixed system of recruitment was laid aside to be resumed temporarily under the stress of the Great War. In the early stages of that stupendous struggle the Marathas responded readily to the call for recruits, showing "their recollection of past tradition by expressing that preference for particular regiments which had been remarked as far back as 1797." They were in no way discouraged by their losses in Mesopotamia. But the sources of recruitment were too limited and the old system of military recruiting parties was inadequate. The wholehearted co-operation of the civil administration was obtained, and the caste limits were widened with reluctant assent from army headquarters, not unnaturally, as reorganization of habits and revival of a military spirit which had been left to burn low or die out must be particularly difficult to achieve in India. It appears, however, that "there was sufficient evidence that given reasonable opportunity the fighting races of the Western Presidency would show their old tenacity." But clearly the "reasonable opportunity" must be forthcoming. The last chapter of the book contains a grave warning. The personal connection of the Bombay regiments with the Presidency by recruitment is now confined to a few battalions. "There is always the danger that this small proportion may be still further reduced, and the statement is constantly made that recruits of a sufficiently good physique are not forthcoming. But the wiry Bombay Sepoys were not found wanting in the privations of Mesopotamia or in the long marches of Allenby's advance into Palestine." The military authorities in India must seek to obtain the best material obtainable. "But there is obviously a real danger when we find some 85 per cent. of the present Indian army to be recruited from less than 30 per cent. of the total area of India." There certainly is, especially under existing conditions of warfare. Sir Patrick Cadell considers that willingness and ability to serve may still be found among the people of the Deccan and Konkan of Bombay.

There are appendices valuable to the military student and a very useful bibliography. The whole book is written in a clear, attractive style, and will be useful both to those who make a special study of military history and to all who take an active interest in the past, present and future of that western shore of India, where

"Still lie gold beaches, sunset-kissed,  
As Vasco saw them lie;  
And still the Ghat hills through the mist  
Lift timeless heads on high."

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## INDIA AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

REPORT OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER, MILAN, 1936-37. By M. R. Ahuja.

REPORT OF INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER, 1936-37. By Sir David Meek, C.I.E., D.Sc.

TRADE STATISTICS WITH A REVIEW FOR 1344 FASLI (1934-35 A.D.). By Mazhar Husian, M.A., B.Sc., Director of Statistics, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE: ANNUAL REPORT, 1937. By the Director, Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

(Reviewed by R. W. BROCK.)

The thread which links all economic reports today, irrespective of their authorship or country of origin, is the evidence they all afford of the feverish pursuit of industrial self-sufficiency. In India the application of the new ideal is not limited to the relations of the country as a whole with other political units in the Empire or beyond; it also extends to individual Indian Provinces and States, each anxious to meet their own requirements without assistance from their neighbours. Thus, in the Report on trade issued by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, covering the year 1934-35, one finds the characteristic comment: "Textiles continue to occupy the leading position in the list of imports. The growing volume of trade seems to suggest the immense possibilities of developing the cottage and (mill) industries on these lines. The Hyderabad State is the third largest cotton-growing centre of India, and the yield, if properly handled and converted into clothing, would be a fruitful source of enriching the economic condition of these Dominions." A perfectly legitimate ambition—reflected in an increase in mill production in the State of ten million yards during the year under review—the ultimate outcome of which will probably be the exclusion from India of imported cotton goods from all sources.

The Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner in Milan indicates the reactions on Indian exports of the application of the same doctrine in Italy and certain other countries which were formerly large importers of Indian products. As the result of Italy's continued efforts to make herself self-sufficient, to quote the High Commissioner's concise summary of Mr. Ahuja's survey: "India, which had stood fifth in order of importance amongst the countries contributing to the import trade of Italy, fell back to the ninth place in 1936, her total trade having shrunk to the comparatively small figure of 137 million lire." Largely owing to the general adhesion of European countries to self-sufficiency programmes, Indian exports to Continental Europe have been approximately halved within a relatively short period, and unfortunately there are no immediate indications of this disastrous movement being reversed. Not the least important of the factors contributing to the decline of British exports to India has been the concurrent decline in India's former very favourable balance of trade with Europe, and the resultant inability of India to trade with Great Britain except on a bilateral basis: adequate allowance being necessary, in this connection, for



the governing circumstance that, in relation to India, Great Britain is a creditor country.

Writing in advance of the recent recession, Sir David Meek pointed, prophetically, to certain risks attaching to the preceding recovery which have since materialized. Thus, in addition to emphasizing "the danger of commodity prices getting out of control," he stressed the "neglect of export markets" as a weakness which "narrows the basis of the world economic structure," and proceeded to note that, "while the re-armament programme has been a source of considerable stimulus to trade and industry, it is also a source of possible danger. When the stimulus disappears, some of the commodity markets may be severely tested, particularly as the heavy armaments expenditure is not spread over the whole range of commodities.

... Fortunately, thoughtful minds in Europe and America are not unaware of these dangers and show an understanding of the difficulties inherent in the situation." General free trade, even if desirable, has long since ceased to be an objective of practical statesmanship, but freer trade than now obtains remains practicable as well as desirable, and, in the long run, is regarded by many competent authorities, not prone either to exaggeration or panic, as the only effective alternative to another World War.

In relation to the development of the world's economic resources—and not merely their development, but their distribution—it is a legitimate criticism to say that science has run ahead of statesmanship: so far ahead, indeed, that the consequent maladjustments threaten to take several generations to correct. It will hardly be suggested, however, that, on that account, scientific research should be circumscribed or suspended, albeit an incidental consequence of the economic depression in its early years, as Sir Harry Lindsay recalls in his report on the Imperial Institute—which exists to promote the scientific development of Empire resources—was a loss of financial support, now happily restored. Few, if any, Empire organizations have rendered service of greater practical value to Empire industries, but, as Sir Harry Lindsay has been quick to realize, "it is not enough to perform these services in Empire interests if the Empire as a whole knows little about them. A Press Publicity Officer was appointed in 1936, and with his co-operation it has been possible to make the activities of the Institute far better known to the public of the United Kingdom and also of the Dominions and Colonies." Publicity, too, is developing into a science, and the sequel to Sir Harry Lindsay's move will be, one hopes, that, if and when another depression occurs, official grants to the Institute, instead of being curtailed, will be increased. For, as cumulative experience bears increasingly convincing testimony, the remedy for economic dislocation is not less scientific research, but more—meaning thereby not merely the accumulation of scientific knowledge, but its practical application in terms of economic production and commercial organization.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1938

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### INDIA AND THE FAR EASTERN CONFLICT

BY EDWIN HAWARD

(Late Editor, *North China Daily News*, Shanghai.)

Just before setting to the preparation of this talk I happened to glance at Lady Hosié's new edition of her father's translation of *The Analects of Confucius*, and came upon the sage's dictum :

"The wise man in his attitude towards the world has neither predilections nor prejudices. He is on the side of what is right."

We need something of that courage today when the countrymen of Confucius are gallantly struggling against wanton aggression terribly attended by excesses and slaughter of peaceful citizens and peasants. Our full sympathy must surely go to China at this moment if we are worthy of the liberty which is our birthright. Through Buddhism in particular, Indian thought has traditionally exercised much influence on China. A thousand years before Buddhism came to China Confucius and his older and rival fellow-philosopher were endeavouring to find the way of living. Laotzu's mysticism had much in common with the Yoga of India. It was directly opposed by Confucian theory, which was expressly designed to serve the present life. Confucians adopted or attacked Buddhism, but it is not unreasonable to imagine that the teachings of Confucius had considerable influence on the later religious thought of India.

Where after 2,500 years Confucius seems to stand apart from many philosophers who came after him is in the sense of humour, the practical modesty and the fearless realism with which he commended his doctrines. He was no defeatist, no self-sufficient



dogmatist. "My doctrines make no progress," he roguishly said once. "I will get me on a raft and float away upon the sea." "Only the very wisest and the very stupidest never change," was another almost Shavian rebuke to one who had accused him of inconsistency.

Forgive this palpable digression. Its excuse must be that it seeks to establish the cultural link between India, with whom this Association is so intimately concerned, and the Far East, where today much is happening of enormous significance to India. British India—now starting on the way of self-government—has a special reason to study Chinese affairs. The Act of Parliament which in 1833 contained the germ of the provincial autonomy now active opened up British trade with China by abolishing the monopoly of the East India Company.

The East India Company was to be the medium for Parliament's direction of India's destinies, of which Macaulay spoke in his famous second reading speech on July 10, 1833. For that reason the Bill sought to relieve the Company of its monopoly of the China trade and thus enable it to give better attention to the new and more onerous responsibilities assigned to it.

The East India Company's operations thus formed a common link for the British in India and China. Everyday conversation in Shanghai recalls that historical fact. "Tiffin" is actually a more generally used word for the midday meal in China than it is sometimes in India, where now it is chiefly used by or to the servant and not between guest and host. The Shanghai Bund and other Bunds in Hankow and Tientsin as well as the Stock Exchange use of the word "lakh" (but never "crore") betray Indian influences. How tea came to India from China—through Robert Fortune—and was cultivated as a formidable rival to China's product is well known.

#### THE OPIUM TRADE

I do not propose to touch more than incidentally on the opium question. It is sufficient to say that India has nothing to reproach herself with in that regard. Her abandonment of the revenue from the unrestricted export of opium to China is recognized as a

signal example of international goodwill. It is not the less admirable because China herself still seeks to solve the problem. Indeed, not long before the present trouble broke out in China I was discussing it with a man in exceptionally close touch with the leader of modern China. I ventured to express the opinion that if the Government at Nanking could obtain the loan of the services of some Indian official expert in the control of opium manufacture and supply, it might be assisted in formulating a real policy of regulation leading eventually to prohibition. I know that the suggestion was taken into account, and in spite of the difficulties in the way it might have been adopted. The Chinese Government deserve every sympathy, for not only is the suppression of opium traffic linked up—as once in India, but far less desperately—with the problem of revenue, but it is baulked by the existence of a gangster organization, which, so far, even the authority of the Chinese Government has not been able successfully to challenge.

#### INDIA'S LINKS WITH CHINA

The difficulties in the way of resort by China to Indian experience include a curious psychological inhibition from which neither foreigner (as the European or American is called) nor Chinese is exempt. The ardent nationalism of the new Chinese republic has produced a diffidence in regarding Indian achievements as in any sense a guide to Chinese action. This is not altogether, if partly, due to the feeling that India is under the control of a foreign power, and therefore should not be put in the same category as China. That, of course, does not affect the foreigner's attitude, although it must be confessed that abysmal ignorance of Indian conditions persists among many of our countrymen in China. Generally the foreigner resents any parallel being drawn with India, because he imagines that the effort is being dictated by some sense of superiority or by some perverted desire to introduce into China that formalism which he considers to mark India's political, social and racial occasions.

Yet, of course, the parallel is there: India's population is predominantly rural, so is China's. Technical experts engaged in



studying China's problems have frankly admitted that the Whitley and Linlithgow Reports might be made the standard works for industrial and agricultural guidance in China. China has no caste problem, no fierce religious feuds, but she has the incubus of an outworn agrarian system which is complicated by the deep-rooted customs regarding inheritance and the like. Attempting to frame and enforce an income tax law, the Chinese Government recently had recourse to documents which set out the history and experience of that law in India, and incidentally revealed that India had confronted the same difficulties and the same disappointments in the effort to establish satisfactorily that means of raising revenue.

Not that India has been entirely ignored. The Salt Gabelle, which is now going through such difficult times, owes its modern framework to Sir Richard Dane and his successor Sir Reginald Gamble. Parenthetically it may be noted that a more recent contributor to the study of China's economic problems has been Mr. C. F. Strickland, who, himself no stranger to the salt administration, spent several months in China lecturing on co-operative credit societies. Mr. Strickland was immensely struck by the qualities of the Chinese farmer, whose technical skill, frugality, industry and fortitude he admired. Given fair conditions, Mr. Strickland contended that the Chinese farmer had his superior in few countries in the world.

Other names in Anglo-Chinese relationships have a familiar ring to India. Lord Macartney, I need hardly remind you, was Great Britain's first envoy to China, and his subsequent achievements in India are on record. Lord Elgin, the first Viceroy of that name (he died at Dharamsala in 1863), was High Commissioner in China in 1857 and played an important part in forwarding the interests of the Settlement in Shanghai, in addition to his achievements in the negotiations leading up to the signature of the Treaty of Tientsin. Lord Willingdon is remembered in China for his report on the Boxer Indemnity Fund, under which such valuable cultural services are being rendered to Great Britain and China. Lord Lytton has given his name to a classic but luckless report on Sino-Japanese relations. General Gordon made his name first in China and suddenly returned there in 1880, when, on arrival at Bombay,

he threw up his post as Secretary to the new Viceroy, Lord Ripon. It is an interesting speculation whether the course of the controversy over the Ilbert Bill would have been altered had Gordon remained in India to guide the Viceroy. The European Association was formed out of that crisis by the efforts of Mr. Keswick, whose kinsmen of the present generation are playing a splendid part in the leadership of British commerce in China today. When Dr. T. V. Soong wanted experience to advise his Government in tackling the devastation produced by the catastrophic Yangtze floods of 1931, he welcomed the services of that versatile administrator Sir John Hope Simpson, whose post-Indian career has provided an outstanding proof of the fact that long service in India does not connote either physical or mental exhaustion.

#### INDIANS IN CHINA

Ranjit Singh's domain in its most expansive days included that part of Kashmir which now is Western Sinkiang. It is appropriate therefore that the Sikh should be a familiar sight in China. In Shanghai 600 Sikhs are enrolled in the police force of the International Settlement. The first Sikh enrolments occurred not long after 1857. Their courage and devotion to duty are recognized. Last August, when the order came—it was virtually an order, though technically optional—for the evacuation of British women, the British Navy arranged specially for the families of Sikh Shanghai-landers to be transported to Bombay. The parting was sad, but the sense of relief was great for those Sikh husbands and fathers. They openly expressed satisfaction that their membership of the British Empire enabled them thus freely to enjoy the privileges of the White Ensign's protection. Sikh watchmen in a semi-private capacity are employed in Shanghai, as in Hongkong, Tientsin and other places.

The Sikhs are good citizens, but, like other folk, have their defects. I should wish for their community a greater capacity for avoiding sectional quarrels. The Soochow Creek quaintly enough acts as dividing boundary for two clans, just as their native Sutlej does in the Punjab. The Sikh moneylender in Shanghai is not a



credit to India. He is extortionate and litigious; woe betide the debtor who is rash enough to resort to him. However, these weaknesses merely show up all the more plainly the sterling good qualities which have earned for the Sikh as a whole the respect of Chinese and foreigner alike in Shanghai. I shall not forget the grim picture of the body of the Sikh traffic policeman hanging over the turret where he stood on duty when the bomb fell from the air, killed 300 people in the neighbouring department store, and claimed as almost its first victim the humble policeman in the street. The Sikhs provide the only mounted detachment of the police. The Japanese "Victory March" through Shanghai on December 3 was led by men of this detachment to show that the march did not imply abdication by the Council of its authority in the Settlement. The small but highly respected Parsi community in Shanghai is prominent in commerce, sport, social occasions. Parsi ladies are well represented on the Committee of the British Women's Association.

In talking of the police it is impossible to omit mention of the fact that the Force has been reorganized and commanded by a distinguished officer of the Indian police, Major F. W. Gerrard, who was formerly in Bombay and Karachi, and during the war after service on the Frontier was chief of police in occupied Bagdad. Major Gerrard's heavy responsibilities during the last few months will be appreciated. When the trouble broke out he was on sick leave, and his deputy, Major Kenneth Bourne—brother of an eminent Civilian in the Punjab—magnificently handled the situation. Major Gerrard returned to find that his organization had splendidly stood the test, and his own leadership and consummate tact have been abundantly proved during the difficult days which have succeeded Japanese occupation of the surrounding areas. His presence of mind, firm discipline and powers of diplomacy saved the Settlement from a most difficult situation on the day of the Victory March. The feat has been repeated many times since.

## INDIA AND JAPANESE AGGRESSION

Indian views on the Far Eastern struggle have not been in doubt. Sympathy with China is pronounced, despite the fact that Japanese success in challenging Russia thirty years ago gave an admitted fillip to the cause of Indian nationalism. Generally the Kuomintang organization has been in close contact with Indian progressives, and often it is found that Chinese politicians have a far shrewder grasp of Indian affairs than their European friends. I sometimes think that here in England there is a tendency to associate support of Japan with reverence for the "old school tie"; the simile of the Island Empire of the Sea in the East has been overdone. Delightful people as the Japanese are in their own country, honourable and by no means reactionary as are their diplomats and civilians when met in social intercourse in China, it is necessary to remember that their national conscience is at the moment a prisoner in the hands of a ruthless clique whose power of dragooning their people is greater than their power to exercise control over their soldiers.

Amiable folk in Great Britain have deluded themselves with the thought that Japan is the stabilizing influence in the Far East against Communism in China and elsewhere. That was one excuse for running away from the vital issue raised by the Manchurian adventure of 1931. Japan has set up the bogey of Communism to justify the unjustifiable—her progressive encroachment on Chinese soil. Her membership of the anti-Communist pact does not make her colleagues comfortable. Berlin has informed the Chinese Government that the recognition of Manchoukuo means no change of policy regarding China. If China were Communistically inclined—the Left Wing in England are profoundly mistaken if they think that that possibility exists—her alleged spiritual mate is extraordinarily unhelpful. This is a quotation from a long private letter received by air-mail from Hankow and dated March 9:

"The Russians still stand off like any imperialist. They will only give assistance in the shape of supplies if China can pay for them. Even Italy will do that, and Germany has been doing it all along. Their new Ambassador says sententiously, 'Russia will not fight Japan unless Japan



attacks Russian territory or forces.' So the Communists and Imperialists are all in the same boat. Despite that, however, the Japanese still try to make the world believe that they are fighting Communism in China."

India has firmly shown her sense of what Confucius described as the side of right. A curious Indian community in Osaka is frantically supporting Japan in the name of anti-Imperialism. It has received a rebuff from Tagore. Japan's development of the pan-Asian doctrine has lost its attraction, for it is obvious that pan-Nipponism is the proper style. It is charitable to assume that Japan does not understand the new forces current in India. She certainly cannot appreciate the steadfastness which enables Great Britain in her strength to proceed calmly with constitutional progress in India when the rest of the world, including the Far East, is torn by the ambitions of war-lordism rampant.

#### JAPANESE COMPETITION

Leaving out of account the group of Indian exiles who fish in troubled waters of Japan's pan-Asian adventures in the belief that somehow or other they are serving the cause of revolution, it must be remembered that important Indian interests depend on good relations with Japan, and it is therefore to be hoped that, despite the acute disagreement on the measures now taken by the Japanese in China, those interests will be duly considered. In the long run, they may be able to exercise a beneficent influence on the course of events when the inevitable time of appeasement arrives. Of Japanese competition in the Indian market there is little need to say much. You have heard more than enough, and the subject has been dealt with in countless speeches, reports and the like.

This word of caution might be uttered: it is a mistake to under-rate Japanese technical efficiency. It is equally wrong to imagine that the cheapness of Japanese goods is solely the outcome of the dumping process. The Japanese worker is not sweated or exposed to bad conditions in mill or factory. Rather the reverse. The standard of living is low, but that is because the workers' needs are modest and frugality is supported by a Spartan scale of necessities. The story may be different in the vast number of cottage industries where regulations cannot be enforced. Japan by sup-

plying cheap piece-goods is reaching a market which could not possibly be open to imports demanding a higher standard of consumption.

Of the total imports into India from non-British countries Japan is responsible for one-third, and of the total exports from India to countries in the same category Japan takes a fourth. There is obvious cause here for India to value her trade associations with Japan, and it is to be hoped that, as time passes and the asperities of the present malaise yield to remedial treatment, the solvent of commercial intercourse may have full scope. If India were to view the present crisis aright she might well be filled with greater apprehension for Japan than for China. She might argue that in the effort to establish an Empire on Western lines, Japan has for the time being lost her bearings, has forgotten the unescapable truths which she, like China and India, inherits from the wisdom of the Orient.

#### THE SOUL OF CHINA

At the moment the developments in Europe have temporarily broken interest in the events in the Far East. Yet before long the struggle there proceeding will again occupy attention. Who can measure the significance which it has for Asia and, indeed, for the world as a whole? India's own march to self-expression may be profoundly affected. She cannot be blind to the lessons which China's physical weakness has for any people endeavouring to take their proper place in the ranks of civilization. Nor is it inappropriate to end on the Confucian note, for even if China be beaten to her knees the genius of her people is unconquerable—her soul will win through:

"Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die through walking into water or fire, but I have never seen a man die through walking the path of virtue.

"You may rob a three-corps army of its commander-in-chief, but you cannot rob even a common man of his will."



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, April 11, 1938, when a paper entitled "India and the Far Eastern Conflict" was read by Mr. Edwin Haward (late Editor of the *North China Daily News*). The Right Hon. Sir John Anderson, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.L.E., M.P., was in the Chair. The large audience included His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen,—I have no doubt that to many of you the speaker this afternoon requires no introduction. But those who have not met or heard Mr. Haward before will perhaps permit me to say that his qualifications for the task he is undertaking this afternoon are quite exceptional.

Mr. Haward went to India nearly thirty years ago, and until 1928 he was engaged there in responsible newspaper work. That period, I need hardly remind you, was, apart from the reactions of the Great War, a time of great political activity in India. It witnessed the transfer of the seat of government, with all that that transfer implied, from Calcutta to Delhi. It witnessed also the inauguration of what were called the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, or, more briefly, dyarchy. It saw the flow and ebb of one great tide of civil disobedience.

When Mr. Haward left India, he went to the India Office as Director of Information, and held that post for two years. During the time he must have seen at any rate the beginnings of the preparations for the great scheme of constitutional reform which was inaugurated in April of last year.

Then Mr. Haward went to China. He spent seven years there, working latterly under conditions of great discomfort and danger in Shanghai. He therefore knows the subject both from the Indian and from the Chinese end. The conflict that is proceeding, unhappily, in the Far East must inevitably be a matter of intense interest to Indians and those interested in India. Indians have been accustomed to look to China and to Japan. In the eyes of many politically conscious Indians, China stood out as a shining example of progressive nationalism. Japan was looked upon with respect as a great Eastern Power which had successfully tried conclusions with another great European Power. Now they are at each other's throats, and many in India must be somewhat at a loss to know what to make of it all.

China has a great deal in common with India, apart from the consequences of the British connection in India. Japan is emerging as an imperialistic Power. How the conflict may end and what rearrangements may result no one can tell.

We here, whose interest is primarily in India, are, I think, very fortunate in having with us Mr. Haward, who is so well qualified to estimate the position from the knowledge he has both of India and of China, and I will now call upon him to address you. (Cheers.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN asked Sir John Hope Simpson to open the discussion.

Sir JOHN HOPE SIMPSON: It is a little difficult to follow a speaker like Mr. Haward. I have known Mr. Haward now for quite a number of years. I knew him when he was in Shanghai, and I then conceived a great regard not only for his ability but for his strength of character. The tone of his newspaper was extraordinarily high, and Mr. Haward never had any hesitation in undertaking the unpleasant course if the pleasant course was not the right one.

Mr. Haward has described me in terms in which I could not recognize myself. That is his complimentary way of dealing with those who occasionally differ from him, but as a rule are his friends. I had the great satisfaction of serving in China for about one and a half years and in India for a number of years, so I can perhaps compare the two. There is a great likeness in many ways between the Chinese and the Indian—I mean the peasant of China and the peasant of the part of India that I know. They are both living on a very low standard. I think that the Chinese peasant is probably on a lower standard than the Indian peasant. The average family farm in the Yangtse Valley is 2.8 acres. On that the family has got to live, and the Chinese are very prolific people. As a result, if rain does not fall, or if it falls too heavily, you get inevitable famine in the Yangtse Valley. That is also, I think, the case in the valley of the Yellow River; either flood or drought results in famine. Probably there is famine in some part of China every year. Of course, in that respect they are far worse off than they are in India, because in China there is very little of the irrigation we have in India.

There is another likeness between the two countries. China is being governed by Chiang Kai-Shek—and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek—and they are a very remarkable couple. The authority by which he governs is a resolution of the political body called the Kuomintang, which much resembles the Indian Congress because the Kuomintang is the representative political association of the educated people in China. The man in the village knows nothing of the Kuomintang. I was reading in the course of the last two days a description of an Indian election, and it struck me that even the Indians know very little about the candidates for whom they vote. I noticed one candidate was represented by a bicycle and another by a buffalo. In China I do not know what you would vote for, the fish probably, or possibly the radish.

In the matter of government also the Chinese and the Indians are much alike. The government of the country is not, in fact, in the hands of a democracy either in China or in India. The government in both cases is in the hands of a body representing the educated portion of the population, and I do not think it is a very bad thing. It is much better to be governed by a body representing the educated classes than one representing the uneducated classes.

Chiang Kai-Shek is by way of being a limited dictator. I often think he might be described as a combination of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. He has got both the political ability of Nehru and the spiritual power of Gandhi. There is nothing so remarkable in China as Chiang Kai-Shek's youth movement. He has inspired these young men so that they are willing to sacrifice anything they cherish for their country. I think we find



the same thing in India. There is a great body of young Indians who are willing to sacrifice for India everything they have.

It is due to that extraordinary spirit of the Chinese that we see what is happening today at Tai-er-Chwang. I dare say you have seen in the papers today that there was a telegram from the *Daily Telegraph* Special Correspondent actually in this city which was taken by the Japanese three weeks ago and has since been retaken by the Chinese with very limited resources.

It is possible that whatever may happen in the immediate future, whether in a military sense the Japanese win or not, in the end the Chinese will absorb the Japanese in China. History tells us that no matter who conquers China, they are assimilated by the country, and that is likely to happen again.

One thing of which Mr. Haward did not remind you was the ancient tourist connection of China with India. I think it was in the seventh century that Hsüan Tsang journeyed from China into India and wrote a long account of his travels. That is the oldest travel book on India we have got. He was there for sixteen years and returned to China with a collection of many Buddhist books of great value. And he was only one of many monkish travellers from China to India of whom a record still exists.

The religious connection between India and China was mentioned by Mr. Haward. The influence of Buddhism in both countries has been enormous. In both countries that influence is much on the wane. In China today the Buddhist influence is scarcely more important than it is in India. But the effects of Buddhism still remain in the character of the peoples.

No one can have a greater privilege than to spend some time in China and learn to know that magnificent people and their bravery in facing life.

Mr. K. K. LALKAKA: My friend Mr. Haward's graceful compliment to the Parsis I deeply appreciate, both as a Parsi and as one whose family has had connection with Hong Kong and Shanghai for nearly a hundred years. There are certain remarks in Mr. Haward's paper which call for a little closer examination. Mr. Haward says, "Our full sympathy must surely go to China at this moment." If by that he means the millions of hapless Chinese, certainly yes. But from what I saw of Chinese conditions when I was there in 1933, I for one could have no sympathy at all with the Chinese Government. Sir John Hope Simpson's very happy remarks in comparing certain Indian conditions with China save me a great many words as to what those conditions are.

Now a word about the "classic but luckless" Lytton Report. It came out about the same time I was in Shanghai, and it was perceived by many of us even then that there was far greater realism to be found between the covers of *The Good Earth*, by Pearl Buck, or, for instance, in that brilliant treatise by another American, Dr. Owen Lattimore, who wrote *Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict*, than is anywhere to be found in the Lytton Report. In other words, the Lytton Report is a document typical of that vapid and pretentious idealism which has characterized the whole approach of the League of Nations to every matter of any political consequence.

Then take the phrase—"the ardent nationalism of the new Chinese Republic." Such oft-repeated phraseology sounds grandiloquent and rhetorical. But I suggest that on analysis it means nothing. If anything, it is misleading. Mr. Haward speaks approvingly of Confucius's "fearless realism." I do wish we all could follow Confucius in that direction.

In another place Mr. Haward says: "Japan cannot appreciate the steadfastness which enables Great Britain in her strength to proceed calmly with constitutional progress in India." Well, Mr. Haward is welcome to his opinion. On the other hand, there are some of us who from the very commencement have felt that all this business which ended in the Government of India Act of 1935 was more an outcome of that spirit of scuttle and surrender which has characterized Great Britain's overseas policy for the last fifteen years. Happily it is not so now since Mr. Neville Chamberlain has come to power, and there has been a reorientation of our foreign policy which sooner or later is also bound to have its effect on our colonial and Imperial policies. So far we have had no clear-cut, long-range policy. All we have done is to vacillate and toy with nebulous ideals. British statesmen instead of insisting on peace with honour have lined themselves on the side of those who have clamoured for peace at any price. To revert to India: less than a couple of hours ago I was reading in *The Leader* of March 20 a leading article with the title "Muddle." That article is written by no diehard or bureaucrat. In it one seems to trace the hand of Mr. Chintamani, that veteran Indian politician and publicist and one of the doyens of Indian Liberalism. In view of that the following sentence in it has considerable significance for those who care to observe impartially: "Congress Government is less a responsible Parliamentary Government than a system of Soviet rule."

I would like to leave with the audience this one thought. All this trouble we are having in the Far East and in Europe is a very sad and a very disconcerting business. Moreover, one does feel that the root cause of it is that the one nation in the world on whom depends the very existence of our modern civilization, as we know it with whatever little decency there still remains in it, went to sleep at Geneva and began to dream dreams and finished up by seeing nightmares. You may perhaps call this a mistaken idea, but I strongly believe in it. To put it plainly, Great Britain forgot the vital interests of, and the great concern she should have for, the one and only real League of Nations that there is in this otherwise distracted and bewildered world, and can be—namely, the British Empire. She started getting herself mixed up with a very intriguing and entangling sort of sinister internationalism. Though it is sad to relate, one must admit that this has brought us over a long period of nearly two decades nothing but humiliation and disappointment, frustration and world-wide misery, and, finally, bitter disillusionment!

I only hope that as time goes on the British people—now that they are reawakened to reality—will once again begin to realize that in spite of whatever shortcomings they may have as a people, they are the salt of the earth and that they, of all nations, have a God-given mission to fulfil. On them and them alone depends the ultimate answer to that supreme question: Is



world peace to be saved and made secure or are we all to be swallowed up in chaos? (Cheers.)

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK: There was one aspect of the relationship between India and China that the lecturer did not touch upon, but of which I had some idea presented to me a year or so ago when I happened to be in South India. The relations between India and China from the sea have been very ancient indeed. We have heard of the land connection, but not of the sea connection. I was told, when I was in Travancore, that there were very ancient Chinese settlements in Malabar and in Travancore itself, and those settlements could have come into existence only by way of the sea. I have also been told by people who know a great deal more about these things than myself that very much of the cultural and commercial traffic with China was not overland at all, but it was a sea connection; and probably it is not accidental that so much good shipping was built in India from very ancient times and also in China by the example that the one set of craftsmen gave to the other.

There is a problem that has hardly been touched upon by the lecturer this afternoon, and which, I think, we might give a moment or two to consider, and that is the change that is likely to come in the minds of Nationalist Indians on the subject of Indian defence as a result of what is happening now in China. It is an old argument among Indian Nationalists that, if money could be saved on Indian defence by its control through Indian agency, it would be possible to obtain revenues that could be used for what are called the nation-building departments.

The events in Eastern Asia rather seem to indicate that Nationalist leaders will have to reconsider that matter: not that they will be any less disposed to fight until they do acquire control of the subject of defence and they are in a position to substitute an Indian army for a British army, but that they certainly, or most probably, will not be able to make those savings upon defence upon which they have largely calculated for the financing of the nation-building departments. A mechanized army is going to cost a great deal more, an air force will become increasingly necessary, and there is also the likelihood of the necessity for naval defence.

All that is likely to prove a very heavy expense, and I think that events in the Far East are making of necessity Indian leaders rather less sure than they were before of the possibility of being able to save at all on the subject of defence. I think it is an important point, because it may alter the attitude of Nationalist leaders on one of the most outstanding subjects of controversy today. (Applause.)

Mr. R. A. WILSON: As Mr. Polak was speaking, Sir Frank came and ordered me to speak. Unfortunately Mr. Polak has practically taken the words out of my mouth. I have recently spent four months in India, during which I have talked to leaders of every variety of political opinion, and I think there can be no doubt whatever that what Mr. Polak has just said about the change in Indian opinion as far as India's defence is concerned is correct.

I have a very vivid recollection of a dinner party two nights before I left Delhi, just over a month ago, at which a very important member of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly sat beside me, and opposite him was the attaché to the Japanese Consul-General in Delhi. The representative of the Congress Party said to me in a loud voice, with his eye on the attaché, "What India needs is a really strong Air Force and the beginnings of a Navy." He did not, of course, abate the claim which Mr. Polak has mentioned about India wishing to have the control of that Air Force and of that Navy, but the point is, I think, that India realizes that it is essential for her safety that large sums of money should be spent on her defence, and until recently I do not think that it would have been possible to say that.

India's gaze has for many years past been turned inwards on herself. She has been so preoccupied with her struggle for political freedom that she has had little thought of the world outside. While I was in India I had occasion to make enquiries about the progress that has been made with the recently formed Indian Institute of International Affairs. The progress made has been very small, but that is not to say that India is not interested in foreign affairs; for I think she is interested in foreign affairs to a very much greater degree than she has ever been since I first went to India thirty-six years ago. The interest that she is taking in foreign affairs is largely due, I think, to the reactions of the conflict between Japan and China, which have stirred India very deeply indeed. (Applause.)

H.H. the MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA: I have been asked to say a few words on this occasion and I must confess that I feel rather at a loss. The subject is very controversial and of great importance. So far as the connection between China and India is concerned, there is no doubt that it is very old. Many ideas, superstitions, and even matters of taste are common to both countries. It is not merely a coincidence that the garments worn by ladies in India resemble those worn in China.

As to the political question, all that I need say about my country is that, given the opportunity, India will be able to carry on her government even better than she is doing at present. Government is largely a question of experience and education. At present the administration of India is in the hands of the educated classes. The masses have hardly been touched by the new ideas, although the British Government has looked after them so closely.

If you want to change a nation or a race, you must go to the village, to the family and to each individual member of the family. Educate them in the right way, give them an outlook on life, and, above all, serve their economic needs. Then probably you can expect greater independence, greater interest, and a greater striving for better conditions than they have at present. To improve economic conditions, a fundamental problem in India, we must come in contact with the rest of the world, see the march of progress and study what may profitably be introduced into India, so that in the end we may be able to serve other nations.

Peoples who were originally divided by caste are now divided by nationality. Each nationality tries to make itself as complete and self-contained as possible, and thus the law of division ever continues. If there



were a little more sympathy, a little more kindness and co-operation, more sustained effort to benefit humanity as a whole, there are important problems in which, without restriction of caste and creed, we might combine and increase the happiness of humanity. For that purpose nations which are oppressed or which have only partial liberty should be given greater freedom, as the British Government is doing in India.

My only hope is that the British will not be satisfied with what they have already done. There is a great deal more that they can do, and I feel that it cannot be less than they have done for Canada and Australia. If they do follow that policy, you will find that India will progress apace, will have greater confidence in herself, and will create self-respect among her peoples. Failing that, you can hardly expect honesty in the administration. India needs freedom, and that freedom should be wisely, properly and quickly given.

Mr. HAWARD: There is little for me to answer except to thank the various speakers for so pleasantly joining in the discussion which my little paper has aroused.

I think His Highness has given Mr. Lalkaka the effective answer in regard to Indian politics; therefore I shall keep out of that.

Mr. Lalkaka, I think—perhaps I read the paper rather badly—seemed to get a little muddled. I was not asking for his sympathy with the Chinese Government. I was asking for his sympathy with China in her present state of being the subject of wanton aggression from another nation. I quite agree there is much to do to improve the economic condition of the Chinese people, but I fail to see how it is going to be improved by the descent of armed forces, tanks, aeroplanes, etc., from another nation which has no business there at all.

Again I must really correct Mr. Lalkaka on the subject of the Lytton Report. I am sure he has read it, but the fact is that the Lytton Report is a most realist document. It put Japan on velvet with regard to Manchuria. She would have got all she wanted. Whereas I went through in a sleeping car in November, 1931, sleeping as peacefully as from King's Cross to Scotland, now the South Manchurian trains have to stop at night.

The truth about the Lytton Report is this. When the Mukden incident occurred, the proposal to appoint the Lytton Commission was made by the Japanese representative at Geneva. It was at Japan's request that the League sent a very authoritative Commission composed of British, American, Italian, French, and German administrators. When the Lytton Commission arrived in the Far East, it was treated by the Japanese with, shall I say, discourtesy which was no credit to Japan as a nation. As a document of real value in instructing people on conditions in China and Japan, the Lytton Report is nothing but realist.

Also I do rather resent this constant use of the terms "idealism" and "realism" as if "idealists" and "moralists" were all mad and impractical people. Only the other day there was a most unpleasant case in the courts, and I noticed particularly that the police said, "This is against all morality."

I am not defending the League of Nations. I am strongly in favour of

Mr. Chamberlain's present policy in regard to the League. But people must remember, when they talk about idealism in international affairs, that their own everyday life depends on their keeping their word. In nearly every action we depend on faith in our word. That is all the so-called idealists are standing for.

Mr. Polak made a very interesting remark about Chinese navigation. The handling of Chinese junks is very wonderful to see. The Chinese are splendid seamen, and it is a great treat to see these junks and how magnificently they are handled by these simple seamen. I can quite imagine that some of the big ship adventures of the Chinese in the long past were really historic. Today China has not got a Navy, and that, by the way, is the answer to Mr. Polak and Mr. Wilson. They probably did not notice the sentence in my paper in which I said that India "cannot be blind to the lessons which China's physical weakness has for any people endeavouring to take their proper place in the ranks of civilization."

Sir JAMES McKENNA: In the absence of Lord Lamington and Sir Malcolm Seton I have the pleasant duty of proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the speaker and to you, sir, in the Chair.

We have been very fortunate in having a paper on the subject of "India and the Far Eastern Conflict" from one with such a wide and varied experience of both countries, and I am sure we all have thoroughly enjoyed the lecture and the fruitful discussion which it has brought forth.

As for you, sir, it is only a very few months since you came home from India, and this is the second occasion in this short time that the East India Association has had the pleasure of your company at our meetings. We appreciate this very much, and hope we shall often have you amongst us. I move a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. I should just like to add my own tribute to what has been said in regard to the pleasure and profit that we have derived from listening to Mr. Haward's address.

I think he may justly consider, from the nature of the discussion to which his address has given rise, that the time and effort bestowed on the preparation of his paper has not been given in vain. I thank you very much indeed.



## INDIA TODAY: THE POLITICAL SITUATION

BY THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT SAMUEL, G.C.B., G.B.E.

It is with very great diffidence that I venture to speak of India to an audience containing many men and women with a lifelong connection with and a knowledge of India, while my first-hand knowledge has been brief and recent. But, on the other hand, for some years past, owing to the legislation that was before Parliament and the general situation in India, I have had a close concern with the state of affairs there, and from a distance have followed closely the political developments of India; and recently I was able to visit India for about three months, to make my way to seven of the Provinces, including the Province of Delhi, and seven of the States as well, and to obtain much varied information from a large number of kind informants belonging to all sections and schools of thought.

My principal object was to try to form some estimate of the working of the new Constitution, which has now been for many months in operation; and I propose to speak to you today on that subject only, and to eschew the temptation to deal with other of the variegated sides of Indian life, whether religious, or historical, or picturesque, and to confine myself strictly, first, to the question of the Provincial Constitutions; second, to the prospects of Federation; and, third, to the relationship between Britain and India.

With regard to the Provincial Constitutions, eleven new Parliaments and eleven new Ministries have been set up in India, and the general consensus of opinion undoubtedly is that, on the whole and so far as they have yet gone, the Provincial Constitutions are working well. Undoubtedly the Ministries find that they have more power and more liberty of action than many of their members expected beforehand, and that there is more willing and friendly co-operation on the part of the Governors and the Civil Service. The British authorities find that the Ministers show more prudence, more courage, and a higher standard of efficiency than

perhaps some of them might have anticipated. No doubt there is inexperience on the part of many of the Ministers, and they are handicapped somewhat by not having made sufficiently detailed plans for carrying out the broad lines of the policies that they have advocated. In some of the smaller Provinces it has not always been easy to find men to act as Ministers who are quite of the right calibre, but in the main and on the whole the standard of ability and of courage is a high one; in the matter of maintaining law and order the Ministries are all of them determined to do their duty to the full.

#### RURAL AREAS

There is, as you know, in some of the Provinces an active movement to pass agrarian measures for the relief of the cultivators, and that naturally has given rise to controversy; those whose interests are directly affected are sometimes aggrieved; but to the observer it would appear that most of that legislation has been long overdue.

Finance, of course, is fundamental to government, and the financial difficulty affects most of the Provinces. Every popular party is tempted to propound the doctrine that was first formulated, I believe, by a French politician in the words "More from the Treasury and less from the taxpayer." But that is a financial system which does not work very successfully, and the popular Ministries in India, if they ever were tempted to adopt that maxim, would very soon find under the pressure of economic fact that it is one that cannot be carried into practice.

Unquestionably the chief problem of India is what is called "village uplift." "Nation-building," particularly in the villages—the one million villages of India—amid the poverty and squalor which are the marks of a large proportion, though by no means all of the villages, presents a problem, a challenge, which must be the first to be taken up by the newly formed, popularly elected Ministries in India; and unquestionably the new Constitution has given an immense impetus to the movement, which did exist before, for the rescue of the villager and for a variety of measures for the improvement of his conditions.

I was able to visit various villages in different parts of the



country. Particularly I was struck by the work that has been done in the Punjab; but elsewhere also there is an active spirit among all classes and among all communities seeking to adopt practical measures for the rescue of the rural population. That, perhaps, is the healthiest sign in the present political situation in India today.

#### PERSONAL RELATIONS

The relations between the Ministers and the British Governors are friendly. The personal relations seemed to me everywhere I went to be excellent, and it was pleasant to hear in private conversations the Governors as a rule speak so highly of their Ministers, and the Ministers speak so cordially of their Governors. There is unfortunately still a social embargo by the Congress Party against official receptions and hospitalities of all kinds; but there is observable a tendency to endeavour to get away from that, not formally, but informally, and I think that we can all of us express the hope that before very long that social embargo may disappear. While there was acute antagonism and definite adoption of non-co-operation as a policy, it was natural that social relations should be affected in the same way, but with the acceptance of office the situation, one may hope, will change in that regard.

I was told by the Ministers, of whom I met a number, that as a general rule the British Civil Service were helpful in carrying on the tradition of the Civil Service here of willing co-operation with the Ministry of the day, no matter what their own private opinions may be. On the other hand, here and there I heard complaints that some among them, and particularly among the senior men, had not quite been able to adapt themselves to the new situation, did not quite appreciate what it meant to work with and under the direction of Indian Ministers. But there again, as the younger generation grow up, that feeling will naturally be dissipated.

There was an example of this failure to realize the true spirit of the new Constitution in Orissa quite recently, when, as you know, an official, a man of distinction, who was normally subordinate to the Ministry, had been nominated to become the acting Governor during the absence of the Governor on leave. That shows a lack

of understanding of the new constitutional relationship that has been established, and I cannot refrain from expressing my own personal view that the Ministry were right to protest against this and even to threaten resignation, and, on the other hand, that the Government of India was right not to persist and to recognize that a mistake had been made.

### THE STATE OF PARTIES

Congress also sometimes makes mistakes and does not realize to the full the implications of the new Constitution. I was told that in some places the local officials of the Congress Party thought that their position entitled them to give directions to the local officers of the Provincial Governments, holding that the Ministries belonged to Congress, and they themselves, being the heads of the Congress Party in the districts, thought it was within their province to give directions on various local matters to the local officers of the Government. That may be a sound view in a totalitarian state, where the party claims to be the nation, or to be the only effective part of the nation; but that is not so in India, and it will be necessary there for the Congress leaders, in those Provinces where such things may happen, to make it quite clear to their own officials that their business is not with actual government, but only with political organization.

The weakness of the present Constitution appears to me to be the lack of a sufficiency of party spirit. Here many people are accustomed to regard party as a somewhat disreputable thing, to be apologized for, if indeed it is not roundly condemned. But for my own part I agree with Disraeli, who declared that "in his view without party, Parliamentary government was impossible." I do think that that is sound. You must have someone to organize the electorate. You must have someone to frame programmes and to advocate them. You must have someone to choose candidates and to support them before the people and to organize the working of democratic Parliamentary assemblies; and that can only be done by an organization of some kind. This has been recognized by Congress, and they have on the whole a very efficient and ably



directed party organization which covers almost the whole of India. But the weakness is that there is only that one party which is well organized and covers the greater part of India; with the result that in a number of the Provinces there is no properly organized opposition at all and no alternative Government within sight. The consequence of this is that in some of the Provinces the line of division tends to be between Congress on the one hand and the Moslem community on the other, and that is a very unsatisfactory state of things.

There are many observers who think that there is a line of division within Congress itself between the right and the left, between the more conservative and the more radical members of the Congress Party, and that before very long that line of division will result in a split between the two, and that then there will be a balance and division of parties, with competition and emulation between them, rendering possible a democratic system of alternation of Government—one Ministry being turned out, if its policy is unsatisfactory to the people, to give place to another. It is possible, of course, that that may prove to be so. Some people prophesy it with the utmost assurance, but I think that the leaders of the Congress movement are well aware of what the situation is within their own ranks, and are well aware of the danger of a split of that kind to the continued success of their movement; and being able and far-seeing men, as many of them are, it is very possible that they may take such measures as are necessary to obviate any such split.

I had the privilege of being the guest of the Congress party at their annual session held this year at a place called Haripura in the Bombay Presidency. Some hundreds of thousands of people of the neighbourhood came to attend these meetings. There had been erected a town of bamboo huts and houses, three miles long and half a mile broad, with roads, electric light and ample water supply, a bridge of boats across the great neighbouring river, and all the equipments in sanitation and so forth of a town—all erected for the purposes of these meetings, lasting one week. The whole of the arrangements had been made with great efficiency. With all these hundreds of thousands of people coming in and

out, complete order was maintained without a single policeman being present in the whole place. It struck me that these arrangements were an indication of great capacity in party organization. Mr. Gandhi himself was there, and one could not fail to be struck by the unquestioned authority that he still exercises over his associates in the movement.

On the whole, looking, then, at the Provincial Constitutions, I think it is true to say that they are working well, and that the prophecies of disaster, imminent and complete, which we used to hear from the opponents of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons have most certainly as yet not been fulfilled.

### THE FEDERAL ISSUE

Now with regard to Federation. There it is not possible to speak with anything like the same definiteness. The main political controversy now raging in India is whether Federation should be adopted in its present form, and, if not, what changes can be suggested.

The Federation part of the Government of India Act is opposed now from various quarters. Congress is strongly against it, and declares that it will not co-operate in bringing these provisions into force. It is against it for two main reasons. One is the large powers reserved to the Governor-General as against the Federal Legislature and Executive; the other, perhaps even more important, is the weightage that is given to the States in the new Constitution. In the Lower House of the proposed Federal Assembly 33 per cent. of the seats are reserved for the States, and in the Upper House 40 per cent., and the representatives in both are to be the personal nominees of the Princes. Congress declares that these nominees will be a non-progressive block that will really replace the present official block which is to be abolished under the new Constitution. They believe that if the majority of the Moslem representatives are against them, and if this official block is against them, and if some other elements are against them, they are precluded from the beginning from all hope of ever obtaining power at the Centre. No matter how vast a majority of the Indian



people may favour their policy, it will be excluded from success by the very terms of the Constitution itself. This, they say, is not really the establishment of Indian political freedom, but a denial of Indian political freedom.

Then, on the other hand, many of the Princes are nervous as to what their position will be under the new Constitution. They fear that, however much it may be safeguarded at the outset, later on changes may be made that may undermine the whole of their rights and privileges. They point to their treaty rights as guaranteeing their position, and demand that the British Government shall fulfil those obligations.

Thirdly, the Moslem community are anxious with regard to the effect of the new Constitution upon their position. While they do not dispute the virtues and merits of the principle of democracy, they realize that they themselves are a minority and must in the ordinary nature of things remain a minority in India; and they realize that the more self-government is extended on the democratic principle, the more danger there is that a minority may be subordinated to the majority. They fear that the Federal Constitution may develop into what is called a Hindu Raj, to the detriment of the interests that they themselves hold dear.

At this moment, I was told, in many parts of India the tension between Hindu and Moslem, always chronic, is more acute than it has been for some years past. And that perhaps must be put to the debit of the new Constitution; for it is the new elections that have been held, the new Ministries that have been formed, the changes that are made within the Civil Service and in the appointment of individuals to particular posts—all these things have brought more into the forefront the diversity of interests between Hindus and Moslems, and have made the feeling between them rather more acute and embittered. They fear that if these be extended into the Federal sphere the situation may be even worsened.

#### INDIA'S ESSENTIAL UNITY

Yet, with all these elements criticizing Federation, everybody, so far as I could ascertain, is in favour of Federation as a principle.

No one would say: "I am against Federation." Everyone realizes that in a country like India it is necessary to have a strong central Legislature and Executive broadly based upon the nation. But, while approving the principle, they are very chary of expressing any approval of its application. It reminds me rather of what Prince Bismarck once said in a moment of candour: "When you speak of being in favour of a thing in principle, it means that you have no intention whatever of doing anything in its support in practice!"

We are often told about the divergencies within India—the diversity of races, religions, languages, and so on, the vast geographical area, the immense number of villages. All these things, of course, were very much emphasized in the Report of the Simon Commission, and we heard much of them during the long years of controversy about the new Constitution. Yet one cannot be in India for very long without realizing also the essential unity of India—the geographical unity, the unity to a great extent of history, the religious unity of Brahminism and of Islam, and the unity that is effected by the posts, telegraphs, broadcasting, railways, and the interchange of trade. Furthermore, there is a unity of interest in matters of tariff, international commerce, shipping, and so on, and in the care of Indians abroad. All these things make it essential that there should be a Government of All-India, Provinces and States together. And since there is to be a Government of All-India, it is advisable that it should be such as to command the confidence and respect of the nation as a whole. Therefore it appears to me that it would be a profound misfortune if Federation were to collapse altogether, and if that part of the provisions of the Constitution were to be suspended indefinitely. The question that presents itself is whether the objections that are now entertained to its particular provisions can be overcome.

#### THE REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES

The main point of difficulty appears to be the method of nomination or selection of the representatives of the States—33 per cent. of the Lower House, 40 per cent. of the Upper. I think the



feeling is growing in India everywhere that complete autocracy in the States cannot endure indefinitely. Pressure from within the States, and the influence of the example outside from the Provinces, must have their effect in the various principalities; and unless the Provincial Governments break down and it becomes obvious that they are a failure—which appears to be very unlikely—the example of the Provinces cannot fail to percolate and to influence the minds of men within the neighbouring States.

Some, as we know, have representative assemblies, with limited powers but nevertheless doing useful work; none of them have what is called responsible government. I was able to visit some of the large and progressive States, which make a very favourable impression, governed by rulers of goodwill and with Ministers of marked executive ability. But what one sees in a State like Mysore or Baroda, which are instanced as the most progressive and enlightened in India, or other States that are not very far behind them: what one sees there is not really typical of the whole of the one-third of India which is under princely rule. There are hundreds of small States, containing millions of population, the area of which is too small and the revenues too poor to make it possible for them, with the best will in the world, to provide the necessary requisites for good government.

The conclusion to which one is brought is this. That, in the first place, it is very necessary by some means or other to bring into groups, into confederations, the adjacent smaller States; secondly, to encourage the growth of representative institutions where they do not yet exist, and to enlarge their powers in certain directions where they do exist; and, thirdly, that the representatives of the States in the Federal Parliament should be something more than personal nominees of the Princes; that there should be some form of election or consultation, which would enable those representatives to speak with authority derived from below as well as authority derived from above.

If the Princes would take the initiative in that direction, and voluntarily and of their own motion agree to effect that change in the method of representation in the Federal Assembly, then I think the situation would be very greatly eased and some accept-

able measure might be devised. If Congress on its side were to recognize that the reserved powers and the influence of the Governor-General would probably not be used except in the case of grave emergency, then the objection under that head also would be lessened. They have already found that in the Provinces the powers in the hands of the Governors, which they thought were most formidable and likely to be oppressive, have in fact not been used, and are not likely to be used, in the ordinary working of the affairs of the Provinces. So also in the Central Legislature the powers that look so vast and again formidable when they are set out in the terms of the Constitution are, in the handling of things, not likely to appear in the foreground, but would remain really as reserved powers. In the British way of dealing with political affairs much more importance is attached to the handling of a situation than to the legal powers that are possessed; and for my own part I feel sure that, if Federation were once brought into being and the machine was working, these large and possibly in appearance oppressive powers would not in fact be felt or be heard of.

#### POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Congress, of course, complains that the reservation of defence and everything to do with it to the Governor-General and his direct advisers would mean that the people of India would have no proper control over the finances at the Centre, because most of the expenditure at the Centre is for purposes of defence. When you speak to Provincial Ministers and ask them about their plans, they still say: "Everything depends upon our finances, and our hands are tied by lack of money. The only way in which that can be remedied is for the Central Treasury to give larger allocations to the Provinces, and that in turn can only be achieved by lessening the expenditure upon defence." That is the trend of the argument. Village uplift and nation-building depends on money. We have not got the money. We must get it from the Centre. But we cannot get it from the Centre because the money is being spent on defence, and that is outside our purview.

To that, in the present state of the world, the answer must be



given that, with all nations enormously expanding their expenditure upon defence, there is no real possibility, at all events within the visible future, of any large savings in India under that head. That being so, the argument fails, at all events for the time being, of its application. Even if the people of India had full control over defence, they could not, as a matter of fact, effect any considerable economies without running such risks for India as they would not be justified in incurring.

Nor is it the case that Congress is precluded for all time under this Constitution from the possibility of obtaining power, no matter how large a majority of the electorate might vote for it. It is not likely that either the representatives of the States or of the Moslems would constitute the solid blocks that are foretold, and one or two very experienced Indian political observers, not belonging to the Congress party, said to me that if Federation came into being, and if the elected representatives of Congress—appointed by indirect election—were returned in considerable numbers, they might be able to secure such allies from the other sections as would enable them in fact to form a Ministry, and that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the first All-India Government might be one in sympathy with the general ideas of the Congress Party.

I have spoken about the Provinces and about Federation. Now I come to my third point, which arises directly from that last consideration. Suppose Congress obtains power at the Centre, does that mean separation from the British Empire, the withdrawal of the Viceroy and Governors and the British officials, and the British Army, and the ending of the story of the last hundred and fifty years?

It has been said "no one can foresee the future, not even those who make it"; and it is rash indeed for anyone to attempt to prophesy in such great and grave matters as these. The opposition on the part of the Indian people, or of large sections of them, to Great Britain is less acute and less embittered than it was ten years ago or even five years ago; but, of course, it is still there among many of the leaders of thought. It is hardly to be expected that that would be otherwise after a whole generation of political

struggle, in the course of which great sacrifices have been made by many thousands of individuals all over the country.

### SEPARATION

I am myself convinced that it is essential that India should be granted Dominion status under the Statute of Westminster, and the question arises whether that would mean complete separation. I submit to you that should that question of separation from the British Commonwealth come into the foreground of Indian politics, there are various considerations, weighty considerations, which would at once also come into the forefront.

The first arises from the state of the world, to which I have already made reference. If separation would mean that India was no longer sheltered by the British Navy, Army, and Air Force, but had to depend entirely upon herself for protection against the spirit of aggression which has lately been let loose in the world, if she wanted to secure herself against the risk of suffering the fate of China, for example, then there would be no question of any saving in expenditure, which is what Congress now desires. There would be no question of even maintaining the present expenditure of India upon defence, but there would necessarily have to be an immense increase, far beyond any figure which has hitherto been imagined in any quarter. I feel sure that that consideration would be present to the minds of the leaders of Indian thought.

Secondly, after a long period of domestic peace, the internal peace of India is now taken for granted. It is assumed that if there were separation it would continue as now. But the history of India shows that it cannot be taken for granted. The traveller sees the whole country covered with interesting castles and forts which are relics of bygone history, now falling into ruin or preserved as interesting antiquities, memorials of the past. But you cannot be sure that in another generation the circumstances might not repeat themselves, and that new forts, new castles, new armies, new military movements would not be needed in order to repair the peace which may be broken. When one visits the Khyber Pass and the North-West Frontier and learns that sixty thousand



troops are always on guard there, that again is a consideration that should not be left out of account.

Further, communal friction is a fact, a most unhappy, deplorable, tragic fact; but if the only troops that in the last resort could be called upon to stop communal friction were themselves Hindus or Moslems or Sikhs and none others, then again it might be found that the difficulty of stopping at the outset these communal outbreaks would be far greater even than it is today.

Further, there is the economic aspect. India is becoming to some extent an industrialized country. Its financial and commercial activities are of great importance. A complete separation from the British Empire might give such a shock to commercial confidence and credit that the losses in employment and in industrial development would be so great as to be almost disastrous to the people as a whole.

#### VALUE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Lastly, there is one other consideration which is seldom mentioned, and yet which appears to me to be of profound importance: it is the duty of the people of each country to mankind as a whole. This planet on which we live, with its two thousand million human beings upon it, is divided up through historical and geographical causes into a great number of separate political units. There are no fewer than sixty-seven separate empires or nations, each holding independent and sovereign powers. That is really too many for the good administration of the affairs of mankind—all these separate independent sovereign States surrounded by their own frontiers. If that number were to be increased, that would not be a stage of progress, but rather a step of reaction.

A people like the Indian people, their minds concentrated largely upon their own internal, individual situation, may naturally regard independence, complete sovereignty, separation from everyone else, as the highest ideal to which they can aspire. But if they look beyond that they may see that there is a still higher ideal—namely, that the political arrangements of their

country should be such as best to conform to the interests of mankind as a whole.

However it may have come about, whatever crimes and follies may have been committed in the past, however much violence, war, and oppression there may have been, the fact remains that the British Commonwealth, covering one-quarter of the globe, is there; it exists; and if that Commonwealth were to break up its constituent parts, if each Colony were to be separate, each Dominion to be wholly sovereign, and this great League of Nations—for that is what it is—were to be dissipated into fractions, I submit to you that that would not be progress, that would not conduce to the welfare of mankind, but would make even more difficult than before the task of the well ordering of human affairs and increase the possibilities and likelihood of quarrels between these various units.

So I suggest to you that, taking the longest view, India would be well advised, once her own status of full self-government is recognized, to remain a portion of this vast Commonwealth, which does, I believe, sincerely try to promote the peace and well-being of humanity as a whole.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, those considerations cannot fail—if this issue comes into the forefront of political affairs—cannot fail to carry weight with able and far-seeing men, and, as I have said, there are many of them among the Indian leaders. It is necessary, however, if we wish to command their goodwill, to agree to Dominion status, that Constitution which has given satisfaction to Canada, to South Africa, to Australia, and to New Zealand, and when that has been done we may find that the granting of it would mean, not an intensification of the movement towards separation, but, as in the other cases, rather an intensification of the movement towards consolidation.

Then I believe we may be able to look forward at last, on the one side and on the other, to a full and cordial co-operation with the rest of the Commonwealth, for then it will be possible for that co-operation to be given without derogation to the self-respect and the patriotism of a proud and sensitive people.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING LECTURE

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, May 9, 1938, when a lecture was given by the Right Hon. Viscount Samuel, G.C.B., G.B.E., on "India Today: the Political Situation." The Right Hon. Lord Stanley, P.C., M.P., was in the Chair, and the large audience included H.H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, my lords, ladies and gentlemen,—I feel that my position as Chairman today is a superfluous one. The duties of the Chairman are to keep order, which I feel will hardly be necessary at a meeting of this kind, and to introduce the principal speaker, and that function today is equally unnecessary.

We are indeed lucky to have got Lord Samuel to talk to us here this afternoon. His name is very well known to all of you. He has reached great fame and done splendid service to his country in many fields. I have had the privilege of being in the House of Commons with him for a great number of years, not always on the same side; but I can say this, that, although people who think like I do may often find his views unpalatable, we certainly never find them uninteresting.

I am perfectly certain that we shall find the same about his address this afternoon. It has come at a particularly opportune moment, because Lord Samuel has only just returned from a visit to India. He went out there with a great knowledge of the past history of India, a great knowledge of the new Act and everything that led up to it, and it will be extraordinarily interesting to us to hear his comments on how the new Constitution is working, and I am perfectly sure that we shall hear from him some very acute observations.

We are all, as I have indicated, looking forward very much to this address, and I am certain that as a result of it our knowledge of existing conditions in India will be brought more completely up to date.

(Lord Samuel's lecture was then delivered.)

The CHAIRMAN: We shall have an opportunity later of thanking Lord Samuel for his address. In the meantime I should like to invite a discussion on what we have heard.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: We are all under a great obligation to Lord Samuel for the extremely luminous and comprehensive survey he has given us of the political situation in India. It is all the more valuable as coming from a man of his vast political and administrative experience and as being based on his recent visit to India.

If I may say so, in his references to the Congress party and the Congress politicians who now dominate most of India, he has been, rightly, I think, "to their faults a little blind, and to their virtues more than kind." I have

no quarrel with that. It is right to make allowances for people exercising new responsibilities. But that makes it all the more necessary, if the picture is to be complete, to give a hearing to those who criticize, not the Government of India Act, for that is part of the Constitution, but the manner in which that Act is being worked in the Congress Provinces by the Congress Ministries.

So far it has not been easy for such people to get a hearing in this country outside this Association. Three of my Indian friends from different Provinces, one a Hindu, one a Moslem and one a Parsee, all men of standing, who in the last month or two wrote to the Press here criticizing certain aspects of the Congress administration, were refused a hearing. That may be good journalism, but I think it is to be regretted.

I have only time to deal with two vital matters, to which Lord Samuel has referred. One is, what is the policy of the Congress party, especially towards the British Government, and, secondly, how is that policy reflected in the administration of the Congress Provinces?

I quote from a verbatim report the policy as enunciated by Mr. Subhas Bose, the Congress President, at the great Haripura meeting when Lord Samuel was present.

I call attention to these words, "The ultimate stage in our progress will be the complete severance of the British connection." That is no new policy. It is no mere phrase. It is the deliberate policy put forward by every leading Congress speaker on every prominent occasion. We must assume they mean what they say.

I need not tell this audience what that severance would mean, what disastrous results it would entail, not only to the British Empire, but to India itself. It would mean, of course, civil war, and probably invasion from outside. But apparently the Congress executive is prepared to face these risks in the hope that from the chaos which would result there would emerge a Socialist republic. What a glorious prospect for India!

However, you may say that this is a long-range policy; it does not affect the day-to-day working of the Congress Ministries. I quite agree with Lord Samuel that among the Ministries of the Provinces there are many enlightened men who, if left to themselves, would carry on the administration with the help of the Services and the guidance of the Governor in an efficient way. But they are not left to themselves. Their policy is dictated from outside. They are not free agents. They are held in a stranglehold by the Congress executive, the Working Committee, an outside body, which has no responsibility to the provincial electorate.

My authority for this is taken from the same speech which Lord Samuel no doubt heard at Haripura. This is what Mr. Bose said, referring to the Congress Ministries: "The Congress Working Committee could do much more than it has hitherto done to keep an effective control over the different Congress Ministries." So you see the aim is to obtain complete control over Provincial Ministries. Is this Provincial self-government? It has been characterized by the leading Liberal paper, the *Leader*, of Allahabad, as "not Provincial self-government, but a form of Soviet rule," and I think the comment is justified.



Who does this Congress Executive consist of? Are they elected? Not at all; every one of them is nominated by the Congress President himself. There are ten or twelve of them, and the President naturally chooses men who will see eye to eye with himself. This irresponsible junta not only directs the policy of the Provinces—e.g., in demanding the wholesale release of so-called political prisoners and in forcing Prohibition regardless of local conditions—but also interferes in details of the administration. I will give you a few recent illustrations.

In the Central Provinces an inspector was convicted of an outrageous crime, raping a young girl. He was sentenced to three years. The sentence was upheld by the High Court. His friend, a Congress Minister, apparently without reference to the other Ministers or to the Governor, ordered his release. There was such an outcry that the erring Minister offered to resign. At that stage the Congress executive took the matter into their own hands, got him to hold up his resignation, and in effect said, "We will make an independent enquiry into this over the heads of the judiciary." The result I do not know.

In Bombay the head of an important financial firm was convicted of insurance frauds and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. His appeal was rejected. In a few days a friendly Minister released him, at least temporarily, on the ground that his incarceration upset trade matters, and it was to the benefit of trade to let him out. In that case, too, the Congress Working Committee took the matter into their own hands. While this interference from the Congress Working Committee goes on, there is no real provincial autonomy, and the course of justice is seriously interfered with.

Two problems we have to face—and the sooner the better. Are we to recognize the Congress demand for complete independence and severance of the British connection as constitutional and as consistent with our responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in India? And, secondly, are we going to tolerate the interference of an irresponsible junta, which is in no way responsible to the Provincial electorate, and allow it to dominate the working of Provincial policy and administration?

I hope those two questions will find a satisfactory answer.

SIR FIROZKHAN NOON (High Commissioner for India): I feel it my duty as an Indian to thank Lord Samuel for having taken the trouble to go out to India and inform himself of the actual political situation in my country. He and Lord Lothian have not only done a great service to their own country, but I feel they have done a great service to my country. For the reason that, whatever a member of the British Government says, the public will say it is a biased view. Whatever we Indians might say, it might be argued we are only saying this because we are Indians. But if we get a view from an unbiassed gentleman like Lord Samuel, that view certainly carries weight.

All the time that I have been listening to him, I have appreciated his clearness of mind in putting a very delicate and complicated political situation before you in a very lucid, clear, frank and straightforward manner.

(Applause.) There is nothing in his talk with which I can differ. His judgment has been absolutely sound; he has put before you a very correct point of view, and in my opinion he has come to very correct conclusions.

I do not wish to go into details about any of the points he has raised, and I should like to say only one or two things. Firstly, let people say what they like, but we as Indians are satisfied in our heart of hearts that we are as capable of looking after ourselves and our country as any other people in the world. (Applause.) It is very easy to criticize us, but you come with me to any country in Europe, and I shall show you that they are less fitted to look after themselves than we are. (Applause.)

The one burning question for us Indians is to have a respected and honourable position within the Empire. We are sensitive, and we care for our honour, as Lord Samuel has put it in a nutshell. So far we have not got that self-respecting and honourable and equal position within the Empire.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has said that Congress wants to separate from the British Empire. I do not agree with him. I would remind him of an old saying, "Threaten a man with death, and he will be contented to have fever." That is all that we Indians mean when we say we want independence. We know as well as you do that the connection between India and England is indispensable for both of us.

Here you have 75 per cent. of His Majesty's subjects clamouring for their rightful position within the Empire. So long as that political status is not granted, there will be no peace in India or within the Empire. I quite agree with Lord Samuel that no matter what you do, you will not get peace in India till England makes up its mind to recognize India's right to have Dominion Status within the Empire. If it is possible for 65 per cent. of people of Dutch extraction in South Africa to continue to be loyal to the British Constitution, I assure you that it is not only possible but certain that we shall continue within the Empire and prove a very valuable asset to our other colleagues within the Empire.

India occupies a very important position within the Empire from the defence point of view. I do not wish to take you into details at all. You can judge for yourselves as to what our position is as to the supply of raw materials, and men, and every kind of help in the case of war. But so long as India is not allowed to take responsibility, you cannot blame India for not taking a rightful part within the Empire.

As far as Federation is concerned, we know the Congress has refused to accept Federation under the present Act. We know that the Punjab Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution to the effect that they cannot accept the Federation as at present proposed. The collective attitude of the Princes has not yet been made public. Some fear that the Princes are not enthusiastic about Federation, as it may involve a loss of certain of their ruling powers. Others say that the enlightened Princes do want to come in. In my opinion there is one consideration which outweighs all others, and that is that the Federation will give India full control over her economic policies, which can be moulded to promote her industries and the well-being of her people. Unless the economic condition of the people improves, we can achieve nothing.



India is one of the poorest countries in the world. It is impossible for her to spend any money on defence or to discharge her duty towards her people. Why, in this country you smoke away tobacco which is worth twice the annual budget of the Government of India! So you can imagine what our poverty is.

If my fellow-countrymen were wise, they would accept the Federation as it is and get hold of the power to improve their economic condition. Unless that is done, India will continue to be a burden within the Empire.

But I do feel that Lord Samuel has put us Indians under a great debt of gratitude in boldly coming forward to give his frank views, because it is very difficult for people in any country to raise their voice in favour of people who are poor or humble, or who cannot assert themselves. I entirely agree with him that so long as this country does not make up its mind to give India an honourable and equal position within the Empire, there will be no peace in India.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR: I join with my friend, the High Commissioner for India, in heartily congratulating Lord Samuel in representing not only his own views, but the views of all India in connection with the new Constitution. But if I may be permitted to be a little critical, may I say that there is such a thing as sentiment, and we cannot gauge the political conditions of the country without bringing into the discussion the national sentiment. When Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Samuel spoke of the difficulties that are before India from opposite angles, they both forgot that whatever difficulties may exist in the working of the present Constitution, there is one fact that transcends all difficulties, there is one fact upon which all communities—Hindus, Moslems and Parsees—are united, and that is the principle of self-rule, whether you call it independence, or Dominion Status, or the principle of self-determination. If a plebiscite were taken of the people of India, it would result in a far more unanimous verdict for the independence or autonomy of India than the so-called plebiscites that have been taking place in Europe.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer asked the audience two questions. One was, whether the demand for the independence of India was constitutional and consistent with Britain's responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in India. I ask him another question. Has he read President Wilson's fourteen points, and is it not set out there that every nation must have the right of self-determination?

The second question he asked was whether the Congress is justified in controlling and guiding the Provincial Ministries of the seven Provinces which are at the present moment in the hands of the Governors. I entirely agree with him that the Congress Working Committee and the Provincial meetings of the Congress are not justified in guiding the Ministries in the Provinces. But Sir Michael will remember one fact—that there is no authority in opposition to the Congress. The time has not yet come for another party to come into existence. All India is now united in demanding of England the right of self-determination. (Cheers.) Consequently, we cannot fritter our energies away by fighting amongst ourselves.

Whatever differences there may be between one community and another, or between one party and another, we present a united front in demanding the right of complete autonomy—call it national independence, call it Dominion Status, call it complete control of our affairs, call it Home Rule—but what we do demand, as the High Commissioner has pointed out, is the right of self-government, and that, so far as the Constitution of 1935 is concerned, has not been conceded to India.

Therefore, whatever link exists between the Congress Party and the Ministers must be reckoned as due to the fact that the main point upon which all parties have joined is that of demanding from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's countrymen the right of self-determination. That right India will continue to demand until she gets it.

MR. C. A. KINCAID: I am very glad to have the opportunity, in addition to the other speakers, of congratulating Lord Samuel on a most interesting account of his stay in India. It is forty-nine years since I was an undergraduate at Balliol with the right honourable gentleman, and although the locusts have eaten a good many of his years, I think you will agree with me that that vile insect has not touched any of his skill in graceful and mellifluous diction.

I was very glad that he gave a wider sense to the words "political situation" than perhaps some of those who spoke after him. Lord Samuel did refer to the state of the villages. I therefore perhaps may be permitted to touch upon another point of the citizen's activities, and that is transport. Without transport you cannot have intercommunication and either export or import trade, and here I must say that the present state of transport in India is extremely bad. The yearly deficit in the railway budget means that the rolling stock has never been renewed, and the roads are positively disgraceful.

I would ask you, to illustrate my meaning, to come with me to French North Africa, land at Tunis, go up the road to Constantine and thence to Biskra, and you will see it continue right away across the desert into Equatorial Africa; you will see road after road of the most extraordinary perfection; every stream culverted, every river bridged. There is no getting out of your motor-car and having to shove it with the help of villagers through dry beds of rivers.

What is the remedy for that? When I first went to India and asked about the roads, I was told there was no money, as the basis of taxation was not wide enough. When leaving India I asked why the roads were no better, and again I was told there was no money, as the basis of taxation was so wide it could not be widened any more.

The Congress Ministers have shown us a way. They have all refused to take more than Rs. 500 a month salary. If the Governor of Bombay were to reduce his income from £10,000 a year to £1,000, you would have better roads. Unfortunately that suggestion is outside practical politics.

I would really suggest that every outgoing Viceroy should stop at Tangier, spend two months in French Africa and study the conditions there. He might study the conditions of the public works, and he might also see the



gentle and firm methods of the French officials and the admirable way in which the French population get on with the Africans—and it would probably improve his French a good deal.

The CHAIRMAN : I am afraid that it will not be possible for me to call on anybody else to speak, but I think we can all agree upon one thing, and that is we have listened to an exceptionally interesting lecture, followed by a very good discussion.

I see that on the agenda it is down that the Chairman should give an address. That part will have to be left out. But I think it would be a discourtesy for me not to say a word or two about Lord Samuel's speech. It is extremely interesting to anybody who has anything to do with administration to get these first-hand travellers' accounts from people who know the right things to look for and the right people to go and see.

What Lord Samuel has told us is extremely valuable, and it is most encouraging to hear our own reports confirmed as to the way that the Constitution is being worked in the Provinces. While there may be many differences of opinion as to what has been done, or what is proposed to be done, there is one thing on which everybody is agreed, and that is that the members of the Indian Civil Service have shown a public spirit and a broad-mindedness in working under new conditions which are only to be expected of a service with such a great reputation. (Applause.)

There is one thing we might say from our point of view. We hear a good deal—and I am very glad to hear it—of the goodwill and co-operation that is existing in India at the present time in the Provinces. I think what one ought to add, too, is the amount of goodwill that there is in this country towards India. There is a real desire here among everybody to see the Constitution work. I have several friends in the House of Commons, who were bitter opponents of the Government of India Bill, who have come up to me and said, "We are not entirely satisfied. We could ask you in the House a great number of questions which you would find it difficult to answer; but we are not doing it because we do not think it would do any good, and we are really anxious that the new Constitution should be a real success."

I think it is very well worth while that it should be known all over India that there is universal goodwill, and whether people think that the new Constitution is right or not there is not a soul who does not hope that it will prove successful.

It is very interesting to hear Lord Samuel's views on Federation, on what ought to be done and what the suggested steps should be. But here again perhaps I ought to bring back the meeting to actual realities, and that is that if Federation is to be adopted, the sort of Federation that is to come into being has already been laid down by the British Parliament. It is actually in the Act as to how Federation is to come into being and what form it will take.

I was very glad indeed when Lord Samuel said that he thought one of the most important things in India at the present time was the question of village uplift. My own personal experience of India was a very short one; it lasted only two and a half months. But I think the main impression that I came away with was the appalling poverty and misery of so many of

the Indian villages through which one either rode or which lay alongside the roads on which one was motoring.

I had the pleasure of living in a farm where a great deal of experimental work was being done, and where they had got their tenants to a very high state of prosperity, and one did feel that, though that was an ideal that might never be realized in India in our lifetime, yet any step towards that final goal was well worth taking.

There is no finer work that can be done in India at the present time than work in that direction, and I am very glad indeed that Lord Samuel should have thought fit to have given it a special mention.

**LORD SAMUEL:** It is impossible to do more in a minute or two than to say just a few words in conclusion, without attempting to go into the many points that have been raised in the discussion.

I have been dealing with subjects that are controversial and delicate; but I thought it better not to adopt any diplomatic language, but rather to speak to you with complete frankness and candour. I rather agree with the famous author of Irish bulls, who suggested that "the best way to avoid danger is to meet it plump"! So I think it is in discussions of this character. I am glad that the distinguished High Commissioner, Sir Ferozkhan Noon, also adopted that course, and instead of using ambassadorial language gave us quite frankly what he thought about the whole situation. Similarly the Under-Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, told us something of great importance when he referred to the spirit that now prevails in the House of Commons. I think that it is indeed propitious that members of the House of Commons, even those who are opposed to the Government of India Act, even if they find some small matter on which they might say, "I told you so," should refrain from doing that in the interest of making this great undertaking a success.

As to the Act of 1935 being binding with regard to Federation, there are various things that can be done without infringing the actual terms of the statute. I think Mr. Gandhi himself has said there are various things which could be done without infringing the Act which would go far to meet the objections that have been entertained, and it was these to which I was referring in the course of my own address.

I would like to take this opportunity of thanking the High Commissioner and others for their kindness in facilitating my journey in India, and His Highness the Maharajah of Gaekwar and other Maharajahs for their most kind and gracious hospitality. I can assure you that my visit was one of the greatest interest, and I am happy to have been able to lay some fruits of it before you this afternoon. (Applause.)

**LORD LAMINGTON:** I feel that we cannot separate without first expressing both to Lord Samuel and to Lord Stanley our thanks for their presence here this afternoon. It is a great compliment for our Association that Lord Samuel should give to us his first public utterance on India since his return from that country.

There are many points I would like to raise, but we have to close the



meeting, and I will not raise them now. But I thank on your behalf Lord Samuel for having delivered a most stimulating address, and Lord Stanley for presiding and thus carrying on the traditions of public service of his family.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Hy. S. L. POLAK, who, owing to the lateness of the hour, was unable to speak, writes:

There are two statements of fact upon which Sir Michael O'Dwyer is inaccurate.

In the first place, at no session of the Indian National Congress has any resolution been passed committing the Congress to separation. The phrase that has been used is "complete independence." Whilst it is true that Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bose have interpreted it to mean separation, Mr. Gandhi, on the contrary, who exercises (as is recognized on all hands) an enormous influence in Congress circles, has interpreted the phrase to mean "Dominion status, as governed by the Statute of Westminster."

Secondly, Sir Michael O'Dwyer stated that the Working Committee of the Congress is appointed by the President from among people like-minded with himself. This is quite incorrect, as the appointments that have been made are representative of the various tendencies and points of view within the Congress Party. In fact, the composition of the Working Committee is rather towards the Right than towards the Left.

Sir Michael put two rhetorical questions: One, asking what was to be our attitude (presumably, the attitude of the people of this country) towards the alleged demand for separation; the other, what was to be our attitude in respect of the intervention of, and guidance by, the Working Committee in the Ministerial administration of the Congress Provinces. The answer to the first question appears to me to be that the effectiveness of the demand for separation, if and when made, will depend entirely upon the circumstances of the time, by which both this country and India will be largely governed. The answer to the second is that the matter has nothing whatever to do, constitutionally, with this country, but is an internal matter, to be dealt with—and is, in fact, being dealt with—by public opinion in the Congress Provinces themselves. That this critical opinion is vocal is clear from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's own quotation from an article by Mr. Chintamani, in the *Leader* (Allahabad). Equally critical views have been expressed elsewhere in Congress papers themselves.

## EMPIRE DAY BANQUET OF THE EMPIRE SOCIETIES

### THE DUKE OF KENT AND LORD ZETLAND

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF KENT was the chief guest at the Empire Day Banquet of the combined Empire Societies at Grosvenor House on May 24, over which the Earl of Athlone presided. The guests, numbering over 1,100, were received by Lord Lamington, President of the East India Association; Sir Archibald Weigall, Chairman of the Council of the Royal Empire Society; Lord Stradbroke, Chairman of the British Empire League; Lady Emmott, representing the Victoria League; Lord Goschen, Chairman, Central Council, Overseas League; and Lady Muriel Gore-Browne, Chairman, British Women's Hospitality Committee. Lady Linlithgow was seated immediately to the right of the Chairman, with Lord Zetland on her right.

Sir EARLE PAGE, Minister for Commerce and Deputy Prime Minister, Commonwealth of Australia, submitted the toast of "The Royal Family."

THE DUKE OF KENT, in reply, said the Empire was closer in its unity than ever before. The world had moved far and fast since the last time he was present at the banquet, but there had emerged one great feature—the unity of the Empire, the realization that the Empire was in practice what they all hoped in theory it might one day become.

The Crown was more than gold and jewels; it was the link binding the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was the link binding the ideals of these nations into a solid unity working for peace, prosperity, and for the benefit of mankind. One of the most important points in our education was the realization of what the Empire meant. It was particularly important where the youth of the country was concerned.

The Empire Societies helped us to make contacts and to make us realize that we must never think of Empire unity as something which only showed itself in times of storm or crisis. If the Empire was to continue its great influence for good throughout the world, we must maintain that unity evenly and consistently through every phase of its development. Unity is the very corner-stone of its fabric, and if that corner-stone were ever displaced its whole character would be changed.

The Empire was not intended as a rigid body, but as a flexible one with certain common ideals and aims. If we remembered the Empire, if we looked upon it as the mainstay of peace, order, and civilization in its highest sense, we might make of the twentieth century a period of greatness in the history of the world. He hoped this would be our achievement and our contribution to the welfare of mankind.



Mr. R. G. MENZIES, Attorney-General and Minister for Industry, Commonwealth of Australia, proposed "The British Commonwealth." He said the first problem facing the Empire was that of making the British voice as effective as possible in the cause of peace. It must be a combined voice. The British Empire must more and more be able to speak in terms of unity.

A second problem was that of preserving our democratic system of government in the world. This would require great thought and great positive action on our part. By that he did not mean action against other nations, but intimate domestic action in our minds and in our own house.

Lord STANLEY, who a few days before had vacated the office of Under-Secretary for India to become Secretary of State for the Dominions, replied first. In the course of his speech he said: I hope that Mr. Menzies will allow me to thank him very much indeed for the kind welcome which he has been good enough to give me on my first appearance in my new office, and I should be less than human if I did not wish to express the great pride and pleasure which I feel in obtaining this office. A great administrator once said to me that if you were going to get the best work you ought always to give an appointment to somebody who really wanted it. If that is the case and that is the criterion, all I can say is that I start my new job "odds on" and a "hotter favourite" than I might otherwise have been. It has always been my ambition ever since I entered political life that at some time I might be honoured by becoming Secretary for the Dominions. That desire was intensified by the very happy six months or so which I spent in the Office as Under-Secretary, where I made so many friendships and associations which I have always valued so much.

It is my privilege to make my first speech as Dominions Secretary in reply to this toast and at a great and representative family gathering such as we see here tonight, so admirably organized by the joint effort of the Empire Societies to celebrate Empire Day. The work of these various Empire Societies is far too well known to need any words of praise from me, but we cannot let this occasion go by without saying how very much we appreciate the services which they are rendering to the Empire. They have done a tremendous amount to foster good relations in all parts of the Empire, and more particularly they have done something which is of real importance, and that is to make visitors feel at home when they come over to this country. For many years we have had a bad reputation as hosts. They say we are all right when they get to know us, but by the time they have got to know us it is time for them to go back to their homes. That is the reputation we have had for many years, but, thanks to your societies, it is a reputation we are rapidly losing, and I hope it will soon be a thing of the past. These intangible ties of friendship and understanding are so great and so important that it is quite impossible for me to exaggerate the services which you are rendering to the Empire.

#### LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH

Lord ZETLAND, in the course of his speech for India, said: A man in the street, who recently observed that members of His Majesty's Government

usually knew what they were talking about, received the following reply from his friend: "Yes, that is where they have the advantage over us." I am very conscious of the implications of that retort, for the task of fitting India and Burma into the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations is one of immense difficulty and complexity. Not only do they cover a vast extent of territory and possess populations which in the aggregate outnumber by many millions the whole of the rest of the population of the British Commonwealth of Nations put together, but they possess features which are unexampled even in the wide range of the British Empire, and for which indeed no parallel exists in other previous empires of which mention is to be found in the pages of recorded history.

The British Empire itself, as we see it today, is a unique phenomenon. It has been planned by no master mind—at least, by no human master mind—rather is it a living organization, the directing force of whose evolution is and has been in the past a certain innate genius of the British race. Not the least remarkable of its characteristics is its amazing variety, in proof of which is the fact that those charged with responding for it this evening occupy no less than four widely different offices in His Majesty's Government; these are the Secretary of State for the Dominions, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary of State for India and for Burma. It is of these last two countries that, by virtue of the offices which I hold, I am entitled to speak tonight.

The presence of the British in India and all that has flowed from it has provided a theme for many writers and has been variously accounted for; but whether it be attributed to acts of Providence, as some hazard, or to some accident of history, as others assert, what cannot be denied is the tremendous moulding force which it has exercised upon that vast sub-continent, a moulding force the full effect of which is only becoming apparent at the present day. For who, even a brief quarter of a century ago, could have imagined in actual operation a stupendous experiment in the domain of statecraft of which India and Burma are the scene today? Of the working of Parliamentary institutions in the Provinces of British India, many of them in extent and in the matter of their population comparable to some of the chief countries of Europe, I have no time to speak.

Let me point to the crowning achievement towards which we are steadily moving in India today. We have sought to give, and to a large extent we have been successful in giving, to the peoples of India a unity which they have never before possessed. The story of India before the advent of the British is a romance punctuated by vast vicissitudes. The pageant of her peoples as they pass across the centuries presents to the onlooker an endless succession of scenes of infinite variety, revolving from one to the other as endlessly as do the patterns of a kaleidoscope. The variety and diversity of these are the characteristics of the peoples of India, and even at the present day they present to the onlooker a racial, religious, linguistic, and cultural mosaic of almost infinite diversities; and yet, in spite of their lack of homogeneity, they are moved today by those aspirations which are the accompaniment only of a consciousness of nationhood. Many influences have contributed to this end. The web of a uniform system of administration spread



over the country, the unification of law which now runs from the frozen pinnacles of the Himalaya Mountains of the north to the palm-girt shores of tropical India, and, not least, the wide currency of the language and the literature and political ideals which the people of our own stock carry with them whenever they go forth from their island home unto the remotest corner of the earth. These have been great and unifying influences, but there remains the supreme act in the story of the unification of the peoples of India, the bringing together, beneath the dome of a single political edifice, the new democracies of the Provinces of British India and the ancient autocracies of the Indian States. That is the supreme task to which our energies are now devoted.

No one can be more conscious than the Viceroy or than I am of the difficulties which have still to be surmounted, but nobody can appreciate more fully than do he and I the immense value of the goal which we have set before ourselves. He and I have assisted at the planning of the edifice; we are now engaged upon the task of raising upon the foundations, which, as he and I believe, were well and truly laid by the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, this great edifice. He and I, with the experience which we now possess, go forward with high courage and with our faith undimmed, and we look forward to the day when a unified India will play a part worthy of its great tradition, of its great history, as a member of that great Commonwealth of British Nations of which the proposer of this toast has so eloquently spoken. (Cheers.)

Mr. MALCOLM MACDONALD, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, also replied, and proposed the toast of the Chairman, whose speech in reply closed the proceedings.

## LEPROSY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CUTHBERT SPRAWSON, C.I.E.

THE average Englishman has but little knowledge of the vastness of the leprosy problem as it affects the British Empire: he has in fact little knowledge of leprosy itself. Beyond being conscious of Biblical references to the leper, and beyond having a vague knowledge that once leprosy existed to a greater extent than at present in England, he has but few impressions of the nature of the disease, and these mostly mistaken ones, and has no realization of the disability this preventable disease is inflicting upon many countries of the Empire of which he is a member. Yet there are some three million lepers in the British Empire, about one million of whom are in India.

Leprosy is preventable, and it is of interest to study how it has been prevented in England and in the greater part of Europe, and to see if the same principles cannot now be applied to the afflicted parts of our Empire. It seems to have diminished greatly in England in the fourteenth century and in Tudor times, and it is difficult to state exactly why. Possibly the diminution of population caused by the Black Death, and a resultant higher standard of living and improved nutrition, were factors: there is no evidence of an improvement in general hygiene in those times. But one thing is very evident, that there existed then a great interest in leprosy amongst all sections of the population. This interest may have been promoted partly by fear, but probably this popular interest was one of the chief reasons for the victory over the disease. The strength of this interest is shown by the establishment in those days of about 300 leper hospitals in England, in an age when hospitals were not common institutions, and by the arrangement of the Church for banishment and for conducting special services for lepers. It is plain that the whole country was aroused and set itself to undertake a vigorous and a victorious campaign.

It is an interest of that nature we should now try to arouse not only throughout the affected parts of our Empire, but also in the Mother Country. More support is needed from the British public and more interest in the subject than is now obtained. The British public can supply things that the afflicted parts of the Empire (that is more particularly India, West Africa, Central Africa, the South Sea Islands and West Indies) cannot yet supply. They can above all give money, and they can send out to these



places trained workers, not necessarily medical men, like the excellent youths, men and women, who have of recent years volunteered for such work.

Of equal or greater importance is the awakening of a spirit of hope and a determination to fight the disease among the afflicted native populations. The interest to be aroused must affect the whole of the native populations in the afflicted countries, and must secure not only their assent to measures of relief, but their active co-operation. Personal experience in the campaign against leprosy in India has shown that the active work of all the doctors available is alone insufficient: a number of social workers, many times the number of the doctors, is required in addition. Leprosy, like tuberculosis, is a social disease, and requires social workers to fight it. In our present Empire campaign the leading rôles amongst the social workers are taken by the young volunteers who have gone out from the Mother Country. In turn, they train native social workers, some of them recovered patients; but more are required than can now be trained. Further, not only should these workers be trained, but the whole mass of the people should be taught the nature of the disease, and the simple rules of personal hygiene that will prevent it: they should be interested in the campaign and in its plans, and led to understand that they themselves, and only they, can defeat the enemy. For such a campaign amongst the native races the co-operation of official servants of Government, and of non-officials, is required; of women as well as men. Official agency is necessary in many cases to secure information, and to ease the path of the non-official worker, while peasants when they see Government support of a campaign, tend to have more faith in its reality and its stability. A few years ago a campaign against leprosy was organized in a district of the Madras Presidency by a lady who was successful in conveying an enthusiasm amounting to a crusade amongst even the poorest peasants and townfolk. On a Leper Day organized to raise funds many thousand donations, each of the equivalent of one-twelfth of a penny, were received, while some of the poorest gave a little rice or pieces of cocoanut. The total of these small sums in one day in one district alone reached the equivalent of over £2,500. This could not have been done among these simple and poor folk unless their interest had been aroused, as it was when they saw what was being done to help the lepers, and when they realized that still more would be done if they themselves helped. They saw new clinics being established, surveys taking place and enquiries made into the existence of lepers and their conditions.

It is not the place here to detail the many reasons for which money is required in a leprosy campaign; but as the sinews of

any war it is as important as the fighting spirit. Briefly, money is required to establish and maintain leper clinics for the treatment of sufficient cases and for diagnosis of the disease; for the maintenance of leper settlements, especially for the segregation of cases in their contagious phases (for only about one-third of all lepers are contagious at any one time); for homes for the healthy children of leper parents so that the children may not be infected; for schools for these children; for homes for the crippled outcasts whom the disease has left helpless; for the upkeep of the young workers now in the field and for the increasing numbers it is hoped may be sent out; and for further research into the nature of the disease and the means of controlling it.

When the facts of the position are before them the public will realize that they cannot be content if things are well in Britain alone, and that as members of the Empire they cannot rest while the condition as regards leprosy in the Empire is what it is now.



## A CEYLON HOLIDAY

BY C. THORPE

Most countries have their beauty spots; some have more than their share; and in one or two it is easier to start at the other end and say what are *not* beauty spots. Ceylon must be placed in the third category. It is a charming place to live in; it is an even more charming place to visit. It is a land of infinite variety, of unusual natural beauty, and all this variety and beauty are compressed into small space and are easily accessible.

There are two classes of visitors: those who have never seen a coconut palm before, and those to whom all the multitudinous smells of the East are known by name. To both types Ceylon can offer, in the space of a short visit lasting, say, a fortnight, enough material for pleasant reflection during the remainder of a lifetime.

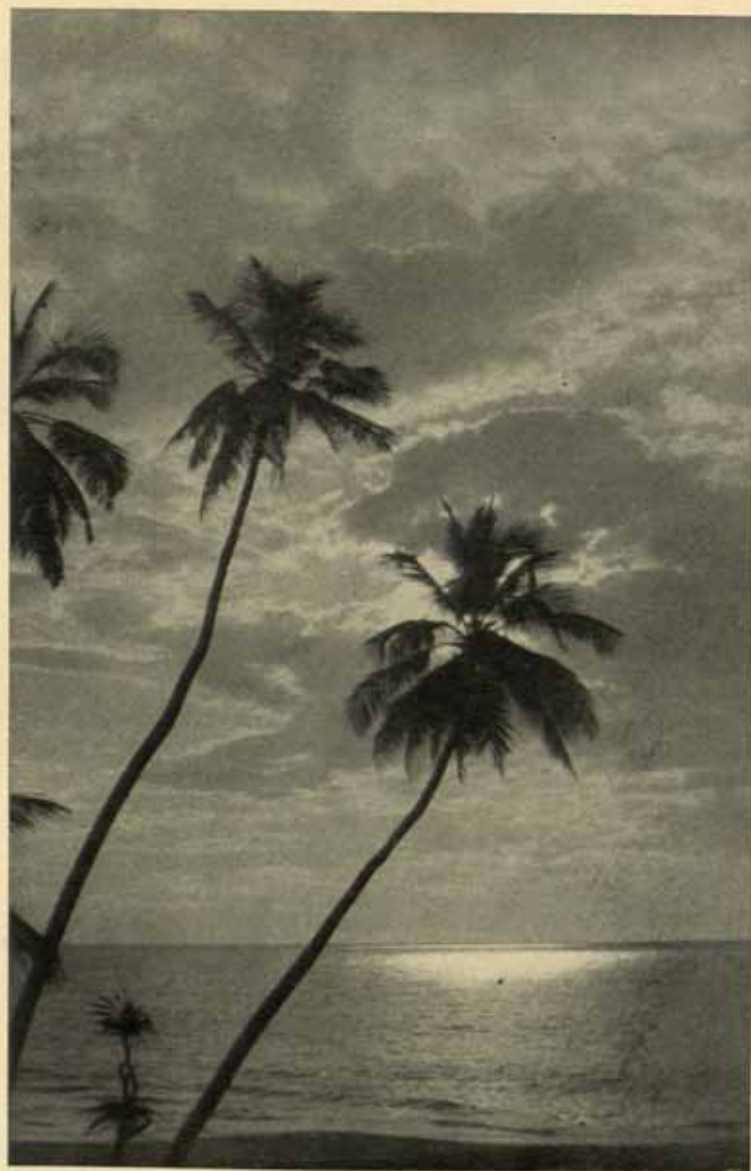
Take a country about the size of Wales; people it with a variety of races and a variety of religions; bathe it in tropical sunshine and water it with enough rain to make it perennially green; build on it a superstructure of mountains and clothe them with jungle or with tea; cover part of its low-country with coconut palms and rubber and emerald paddy-fields, part with spiky palmyras, and the rest with rolling jungle; splash it lavishly with colours taken from the Master Painter's palette—and there you have Ceylon.

We have mentioned a fortnight, and we will adhere to it. We will hint at some of the varied interest that can be assimilated by a visitor who has no more than that time at his disposal—breaking his journey, for instance, on his way to Australia or to the Far East.

Colombo is a business centre, a residential town, a busy port, a large city. It is not Ceylon, and if the visitor is wise he will not linger there.

On second thoughts, that is rather hard on Colombo, for it has real interest to offer to the traveller who has only a few hours ashore. To the traveller from the West it seems like a green oasis after the Sinai wilderness or the barrenness of Aden—the last land he has probably seen. The trouble is that most visitors do the *obvious* things—a drive through the crowded and odoriferous Pettah; a visit to a rather ordinary Buddhist temple; lunch at Mount Lavinia; and three-quarters of an hour in a curio shop on the way back to the ship.

One day out of a fortnight is enough for Colombo. Spend an hour of it in the Pettah, and do not be afraid of getting out of the



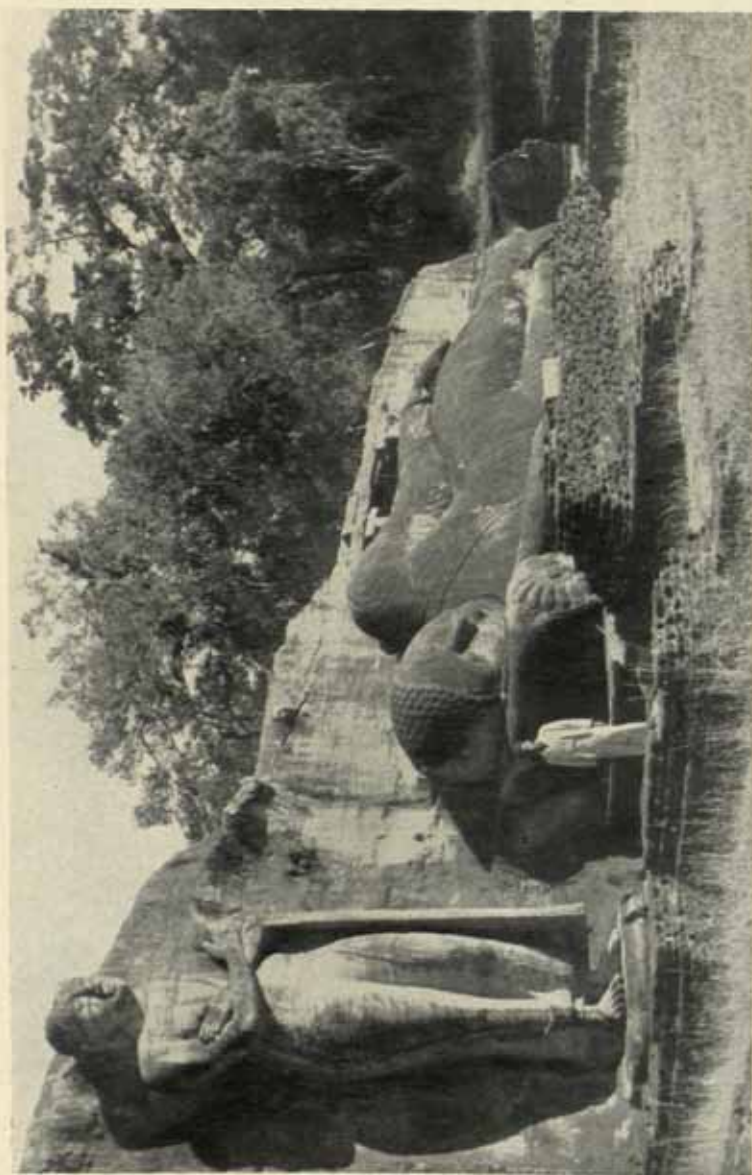
THE PALM-FRINGED COAST OF CEYLON.

A Ceylon Holiday

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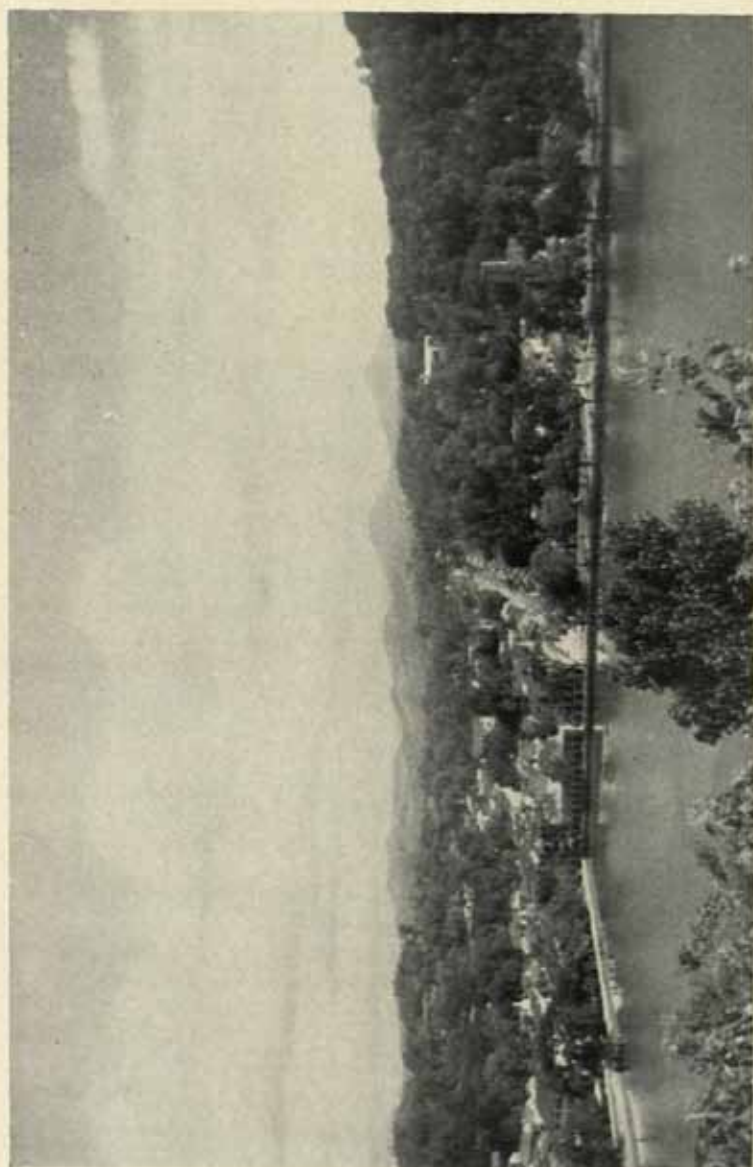




GAL VIHARE AT POLONNARUWA.

A Ceylon Holiday.

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KANDY LAKE.

A Ceylon Holiday.

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AN EXAMPLE OF THE FRESCOS AT SIGIRIYA.

A Ceylon Holiday.

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car and walking, especially into the fruit and vegetable market. You will see, in that hour, more variety of dress and undress, of distinctive racial types, than you will be able to absorb.

In the Fort, go into one of the big jewellers' shops, and see what Ceylon stones are like at their best; and drop into the Marketing Board shop in Chatham Street, or into the Cottage Industries, if you are anxious to take home mementoes. Go for a drive round the city, if only to appreciate the trees—flamboyant, jacaranda, and palms of different kinds that border the roads. Look into Mount Lavinia, and see the aquarium and palm-fringed beach. Take a walk on the breakwater in the evening, and notice particularly the "buggalows," anchored not far from the jetty, that come from the Maldivé Islands. And call it a day.

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An hour's travel northwards brings you to Negombo, which stands at the mouth of a huge coastal lagoon, and lives by fishing. Take your stand in the afternoon a little to windward of the fish market, or rather of the small auction room where the fish is landed. The brown-sailed outrigger canoes come racing home on the afternoon breeze, their wet sails billowing out. There are no trawlers, no cobbles, no big boats of any kind, but the outriggers come in their hundreds. Their most valuable catch is the kingly seer, but they bring in sharks, ordinary and hammer-headed, sword-fish and turtles as well. The turtles are tied, wrong side up, on top of the boats (which are only about eight inches wide at the top) and their tenacity of life is incredible.

At Negombo, and indeed at almost every place you are likely to visit, you will find a Rest House, which will supply all you need in the way of food, refreshment, or accommodation.

Northwards the road runs for another sixty miles through coconut country. Coconuts, paddy; paddy, coconuts; with oil mills and fibre mills and small villages. At Puttalam the road runs inland to the north-east—and cultivation ends. It is only a two hours' run through the jungle to Anuradhapura, and there you are in another world.

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*

Anuradhapura is the largest and most ancient of Ceylon's "Ruined Cities." At one time it spread over seven or eight square miles. The sacred "Bo-tree" (grown from a branch of the original Bo-tree in North India under which the Buddha is said to have attained enlightenment) is well over two thousand years old. So are most of the ancient monuments. There are several dagobas—bell-shaped shrines, of solid brick, built over some holy relic—of various sizes, and in various stages of preservation. The largest



of them, the Jetawanarama Dagoba, is estimated to have contained twenty million cubic feet of brick, which would be sufficient to build a wall ten feet high and one foot thick from London to Edinburgh. And such brick! They were lavish with their ingredients in the olden days. A mixture of soft clay, quartz, partly burnt hay, gingelly oil, honey and wood-apple glue was trampled by elephants and then baked.

The fame of Anuradhapura does not rest merely on the age and size of its relics. Some of its ancient sculptures are exquisite—its “moonstones” and guardstones, its Buddhas, and its ornamental pillars. The Rock-temple of Issurumuniya is one of the treasures of Ceylon, and the sacred mountain of Mihintale, on which legend says Mahinda alighted when he brought Buddhism to Ceylon, has an interest all its own.

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From Anuradhapura to Trincomalee there stretches sixty miles of jungle. True, there are one or two hamlets along the road, with fascinating names like Kahatagasdigiliya and Horuwapotana. There are a few blasé people to find Ceylon's jungle roads monotonous, but those whose standard of comparison is Piccadilly Circus or the North Pier at Blackpool can always stay at home.

In these days of buses there is not so much wild life on the roads as there used to be. But with a touch of luck one might see pig, deer, jackal, or even on occasion leopard or elephant in the early morning or late evening. The writer was once fortunate enough to see, quite near Trincomalee, a scaly ant-eater shuffle slowly off the road out of the glare of the headlights. It was not so long ago, either, that a bear walked right through the town there, and licked the feet of a coolie who was fast asleep on a verandah.

Trincomalee looks as though it had been grafted on to Ceylon from the west coast of Scotland. Its wooded peninsulas and rocky islets break up the vast expanse of harbour, into which the whole British Navy could fit comfortably. Certain of the headlands are fortified, and at the extremity of Fort Frederick a Hindu shrine is perched on the summit of Swami Rock, which drops sheer to the sea four hundred feet below. In olden days the “Temple of a Thousand Columns” covered the summit.

The quickest way to get to the other side of Trinco Harbour is by boat, and it is possible to do a little big-game fishing on the way. Going round by road means crossing four ferries, for the biggest river in Ceylon, the Mahaweli Ganga, splits itself up and empties into the sea here.

The Mahaweli has come all the way from Kandy and beyond, and it is in that direction that we must turn, but not without making one or two calls on the way.

Polonnaruwa means leaving the main road and driving twenty-seven miles to the south-east. On the way one passes three or four of Ceylon's most famous "tanks." These are artificial lakes, made, some of them, fourteen or fifteen centuries ago, and surrounded now by thick jungle. To the nature-lover they offer unending interest, for they are the haunt of pelicans, of storks and herons, and of enormous flocks of cormorants. Crocodiles may still be seen, though they are not nearly so plentiful as they were.

The Rest House at Polonnaruwa is right on the shores of lovely Topa Wewa, and one looks out across the lake to the far-away mountains of the central range. It is at such spots as this that one regrets the necessity for hurrying on. Polonnaruwa is the second largest Ruined City in Ceylon, and in some respects is even more attractive than Anuradhapura. Size and extreme antiquity are missing, but there is an indefinable charm in the jungle ruins that is lacking in sophisticated Anuradhapura. Some of the places of interest are a little distance away, reached by shady forest paths, along which it is quite safe to travel by day—but not by night, for one often sees fresh footprints of elephants in the soft earth of the roads.

The Gal Vihare, or Rock Temple, part of which is shown in an accompanying illustration, is unique, as is also the exquisite Lotus Pond; while in the Quadrangle, not far from the Rest House, there is concentrated an assortment of ancient monuments that would take days to examine with any thoroughness. Polonnaruwa has not yet had one-tenth of the attention it deserves from the world's archæologists.



Another forty miles of jungle road, and there looms up in front of us the gigantic rock called Sigiriya, the most romantic spot in Ceylon. This huge natural citadel, four hundred feet in height, with walls rising sheer, and with three or four acres of ground on the top, was a fortified castle of the parricide king Kasyapa in the fifth century A.D. It can be climbed without undue difficulty, but if one wants to see the famous frescoes, in a shallow cave on the rock-face, a forty-foot vertical ladder must be negotiated. It is worth it. The colours of those mural paintings are as fresh now as they were fourteen hundred years ago, and the artist, supposed to have been one of the king's guards whiling away his time on sentry duty, has given us pictures worthy to be ranked with the treasures of Egypt or of Mexico. An example of the paintings is shown.

One hint to the visitor—take time to sit awhile on the summit, and let your imagination have leisure to work. (And, when you



have climbed down, remember that the Rest House at the foot of the rock keeps its drinks in a refrigerator.)

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The rock temples at Dambulla, on the way to Kandy, are of considerable interest, but the walk up to them, over the bare face of the rock, should not be attempted in the heat of the day. Aluvihare, thirty miles further on, is less showy but of far greater interest. It is the place where the Buddhist Scriptures were first translated into Sinhalese.

We are now ready to climb from the plains, up through the cocoa plantations of the Balakaduwa Pass, to the old hill capital of Ceylon—Kandy. It is a jewel in an emerald setting, nestling among the green hills. The Temple of the Tooth is the most famous Buddhist temple in the world, and in August its Perahera—a processional festival in which up to a hundred caparisoned elephants take part—is worth going a long way to see. There are a number of roads which will enable the traveller to get a bird's-eye view of the town, and that from Wace Park, looking over the lake towards the Matale Hills, should on no account be missed. (The accompanying photograph was taken there.)

Most visitors to Kandy make a point of seeing the elephants bathing in the afternoon near the bridge at Katugastota. They also make sure, and rightly so, of visiting the Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya, about three miles from the town. But there are other trips that are rarely taken, and, indeed, rarely suggested. One that needs a whole day is to the most ancient capital of Ceylon, called, paradoxically, "New City" (Alutnuwara). The oldest dagoba in the island is to be found here. It dates back to 500 B.C.

The road climbs to about 3,000 feet and then tumbles over the edge of the hills to the jungly plains below. There are seventeen hair-pin bends in less than four miles. Alutnuwara is across the river Mahaweli, and is now a village in the jungle. Horabora Wewa, four miles away, is the loveliest tank in Ceylon. It was here that the writer came across a lad who had never seen butter before, but who was wearing a shirt with a zip-fastener.

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From Kandy the road leads upward, from the hills to the mountains. Nuwara Eliya, the hill station of Ceylon, is forty-seven miles away. The Ramboda Pass is steep (3,000 feet in less than twelve miles), but finely engineered, and as one climbs higher the views are magnificent.

The country there is either tea or jungle, and the best tea is grown around Nuwara Eliya (6,200 feet). The town lies on a

plateau at the foot of Ceylon's highest mountain, Pidurutalagala, which rears its jungle-covered head two thousand feet higher.

Most itineraries provide for a stay of two or three days in Nuwara Eliya, with its opportunities for most kinds of sport (including a wonderfully fine golf course) and good hotels. Hakgala is six miles from Nuwara Eliya. At the foot of a towering three-spurred rock are gardens from which a panoramic view of the Uva Basin—the Valley of a Thousand Hills—is obtained. In the blue distance sleeps the old mountain giant, Namunukula, his scarred sides showing the damage he has suffered in his agelong conflict with the thunderbolts of Jove.

That mountain is our objective, for the forty-mile drive around its base is the finest scenic drive in Ceylon. From the southern slopes one looks over leagues of foothills and low jungle down to the sacred hills of Kataragama and the sea. From the other side the whole of the central mountain range is visible, across the undulating grass-covered foothills of Uva.

There is one spot on the road to Colombo from which both these views can be seen. Haputale is perched on a knife-edge, and from a vantage-point a mile away, on the Dambatenne road, one can see over the town to the central mountains beyond. From the Indian Ocean beyond the Basses to the jungly roof of Ceylon; from the eastern sea to the furthest line of the Deniyaya Hills in the west, the land lies revealed like an open book.

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If the visitor can spare an extra day it is worth while to travel down the Colombo road to Pelmadulla or Ratnapura, skirting the mountain range until one comes under the shadow of mighty Adam's Peak. This is the gem country of Ceylon, and the gem-pits are many of them to be found by the roadside. The pits themselves are not objects of beauty, but it is exciting to see the final washing of the gravel. Four or five men, waist-deep in muddy water, swill their conical baskets round and round, washing the lighter earth overside until only the gravel remains. The owner goes over the residuum carefully, slowly, picking out the precious stones that lie waiting for their imprisoned fire to be released. Blue sapphires, yellow sapphires, aquamarines, cats'-eyes, rubies, topazes, star sapphires, zircons . . . gems that have stored up the essence of the sunshine and mingled it with their own inherent beauty.

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We must retrace our winding way to the foot of the Haputale Pass, and travel a few miles eastward, passing almost under the Diyataluma Falls, which are four times the height of Niagara (but



which only have any great volume in the rainy season). At Wellawaya the road turns south, and runs for fifty miles through the jungle to the ancient town of Tissamaharama and the sea.

The Rest House at Hambantota stands on a promontory at the head of a wide-sweeping bay. There is no land between there and the Antarctic, and the long rollers cream majestically on to the sloping beach. Away to the east lies the Yala Game Sanctuary, and to the west the coast road runs round for a hundred and fifty miles to Colombo.

It is the road we have to take. Half-way is the old Dutch fort of Galle, which deserves our attention. Galle was, until comparatively recently, the main port of Ceylon. It is the centre of the tortoise-shell industry, and ebony elephants are carved there in great numbers. The scenery all along that coast is bewitching—feathery palms against a sea which has stolen the azure blue from the sky and mingled it with the emerald of evergreen Ceylon. At short intervals there are Rest Houses by the sea which enable the traveller to drink in the beauty in comfort.

Let him stop at the Kalutara Basket Hall to sample the products of Ceylon village industry, and then, three miles further on, let him leave the busy main road and approach Colombo by country by-roads. The "canal" near Bandaragama is a rural paradise—let him linger there and watch the black and white kingfishers, the little blue kingfishers, the bitterns and the egrets, the weaver-birds and the orioles. And let him carry away with him that memory of a quiet sanctuary to store alongside the memories of the more conventional beauty spots.

## HYDERABAD STATE AS A TOURIST RESORT

By E. ROSENTHAL, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A.

THERE is no more interesting territory in India than the Dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. In area, these dominions are, roughly, a little more than one and two-fifths the size of England and Wales combined. Their ruler, the premier prince of India, has about fifteen million subjects. His Exalted Highness the Nizam is a descendant of Asaf Jah, a dominating figure in eighteenth-century India, who was originally in the service of the Emperors of Delhi. In 1924, at a state banquet given by the present ruler of Hyderabad to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Asaf Jah, the host spoke in stirring tones of the achievements of his great ancestor. His Exalted Highness pointed out that Asaf Jah, the first Nizam-ul-Mulk, remained attached to the throne of Delhi until he realized that the strength of the Great Mughal was spent. It was not until then that Asaf Jah, who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, proclaimed his independence and brought to the Deccan stability of government.

On the death of his father, in 1911, the present Nizam, Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, ascended the throne of Hyderabad. The year 1936, being the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, was celebrated in Hyderabad with much rejoicing, although the arrangements for the Jubilee festivities had to be modified on account of the death of King George V. The first quarter of a century of the reign of the present ruler of Hyderabad has proved rich in prosperity for his State and in progress for his people. Many projects of the Nizam for the increased welfare of his subjects have materialized, and immense strides have been made in education, commerce, industry, and city improvement schemes.

The extension of transport facilities in Hyderabad State during the past twenty-five years has been remarkable. H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway now operates over thirteen hundred and fifty miles of broad- and metre-gauge track. In 1930 the Hyderabad Government decided that public motor services should be under the railway administration, and for a beginning a fleet of twenty-seven motor buses was imported from England. This experiment was so successful financially that today the number of buses operating in various parts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions



runs into hundreds, and many motor lorries are employed for the transport of goods.

The Hyderabad Government are also fully alive to the potentialities of air services, and to the need for co-ordinating air and rail transport. An Aviation Board has been formed and a Flying Club started in Hyderabad City.

The rail journey between Bombay and Hyderabad City occupies about eighteen hours, and through carriages render unnecessary a change at Wadi, the junction of the Great Indian Peninsular and H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railways. An important station between Wadi and Hyderabad City is Vikarabad, the junction for Mohammadabad-Bidar, one of the most interesting cities in the Deccan, which is reached by rail from Vikarabad in three hours.

Bidar is situated on a plateau two thousand three hundred feet above sea level. In A.D. 1430 Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani removed his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, and the latter city soon came to rank amongst the wealthiest royal residences in India. After the decline of the Bahmanis, the Barid Shahs, in the sixteenth century, came into power. This dynasty became extinct when, in 1619, Ali Barid Shah II was compelled to surrender to the ruler of Bijapur. In 1656 Bidar was captured by Aurangzib, and remained in the possession of the Great Mughal until the first Nizam of Hyderabad declared his independence.

Bidar fort is most impressive with its triple moat, of which the rock-hewn partitions are a remarkable feature. The stronghold was commenced in 1426 by Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, the construction occupying six years. Inside the citadel, the first building of note is the *Rangin Mahal*, or "Painted Palace," so called because its façade and walls were once profusely decorated with coloured tiles. On the cement background traces of the former designs can be seen, and in the *Shah Nishin* there is a magnificent display of tile and mother-of-pearl decorations. The blend of colours is most harmonious, and the artistic effects are as beautiful as those which Delhi artists obtained by the employment of precious and semi-precious stones. Close to the *Rangin Mahal* are several other palaces with remains of embellishments which enable the visitor to form an idea of the lavish scale on which the apartments were originally adorned. The *Takht Mahal*, the Throne Room, where the Bahmani and Barid Shahs were crowned, contained the famous "Turquoise Throne," which, according to the Persian historian Firishta, who was employed at the court of Bijapur from about 1589 to 1611, "exceeded in splendour and intrinsic value every other in the world." It must be borne in mind that in Firishta's day the historic "Peacock Throne" of Delhi did not exist. This wonder of the Mughal court was not begun by

Shahjahan until 1628, several years after Firishta's death. Recently, under the able guidance of Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of Archaeology in Hyderabad State, much conservation work has been carried out at Bidar, and this has led to the discovery of many structures which had been concealed by the accumulated debris of centuries. Amongst these is a huge hall, which Mr. Yazdani has identified as the *Diwan-i-Khas*, or Private Audience Hall.

The most remarkable of Bidar's monuments is the *Madrasah*, or College of Mahmud Gawan, the minister of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. This famous statesman founded the college in 1472, and although over four hundred and fifty years have elapsed since its construction, the arrangements for lighting and ventilation fulfil modern requirements. The façade, with one remaining minaret, still has vestiges of the encaustic tiles with which it was once profusely adorned in striking zigzag patterns. In Firishta's time the college was staffed by professors from all parts of Asia and was one of the most important educational centres in India.

The tombs of the Bahmani Shahs, which are situated about two miles from Bidar Fort, are very dignified. They stand on square bases and are surmounted by bulbous domes. The largest is that of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, the founder of Bidar. The interior of this mausoleum is probably unique in India by reason of the Persian paintings on the walls and ceiling, and the colourful inscriptions in golden letters on red and blue backgrounds. Above the tomb is the following inscription:

Should my heart ache, my remedy is this :  
A cup of wine and then I sip of bliss !

Fig. 1 shows two of the tombs of the Bahmani Shahs, which number twelve in all. Vestiges of the exterior tile decoration are still extant on some of these monuments.

The shrine of Kwaja Abdul Faiz shown in Fig. 2 contains the remains of the grandson of the famous Gulbarga saint, Banda Nawaz, who arrived in the Deccan from Delhi about A.D. 1412. Like the mausoleum of Banda Nawaz on the outskirts of Gulbarga, the sepulchre of Kwaja Abdul Faiz at Bidar is much venerated. As discernible in the illustration, the entrance to the tomb is decorated with blue encaustic tiles. Above the grave proper, in the interior of the building, flutter sheaves of petitions inscribed by the faithful on strips of paper.

Fig. 3 shows a typical Muslim tomb at Bidar. It is embellished with the fine white stucco in the use of which Deccan architects and builders have been noted for many centuries.

The train journey from Vikarabad Junction to Hyderabad City, the capital of H.E.H. the Nizam, takes about an hour and three-



quarters. Hyderabad City, which is the fourth largest in India, was commenced in 1589 by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda, and, during the reign of the first Nizam, became the seat of government in place of Golconda. Amongst the most picturesque buildings in Hyderabad is the far-famed *Char Minar*, or Gateway of the Four Minarets, erected in 1591 and probably the original entrance to the enclosure in which was located the royal palace. The *Char Minar* can have altered little in its appearance since its construction, for the picturesque description of Monsieur Thevenot, who visited Hyderabad about 1666, is an excellent pen-picture of the monument as it is today :

“That which is called Four Towers is a square building of which each face is ten fathom broad and about seven high. It is opened in the four sides by four arches four or five fathom high and four fathom wide, and every one of these arches fronts a street of the same breadth as the arch. There are two galleries in it, one over the other, and over all a terrace that serves for a roof, bordered with a stone balcony, and at each corner of that building a tower, about ten fathom high, and each tower hath four galleries, with little arches on the outside, the whole building being adorned with roses and festoons prettily well cut. . . . Nothing in that town seems so lovely as the outside of that building.”

Not far distant is the *Mecca Masjid*, the Great Mosque, commenced by Muhammad Qutb Shah, who reigned from 1611 to 1625. This mosque, one of the largest in Southern India, has accommodation for ten thousand worshippers. When the Emperor Aurangzib captured Golconda in 1687 the *Mecca Masjid* was incomplete, and, in conformity with his wish, the minarets were not raised to the height originally intended, as he desired them to remain a symbol of human ambition which is never fully satisfied.

The *Jami Masjid* is another beautiful and very typical mosque built by the founder of Hyderabad. It is an excellent example of the elaborate polished plaster decoration in which the Hyderabad artists excel.

Five miles west of Hyderabad is the grand old city of Golconda. The origins of Golconda are shrouded in the mists of antiquity, but the fort was probably constructed by the Rajah of Warangal, who, in 1364, ceded it to the Bahmani Shahs. According to a local legend, the name Golconda is derived from the Telugu word *golcar*, meaning a shepherd, and was bestowed upon the stronghold because it was a herdsman who first pointed out the site of the fort to the royal builder. In 1512, when the founder of

the Qutb Shahi dynasty declared his independence, after revolting against the Bahmani rule, he selected Golconda as his capital, and in the course of years the fort came to be considered impregnable. Indeed, when in 1687, after an eight-months siege, Aurangzib eventually captured Golconda, the powerful citadel fell because of the treachery of an Afghan guard, and not by assault. The fortress is surrounded by a crenellated wall, four miles in circumference, strengthened by eighty-seven semi-circular bastions, from fifty to sixty feet high, built of blocks of granite. A moat fifty feet broad encircles the ramparts, and the interior of the stronghold is made up of four distinct forts, the highest of which is the *Bala Hissar*. This upper town is defended by enormous walls, in the construction of which the builders ingeniously utilized the natural defences, consisting of great granite boulders, which they connected by means of strong masonry. The granaries, cisterns, and armoury inside the ramparts were all planned with great engineering skill, so that the supplies of the city were ensured in case of siege.

The celebrated diamond mines, always associated with Golconda, were not situated in the vicinity of the city but in the valley of the Kistna river. The Kallur or Kollur mine in this district is believed to have been the place of origin both of the *Koh-i-Noor* and the *Nizam* diamonds. The area is not completely exhausted, for after rains diamonds are still occasionally discovered by the villagers. In 1890 an attempt was made by the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company to reopen one of the mines, but although some stones were obtained, it was apparent that the old pit was nearly worked out, and the financial results were too meagre to justify the continuation of the experiment. The famous French merchant Tavernier, who visited Golconda in the middle of the seventeenth century, inspected Kallur mine. He stated that the first time he was at the mine he noticed more than "sixty thousand persons at work, men, women, and children; the men being employed to dig, the women and children to carry the earth."

On the road between Golconda and Hyderabad are the ruins of the mart where the diamond merchants carried on their profitable business which contributed greatly to the wealth of Golconda.

Close to Golconda Fort are the Tombs of Golconda, charmingly situated in well-tended gardens. In addition to the magnificent mausolea of the Qutb Shahi kings there are many fine monuments which mark the graves of their courtiers. The plan of the tombs of the early rulers consisted of a square or octagonal base, surmounted by a dome. As the wealth and power of the rulers increased, the designs of their mausolea grew in proportion, and terraces and rich ornamentation are conspicuous features of the



later monuments. Originally, the domes were covered with enamelled tiles, and portions of this brilliant decoration still remain on surfaces which have been protected from weathering.

Figs. 4 and 5 illustrate the plans on which the early tombs at Golconda were constructed. The octagonal design of the tomb of Jamshed Qutb Shah is particularly graceful and less usual than the square base which is a feature of the majority of the mausolea.

Six miles north-east of Hyderabad is Secunderabad, one of the most important military cantonments in India, and the headquarters of H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway.

In 1928 a new section of the railway was opened between Kazipet, eighty miles east of Secunderabad, and Balharshah on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. This route effects an economy of three hundred and ninety miles on the railway journey from Madras to Delhi, and, by means of this important link in the great railway chain of India, Delhi can now be reached from Hyderabad City in about thirty-seven hours. Moreover, the grain traffic from the Cawnpore area is now carried to Southern India by this route.

Close to Kazipet Junction is the ancient capital of Warangal, mentioned by the thirteenth-century traveller Marco Polo as a place noted for its "delicate buckrams," so fine that they resembled the "tissue of spider's web." The name Warangal is probably a corrupt form of Orukkal, the original designation of the town, meaning "One Rock," and the city has been identified by some authorities with Ptolemy's Korunkula. The fort was built in the thirteenth century by the independent Rajah of Warangal, Ganpati Deva, who married a Yadava princess, Rudramma Devi. According to Marco Polo, after the death of her husband, this lady administered the realm quite as well as he did, if not better. She continued the magnificent building schemes of Ganpati. These included a large temple which, had it been completed, would have been one of the grandest structures in the Deccan. The great gateways are still standing, and Fergusson called them lineal descendants of those at Sanchi, built in the first century after Christ. The Warangal gates face the four points of the compass, and, like the gates at Sanchi, appear to have been inspired by wooden models. They bear the heraldic device of the Rajahs of Warangal, a bird with upturned tail, while another insignia of the Rajahs—namely, the *Gandabrhunda*, a double-headed monster with elephants in beaks and claws—also features on many buildings in this ancient capital.

The Kakatya dynasty possessed the knack of blending strength and beauty and was responsible for some of the finest temples in what is now Hyderabad State. Such a shrine is the Thousand-Pillared Temple at Hanamkonda, in the immediate vicinity of



Warangal. The main block dates from the year 1162, and near one of the entrances is a pillar with a long inscription which has furnished much valuable information about the rulers of Warangal. The temple was dedicated to Siva, Vishnu, and Surya, and there are grand carvings of these deities over their respective shrines. The pierced stone screens are wonderfully delicate, and the pillars and lintels, although of black basalt, one of the hardest stones, are covered with finely detailed sculpture.

Forty miles north-west of Hanamkonda, at the remote village of Palampet, is another great temple dating from the days of Rajah Ganpati. It was built by a general in the service of this king, and although now situated in the heart of the jungle must have been once the centre of great religious activity. Until a few years since the temple was almost unknown, but now, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Yazdani, this temple and the others in its vicinity are being carefully preserved. The construction of a motor road has also made them easily accessible from Kazipet and Warangal.

The main temple of the Palampet group is covered both internally and externally with a wonderful profusion of sculpture. In the interior, in front of the shrine, and marked off by four pillars embellished with lifelike figures of dancers, there is an open space intended for musicians and singers. The sculptors reproduced the rhythmic swing of the performers so realistically that the statues give an uncanny idea of movement. There is a joyousness about these decorations which is unforgettable. The noted incident of Krishna coquetting with the lovesick maidens whose garments he stole when they were bathing is illustrated with intense vitality, and the same frolicsome god is to be seen in every section of the temple, playing on his magic flute. Even Siva's son, Ganesa, with fat body and elephant head is depicted in the full frenzy of the dance. On the exterior of the temple, under the eaves, there are brackets consisting of female figures in pairs, probably representations of temple dancing girls, *devadasis*.

On the metre gauge as well as on the broad gauge of H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway there are many places of historical and artistic interest, the majority of those on the metre gauge being located between Secunderabad and Manmad, the junction of the Hyderabad and Great Indian Peninsular Railways.

Nander, almost midway between Secunderabad and Manmad, is a place of great sanctity to the Sikhs. It was in the vicinity of Nander that Govind, the tenth Sikh *guru*, was assassinated in 1708. In Govind's memory, a magnificent temple had been erected at Nander, and is visited by Sikh pilgrims from all parts of India. Govind, the real founder of Sikh military power, formed his followers into a well-disciplined military body, and the Sikhs, with



their unsheathed swords, make impressive guardians of his tomb, which is situated in the centre of Nander temple. The shrine is shut off, by means of magnificent silver doors, from the remainder of the building. The Sikh scriptures, swathed in silken scarves, repose on costly cushions, and during the evening service, which Europeans are permitted to attend if they are accompanied by a Sikh guide, the silver doors are thrown open. Then the tomb of the *guru* is revealed, covered with and surrounded by hundreds of weapons with shining blades. The performance of the musicians on stringed drums and hand drums is very harmonious, and the chants which they sing are most soothing. The walls and pillars of the temple are decorated with marble mosaic, which, unlike much similar ornamentation in Northern India, is in perfect condition, thanks to a staff of mosaic workers maintained for the express purpose of repairing and adding to the art work of the temple.

About a hundred and fifty miles from Nander is Aurangabad, at which station motor conveyances for Ellora and Ajanta are obtainable. Aurangabad is a city with a great past, and many of its fine buildings date from the days when Aurangzib, as Viceroy of the Deccan, selected it as his headquarters. The future Emperor was in residence at Aurangabad from 1653 to 1658 during the reign of Shahjahan. The mausoleum which Aurangzib built over his wife's grave is a most artistic though small replica of the *Taj Mahal*. The *Bibi Mukbara*, as the Aurangabad monument is called, has a beautiful marble cupola and trellis work, while finely executed and very decorative scrolls and wreaths in stucco take the place of the jewelled ornamentation of the *Taj Mahal*.

The next station to Aurangabad is Daulatabad, once the old Hindu capital of Devgarh, or Deogiri. The Hindu name was altered by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak when he decided to punish the citizens of Delhi by ruining their city and removing his capital to Daulatabad. The African traveller, Ibn Batuta, who was in the Sultan's service from about 1341 to 1347, gave a lurid description of the manner in which, about 1327, the Sultan had depopulated Delhi at three days' notice.

"The greater part of the inhabitants departed, but some hid themselves in the houses. The Sultan ordered a rigorous search to be made for any that remained. His slaves found two men in the street; one was paralysed and the other blind. They were brought before the sovereign, who ordered the paralytic to be shot . . . and the blind man to be dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad, a journey of forty days' distance. The poor wretch fell in pieces during the journey and only one of his legs reached Daulatabad."

According to Firishta, in 1340 the population of Delhi was removed to Daulatabad for a second time.

During the absence of the Sultan in the north of India the Muhammadan governors of the Deccan Provinces revolted, and Daulatabad was annexed in 1347 by Zafar Khan, an officer of Muhammad bin Tughlak. In the same year Zafar Khan proclaimed his independence and founded the Bahmani dynasty, assuming the title of Sultan Ala-ud-din I. The story that he adopted the appellation of Bahman because he had been in the service of a Brahman has been rejected by Dr. Vincent Smith and other noted historians. His choice of the designation Bahmani was more probably due to the fact that he claimed descent from the early Persian king Artaxerxes, identified with Ahasuerus mentioned in the Book of Esther.

Daulatabad remained in the possession of the Bahmani Shahs until it was captured by the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar. In 1633 Daulatabad was taken by the forces of Shahjahan and continued to be a Mughal possession until it was incorporated in the dominions of the first Nizam. Owing to its height, and to the scarpd rock on which it was perched, Daulatabad was one of the most important strongholds on the road from North to South India.

A striking monument is the *Chand Minar*, the Pillar of Victory, erected at Daulatabad by Ala-ud-din Bahmani to commemorate his capture of the fort. Originally the whole column, which in shape shows distinct Persian influence, was covered with glazed Persian tiles, of which sufficient remain to render the monument unforgettable.

Close to Aurangabad and Daulatabad and on the way to the Caves of Ellora is Rauza Khuldabad. *Khuld*, meaning "Paradise," was an allusion to Aurangzib's posthumous title, *Khuld-makan*, "He whose abode is in Paradise." Only the embalmed body of the great Emperor, "The Mughal Puritan," as Aurangzib has been called, was laid to rest at Khuldabad; his viscera were interred at Ahmadnagar, where he died. According to the terms of Aurangzib's will, his shroud was to be purchased with the small sum he had earned by quilting caps, while three hundred and five rupees, the amount he had received for copying the Koran, were to be distributed among needy holy men. In accordance with Aurangzib's desires his tomb is very plain, consisting of a simple slab of polished red stone on a platform open to the sky. Recently H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have restored the grave adhering to the original quiet design, and have replaced a modern wooden enclosure which was out of keeping by a beautiful and very dignified marble screen.

The Caves of Ellora are within walking distance of Khuldabad,



and are excavated in the scarp of a large plateau extending north and south for about a mile and a quarter. They are amongst the finest cave temples in the world and comprise Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jain religious retreats. The majority, it is believed, were excavated from the fifth to the seventh centuries A.D., while some may have been fashioned later. The cave-cutters never selected natural caverns for fear of landslides, but scooped their shrines out of the solid rock so as to avoid all risk of collapse either during or after the process of excavation. Their chief, possibly their only tools, were pickaxes for the heavy labour and chisels for the sculptured adornments, so that their tasks were indeed Herculean. The oldest Buddhist Caves at Ellora date from about A.D. 450 to 550. They were the earliest to be excavated on this site, which is thought to have been a *tirth*, or place of pilgrimage, for devotees of all sects, since the morning of time. The Buddhist Caves at Ellora, twelve in number, range from the simple *vihara*, or monastery, to the elaborate *chaitya*, or cathedral.

Cave X., a great Buddhist cathedral, is a magnificent piece of work, with twenty-eight octagonal pillars separating the middle from the side aisles which extend to the back of the apse, enabling the worshippers to circumambulate the central section while engaged in religious contemplation. The far end is filled with a huge *daghoba*—or altar—an imitation reliquary mound modelled on the monument constructed over the remains of Buddha. On the front of the *daghoba* is a colossal seated figure of Buddha, nearly eleven feet in height, and the frieze contains many fine statues of Buddha with attendants. This temple, known as the *Visvakarma*, or Carpenters' Cave, is visited by this special category of workmen, who worship Buddha as Visvakarma, the patron of their craft. The cave was probably used originally as a guild-hall for the artisans engaged upon the excavations of Ellora, and the chain linking the past with the present is unbroken in this cathedral. The arched roof, carved in imitation of wooden ribs, is a reminder that before the cave-cutters had gained confidence in the staying power of rock they lined their ceilings with wooden supports. Later they simply reproduced the ribbing in the rock itself.

The finest of the Brahmanical Caves is the *Kailasa*, or *Rang Mahal*, created out of a mountain to celebrate the conquests of Krishna I., the Rashtrakuta monarch who became overlord of the whole Chalukyan territory. The cutters began to fashion this temple about A.D. 760, and instead of excavating horizontally they attacked the rock vertically, digging out a pit fifty to a hundred feet deep, two hundred and fifty feet long, and a hundred and sixty feet wide. The enormous mass of rock left in the centre was then transformed with amazing skill into a large double-

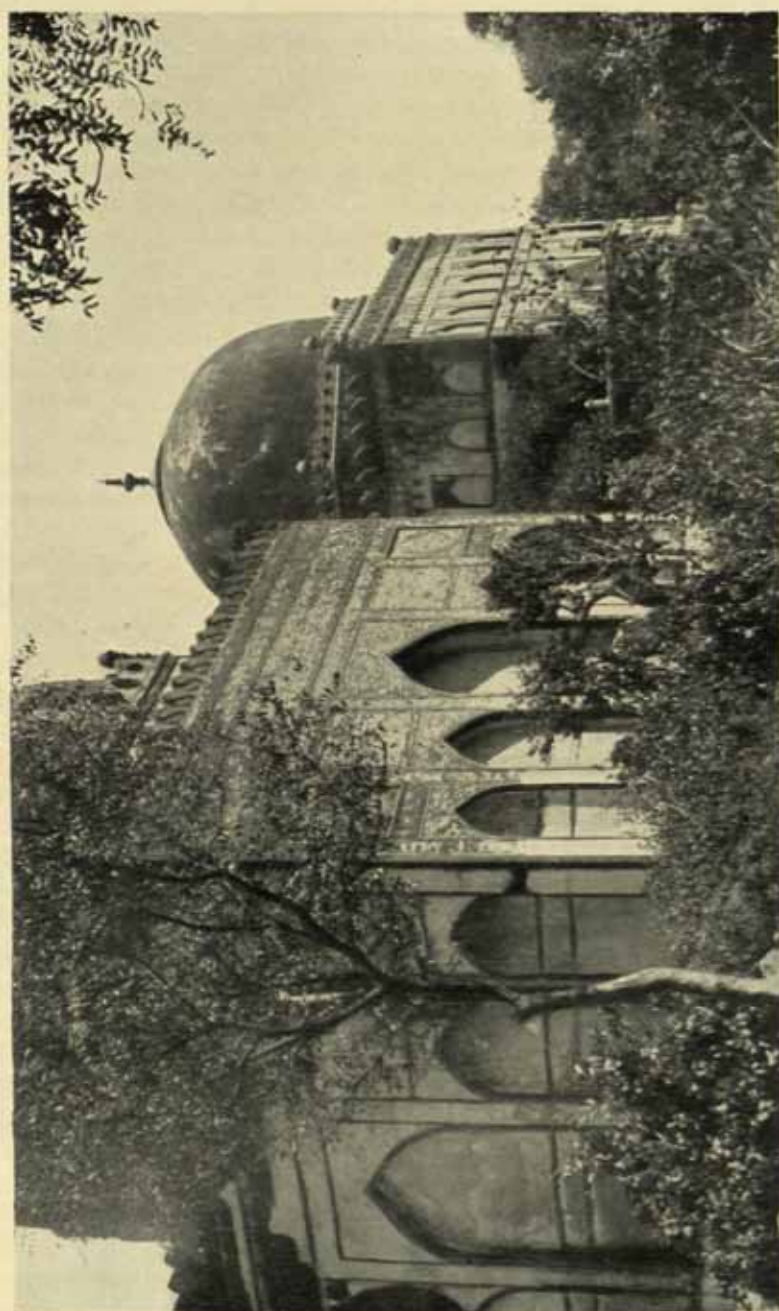


FIG. I.—TOMBS OF THE BAHMANI SHAHS, BIDAR.

Hyderabad State as a Tourist Resort.

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PLATE II.

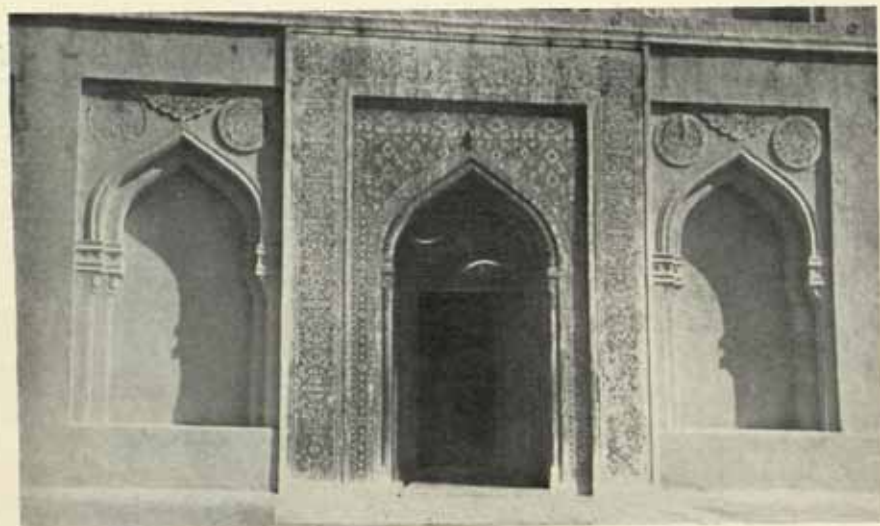


FIG. 2.—ENTRANCE TO THE SHRINE OF KWAJA ABDUL FAIZ, BIDAR.

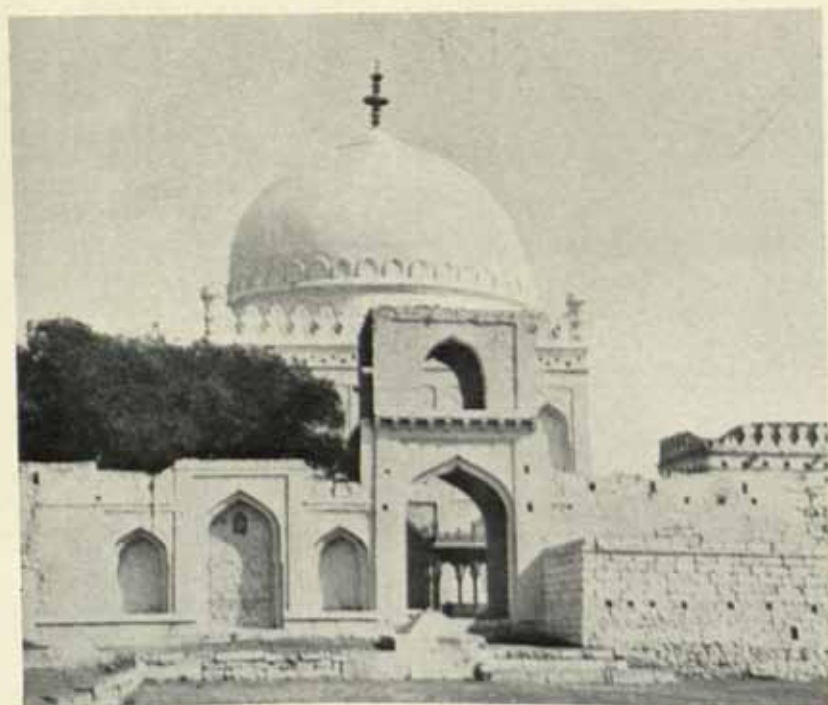


FIG. 3.—TYPICAL MUSLIM SHRINE, BIDAR.



FIG. 4.—A ROYAL TOMB AT GOLCONDA.





FIG. 5.—TOMB OF JAMSHED, SECOND SULTAN OF THE QULB SHAHI DYNASTY (A.D. 1543-1550).

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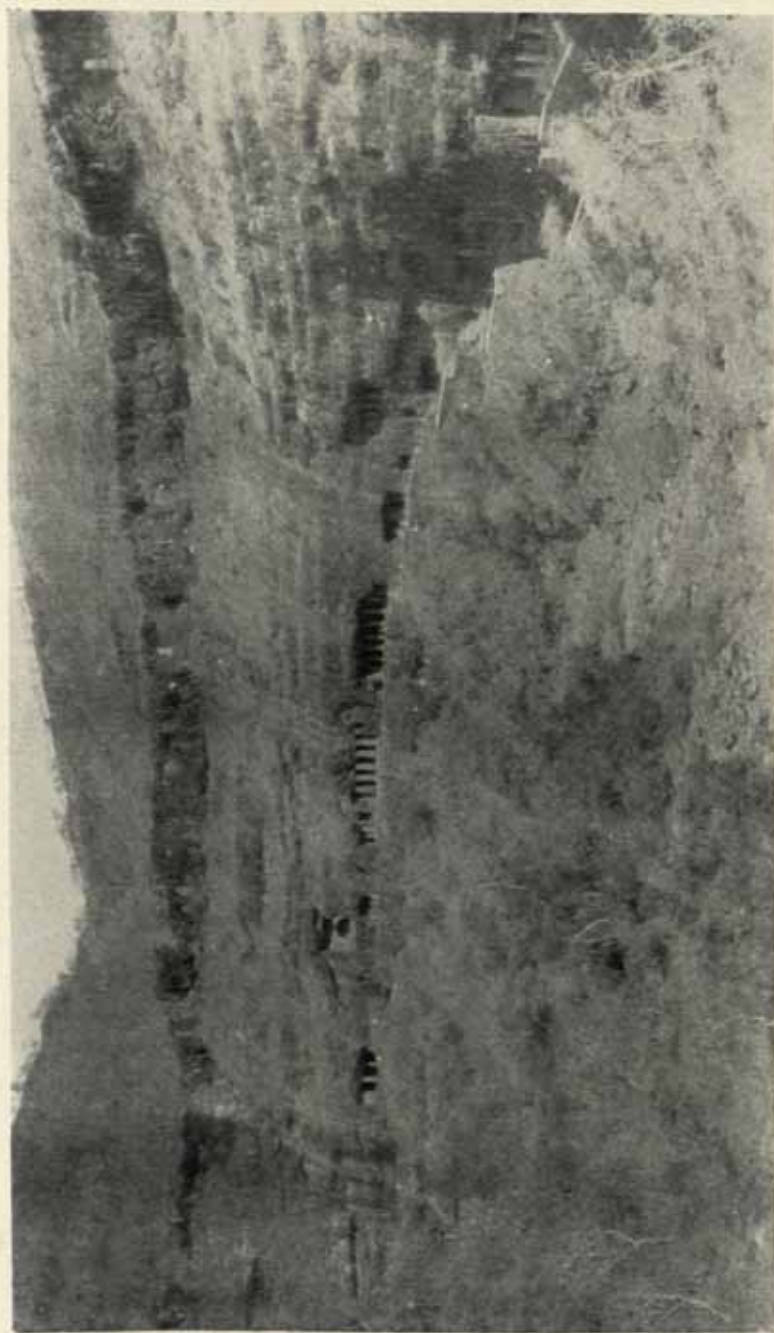


FIG. 6.—GENERAL VIEW OF AJANTA GORGE.

Hyderabad State as a Tourist Resort.

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PLATE VI.



FIG. 7.—THE OFFERING OF THE HANDFUL OF DUST ON THE EXTERIOR OF CAVE XVII.

storied temple, almost identical in appearance with the great structural temple of Pattadakal, in the Badami district. As Badami was Krishna's capital, it was quite reasonable that he should select as model the temple of Virupaksha at Pattadakal, one of the finest in his dominions. The *Kailasa* is considerably larger than the Pattadakal cathedral, and originally the finished surface of the walls was covered with white plaster, which in many parts served as a background for frescoes. On three sides the Ellora cathedral is surrounded by cloisters and halls hewn out of the walls of the pit. Their mysterious depths throw into relief the shining magnificence of the central shrine. The entire Puranic pantheon is illustrated in the *Kailasa*, which is symbolic of Siva's Himalayan paradise. In the courtyard, on either side of the pavilion of Siva's sacred bull, are two great pillars, or ensign staffs, nearly fifty feet in height, with remains of Siva's three-pronged symbol, the *trisular*, on top. Two huge elephants stand at the north and south ends of the courtyard and the base of the temple is embellished with a wonderful frieze in which elephants and lions are conspicuous.

The *Kailasa* is so spectacular, such a masterpiece of inventive genius, that it overshadows the many other Ellora Caves which are also deserving of prolonged study.

The Jain Caves are on the northern side of the torrent which was so important a feature of Ellora as a place of pilgrimage. These temples contain many statues of the Jain saints or *tirthankaras*. One of these excavations is known as the *Chhota Kailasa*, or "Little Kailasa," and is a free-standing monolithic shrine, modelled on a small scale after the great Brahmanical temple of the same name. This small *Kailasa* is situated in a pit measuring eighty by a hundred and thirty feet, and it is probable that it was fashioned about the same time as the great cathedral of which it is to a certain extent a replica, although some of the carving of the *Chhota Kailasa* is of a later period.

The Caves of Ajanta, which are now easily reached by car from Aurangabad Station, are situated in the wild ravine of Lenapur.

Fig. 6 gives a good idea of the perpendicular rock in which the Ajanta Caves have been excavated. The scarp rises about 250 feet in height in a semicircle. The trap hills covered with brushwood jungle slope down to the plains of Kandesh.

All the excavations are Buddhist and date from the second century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. The earliest caves, therefore, are far older than any of the Ellora excavations, and as a whole the Ajanta Caves illustrate in a manner that is unique the development in India of Buddhist architecture, sculpture, and painting.

It is exceedingly interesting to compare the earliest caves, which



are almost devoid of carving, with Cave XXVI., for example, where every available wall space is covered with sculpture. It was probably in the second century A.D. that the *Mahayana* Buddhists began to influence the design of the caves, and to introduce sculpture and painting. As the *Mahayana* Buddhists increased in power, the ideals of the austere *Hinayana* Buddhists were superseded and all prejudice against images of Buddha disappeared. In Cave IX., dating from about 100 B.C., the façade shows the effects of wooden models. As though they were wooden columns, the pillars slope inwards from bottom to top to resist the thrust of the roof, and the door jambs follow these lines. In the later caves all traces of wooden originals are eliminated, for the makers had become completely rock-minded and thoroughly acquainted with the medium in which they worked and its possibilities. In Cave X., another early *chaitya*, dating from a little later period than the *chaitya* Cave IX., the *daghoba* is devoid of all ornament, whereas in Cave XXVI., completed in the seventh century of our era, the *daghoba* is a gallery of images of Buddha of various sizes. In this cave there is a wonderfully vital representation of the temptation of Buddha by Mara and Mara's daughters. The figure of Buddha is full of dramatic dignity. Seated under the tree of enlightenment, he repels with his right hand the advances of the tempter. Nearby is the last scene in the existence of Buddha on earth. He is depicted as entering *Nirvana* at the conclusion of the cycle of his incarnations. The recumbent figure of the great teacher who is about to merge with the divine spirit of eternity is over twenty-eight feet in length, his face is turned towards the north, and the statue suggests profoundest peace, a peace which cannot be ruffled by any mundane storm and stress.

The sculpture in Fig. 7 is believed to represent the child who, inspired by a desire to offer some gift to Buddha, presented his only toy—the dust with which he had been playing. The great teacher, realizing the unselfish devotion which the present implied, greatly valued the little one's humble donation.

Besides sculpture, painting played a very important part in the decoration of the Ajanta Caves. The oldest frescoes are thought to date from the second century A.D., the latest were not executed probably until the seventh century. The remains of the frescoes are sufficient to form an artistic heritage of supreme importance, and the Hyderabad Government have gone to vast trouble and expense to preserve these priceless art works. Indeed, it was primarily for the purpose of conserving these great cave temples that the Hyderabad Archaeological Department was founded. This department has received valuable support and encouragement from His Exalted Highness the Nizam and from Sir Akbar

Hydari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. It was at Sir Akbar Hydari's suggestion that the caves were surveyed by the greatest European archaeologists. These experts made recommendations in connection with the preservation of the frescoes and also with relation to the publication by the Hyderabad Government of a monumental work in which these wonderful art treasures are described. The volumes, profusely illustrated with coloured reproductions of the paintings, are a magnificent permanent record of the Ajanta Caves.

Lady Herringham's valuable book on the Ajanta Frescoes, produced by the India Society, is now out of print, but the originals of her illustrations are exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, together with copies of the frescoes made in the nineteenth century by Major Gill and Mr. Griffiths.

The cave paintings illustrate incidents in the incarnations of Buddha, and are as important in the history of Indian art as the work of the greatest Italian masters in the study of European painting. Among the most remarkable studies is one of Buddha in Cave I. Professor Lorenzo Cecconi wrote of this figure :

"In Cave I. the colossal figure of Buddha, which is nearly immune from varnish, evinces a surprising portrayal of art on account of its pictorial qualities; this painting in its grand outlines recalls to memory the figures of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel; while the clearness of the colour of the flesh, so true to nature, and the transparency of the shadows, are very like those of Correggio. The design and expression of the face are exceptionally surprising, the breadth of the technique, the interpretation of the shape of the hand made to realistic perfection, permit of a comparison with the two great artists of the Italian Renaissance."

In the foregoing pages, owing to limitations of space, reference has been made to only a few of the show places in Hyderabad State. There are many other monuments of supreme interest which merit a visit and are now easily accessible by rail or motor. Indeed, no part of India is more deserving of the attention of travellers than the dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.



## CHINA'S STAYING POWER

BY C. KUANGSON YOUNG

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Shanghai.)

Hsuehchow has fallen.

In a crisp tone an official Chinese communiqué announced the fall:

"Having held in check for four months the advance of the Japanese forces on the Tsin-pu Railway, the Chinese troops have received orders to evacuate the city of Hsuehchow in the night of 19th (May), in order to avoid sacrifices that serve no useful purpose; this evacuation permits the Chinese troops to maintain their method of fighting which has been so far followed with success in this war of attrition. The abandoning of the city of Hsuehchow does not change in any way the attitude of China to prolong her resistance."

This is the third city of great importance that has, since the beginning of hostilities, passed into the hands of the Japanese Army after a protracted struggle.

First, in November last, the commercial metropolis of Shanghai. Second, the modern capital, Nanking. Now the junction city of the two principal railways of the country, the Tientsin-Pukow and the Lungsin-Yuhai.

A year will have passed on July 7 since Japan began her "China incident" at Loukouchiau. The military ledger has shown a debit balance against China. The wonder to the world is, however, that the ledger has not shown an even larger debit. Far from being on her knees, China has been revitalized by a new unity of purpose and solidarity in action. Her people consider that the struggle has just begun. They are ready to concede their military inferiority. They are ready to concede the possible fall of other cities of importance. They refuse to concede, however, that they are beaten, that they will ever be beaten.

"The abandoning of Hsuehchow does not change in any way the attitude of China to prolong her resistance." A similar declaration to this was made by the Chinese Government when Shanghai fell, when Nanking fell. Such would be the declaration even if Hankow should fall.

Throughout the country manifests a philosophic but steely determination that this war of life and death must be fought to the bitter end. And it is the general conviction among the leaders

and the led alike that when the bitter end comes it is China that will emerge the victor. Not a victor that will march her troops through Tokyo, with bands playing and flags flying, but a victor that will be near exhaustion, with her adversary already exhausted. For she believes in her endurance, staying power.

Staying power—human, territorial, and financial. Put China and Japan together. Analyze them generally and statistically. And one cannot but feel a reasonable measure of confidence, of cautious optimism.

The conflict between Japan and China is unavoidable. It is unavoidable because of the existence of two forces diametrically opposed to each other. On the one side there is Japan under the control of a military party which is bent on expansion on the continent of Asia at the expense of China. On the other one finds China growingly nationhood-conscious since the establishment of the National Government under the Kuomintang in Nanking in 1927. Propagating the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic—nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood—the Kuomintang has succeeded in instilling in the people a deep sense of defensive nationalism and political unity.

When the first Sino-Japanese war was fought more than forty years ago, Japan fought in reality against only a small section of the country. When the present Sino-Japanese war began in 1931, Japan had to face an entire country under a National Government, although in its infancy. During the seven years of 1931-1938, Sino-Japanese relations were interspersed with military operations, suspended hostilities, political tension, attempted rapprochement. These same seven years have seen the Chinese Government growing in authority, the Chinese nation growing in unity, and the Chinese national defence forces growing in efficacy.

It is this growing authority, this growing unity, this growing efficacy that have enabled Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to throw the entire weight, without hearing a dissenting voice from any quarter of importance in the country, of a population of 475,000,000 and a continent of 4,278,000 square miles in a struggle for a national existence against that of a population of 95,000,000 and an island empire of 260,000 square miles, all possessions included.

China's human power is almost inexhaustible.

Four months after the fall of Nanking in December, China was able to inflict the first serious defeat known in the modern military annals of Japan. Forty-two thousand of a Japanese army of 65,000 perished in the debacle of Taierchwang at the beginning of April.

Since then, with considerable reinforcements, the Japanese armies from North China and the Yangtse Delta have been advancing. At their disposal is the most modern equipment for



destruction and death, but the Chinese defenders have held on. When forced to retreat, they retreated only to resist another day. Their morale has remained excellent, their determination unchanged. For the first time in China's history one sees unmistakable evidence that her teeming millions have found a director and organizer.

China's human power has found direction and organization at this crucial moment in the soldier-statesman Chiang Kai-shek.

China has created a new army. Mobile units cut up the occupied areas. At the beginning of May they reached the walls of Peiping and Nanking. A new force radiated, so to speak, from Hankow, which pierced through and reached miles behind the Japanese lines.

China's new army is growing daily. It is replenished with recruits from the interior provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Hunan, Szechwan, and elsewhere. Several millions are undergoing the various stages of training, and in another year 10,000,000 men, trained and adequately armed, will have found their way to the fronts. If the struggle continues, another 10,000,000 men will be going forward to fill the gaps left by the fallen.

A million Japanese soldiers are now on Chinese soil. Four hundred thousand are being kept in Manchuria. Japanese casualties are estimated to be already over 100,000. How long can Japan stand the drain on her human power?

China's space is a favourable factor.

Japan's hold on the so-called occupied areas is precarious. True it is that many large cities are within their military control. The Shanghai-Nanking railway, the Tientsin-Pukow railway, the Peiping-Mukden railway have passed into their hands. But these are only dots and lines in an ocean of a hostile population and of untractable mobile units. The farthest points the Japanese have reached are some 250 miles from the coast. Roughly 1,000 miles separate Japan's vanguard from the new capital, Chungking. When one stretches out a map of China in front of him he will see that Chungking is almost in the middle of the country.

The Shanghai correspondent of the London *Times* had the following to say in his dispatch describing his journey from Nanking to Hankow, published on May 31: "The success with which the Chinese keep them (the Kowloon-Canton and the Canton-Hankow railways) running in the face of all attacks is instructive as much for the spirit it reveals as the resource it requires. The journey between Canton and Hankow is a useful reminder also of the unconquerable vastness of the country which an invader is trying to subjugate."

Time is another factor that works in favour of China, as her financial and economic endurance is likely to outlast that of Japan.

Japan is an industrialized nation. Her economic life depends upon the normal functioning of her industries. Her industries depend largely upon the import of raw materials. The purchase of foreign raw materials depends upon the maintenance of exports. A weak link in the chain will bring about a disastrous breakdown that will disorganize the economic life of the people as a whole.

Even a casual study of Japan's export trade gives a rather disquieting future. That was why Koki Hirota, then Japan's Foreign Minister, found it necessary to warn the Japanese people on May 7 that the prospects were not bright. He said: "In the present circumstances Japan must be ready to make enormous sacrifices in human lives as well as in financial resources."

Japan's export trade has certain outstanding characteristics. Firstly, it is concentrated on a few main lines of commodities, such as cotton goods, silk goods, and artificial silk. In 1936 they constituted almost 59 per cent. of Japan's total exports. Secondly, it is concentrated upon a few big buyer countries, such as the British Empire and America, which during the same year of 1936 took more than 50 per cent. of Japan's total exports. France, the Netherlands, and China took about 15 per cent. more. Thirdly, a greater part of Japan's export trade is composed of manufactured goods, including a very small percentage of semi-finished products. These are produced by highly developed industries, sensitive to extraordinary conditions, such as those which now exist as a result of the war.

Japan's exports have never been able to cover her imports. In 1936 her adverse trade balance was 70,000,000 yen, which rose to 700,000,000 for the first six months of 1937. The situation could not have become better, but must have grown worse since hostilities began.

It is evident that this state of affairs cannot be indefinitely prolonged. The situation is all the more serious as Japan has a limited gold reserve to draw upon. At the end of August, 1937, after the revaluation, Japan's gold reserve amounted to 800,000,000 yen. In other words, it had at that time only 100,000,000 more than her adverse trade balance.

It would not be a fair picture if the item of invisible exports were not mentioned, such as her shipping services. These invisible receipts help to a certain extent to pay for her imports. They are, however, far from being adequate. During the first seven months of 1937, Japan was compelled to export 400,000,000 yen of gold. These shipments took place before the revaluation of gold in August of that year, and they were nearly equal to the total gold reserve Japan actually held at that time. Since last August figures for gold exports and gold reserves have not been made public.



The last available estimate as issued by the Japanese Cabinet Statistics Bureau puts Japan's credit balance of foreign investments or foreign assets at her disposal at 191,000,000 yen for 1930. Between then and 1937, if the amount were doubled—which is doubtful—the total foreign credit balance would be about 380,000,000 yen. This would be only enough to cover 55 per cent. of her adverse trade balance for the first half of 1937.

Therefore the huge expenditure required by war has to be met by increasing taxation and borrowing. How long will the Japanese people stand the burden if they realize that there is little prospect of ending the profitless struggles in China?

Until the so-called "reconstruction" of the Japanese Cabinet at the end of May—a "reconstruction" that has, in fact, created a military dictatorship disguised in customary constitutional paraphernalia—officially Japan had always regarded the Sino-Japanese conflict as merely an "incident." For ten months Japan had under-estimated the military strength and the financial staying power of China. Throughout these months, characterized by suffering and gallantry, China had been cautious, diffident, determined, preferring to over-estimate the prowess of the invaders.

The disappointment in the failure of their armies to fulfil their claim of a walk-over in China must have considerably affected the morale of the Japanese people. The "incident" they thought would end in three months will now soon have its anniversary, and the end is not yet in sight. Much as it is a struggle of military forces on the battle fronts, it has now become a test of endurance.

China's financial and economic staying power cannot be calculated on the basis of hard and cold figures of her foreign trade balance, war loans, taxation, or currency reserves. It must be felt through the understanding of general but consequential realities.

First and foremost, China is an agricultural country. Economic interdependence of the various regions exists in a rather negligible degree. There is individual, district, and sectional self-sufficiency. The stress of war has not affected to any appreciable extent the economic life of territories outside the actual theatre of hostilities. North China and the Yangtse Delta may have been overrun by the invaders; 30,000,000 people may have been deprived of their homes; trade, both domestic and international, may have been dislocated; Customs receipts, which have formed the principal part of the Government revenue, may have dwindled; but the economic life of the persevering, toiling, and the low-standard-of-living Chinese masses goes on unaffected in the areas behind the front. They are self-sufficient. The soil they till supports communities that are self-sufficient. These self-sufficient entities, now all united, politically, in one common cause, are the foundation on which rises China's war financial and economic structure.

Added to this divisible self-sufficiency is concentrated preparedness since the invasion of Manchuria. Almost three years ago the Minister of Finance, Dr. H. H. Kung (who has since January of this year become concurrently the Prime Minister of the "War Cabinet"), introduced measures of currency reform and silver nationalization. These are the measures that are responsible for China's present financial stability—the backbone of her present military resistance. Without these measures her military operations might have been humiliatingly compromised by her financial chaos.

The nationalization of silver has enabled the Chinese Government to have within its control, both abroad and at home, huge stocks of silver which have kept China's financial Maginot Line intact. It is quite well realized that a breach in the financial front will result in the collapse of the military.

It is a remarkable fact that the Chinese Government has not imposed new taxation to finance the war. During the first stage of hostilities a Liberty Loan of 500,000,000 Chinese dollars was issued and fully subscribed to. One hundred and fifty million dollars came from the hundreds of overseas Chinese who live in Johannesburg, Singapore, London, New York, or elsewhere. Recently the Government has issued a second War Loan, which is composed of 500,000,000 Chinese dollars, 100,000,000 Customs gold units, 50,000,000 U.S. dollars, 10,000,000 pounds sterling. The adoption of foreign currency is intended to facilitate subscriptions by overseas Chinese.

With a view to reinforcing China's financial and economic structure, the following measures are being taken by the Government:

1. Development of the nation's industries in the interior provinces to meet China's wartime needs.
2. Increase of exports to maintain the present currency stability.
3. Exhaustive study of China's natural resources, agricultural, industrial, and transport conditions in the interior provinces of Szechuan, Kweichow, Yunnan, Kuangsi, Hunan, and Shensi.
4. Establishment of textile factories, paper mills, and modern sugar refineries in the province of Szechuan.
5. Establishment of factories for the manufacture of radio, telephone, and telegraph equipment.
6. Erection of factories for the repair of locomotives.
7. Extension of railway systems into the present inaccessible districts in the interior.
8. Construction of railway to link the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Kuangsi.

As already emphasized elsewhere, China's hinterland is almost limitless. While Japan's armies may try to roll up 200 miles of



the map of China from the coast, there are 2,000 miles behind that front in which China can shift her industries and develop and co-ordinate the economic life of her people, so that she will remain a formidable continental country. The Japanese Navy may blockade China's front door, but she already has opened three back doors—one to the U.S.S.R., another to Burma, and yet another to Indo-China—back doors that may eventually become, of necessity, the front.

On the one hand, one must realize the immensity of the task of political, financial, and economic reconstruction the Chinese Government must face, but one must also realize, on the other, the immensity of China's staying power—human, territorial, and financial. It is with this immensity of staying power China expects to wear down her adversary.

## SHOULD THE CHINESE LANGUAGE BE LATINIZED?

THE Latinization of the Chinese language, a question which has been dormant for many years on account of political reasons, has again come to the forefront. Since the commencement of the hostilities a need has been felt for a quick medium of making the Chinese masses literate. To test its practicability its sponsors are publishing several periodicals in that so-called "new Chinese language."

In brief, the new system aims to have nothing to do whatsoever with the pictographic and ideographic Chinese written language, and to bring into existence a new language based on alphabets instead of on monosyllabic characters.

Letters used in the Latinized Chinese language are twenty-eight in number. They are in this order: *a, b, c, ch, d, e, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ng, o, p, r, rh, s, sh, t, u, w, x, y, z, zh*. Only three of the twenty-six English alphabet letters are discarded—namely, *h, q, and v*—whereas five new combinations are added—namely, *ch, ng, rh, sh, and zh*.

The principle underlying this new attempt at revolutionizing the Chinese language is a simple one. One expresses his ideas in writing by alphabetic letters instead of by characters, each of which may be composed of as many as ten or fifteen strokes.

Sponsors of this new language movement have a number of points in their favour. The Chinese written or literary language, commonly known as *Wen Li*, today is only known to some 87,000,000 of China's 450,000,000 people, or roughly about 20 per cent. of her total population. In other words, 80 per cent. of the Chinese nation is illiterate, or "literally blind," as the Chinese puts it.

The Chinese written language is composed of 23,265 monosyllabic characters. Between 2,000 and 4,000 of them are in common use. One has to commit each of them to memory, both with regard to its sound, meaning, and the way it is written. This is certainly a none too easy task, and it requires a number of years of diligent application before it can be mastered.

On the other hand, in the case of the Latinized language, there are only twenty-eight letters. An experiment made in refugee camps in Shanghai shows that an adult of normal mental capacity learns how to read and write it within three weeks.

Then the Chinese written language, as a result of historical development, has come to such a stage that many of its characters



no longer coincide with the spoken language. This is not the case with the Latinized language.

Both of these factors account for the slow progress in the mass education movement in China. Sponsors of the Latinized Chinese language believe that they can wipe out illiteracy among the masses in a much shorter time by using the new system, which is so much simpler and easier to learn.

Furthermore, once Latinized, the Chinese language will be in a much better position to assimilate and absorb new scientific and technical terms than the Chinese written language, which, because of its strait-jacket nature, does not render itself easily to the acceptance of new words and phrases.

For many years engineers have been working on a Chinese typewriter. Their best production is a clumsy one in comparison with the English machine. It carries two boards of 5,000 characters, and the operator has to move a needle until he finds the character he wants and then he presses a lever. In that way one Chinese word is typewritten. A fast typist can type only 1,000 words per hour.

Now if the Chinese language is Latinized, a simpler typewriter similar to the one for English or French can be manufactured. This will revolutionize the Chinese printing and newspaper industries. For, if a handy typewriter can be built, Chinese linotypes will come as a matter of course.

However, there are some difficulties confronting the Latinized system. The Chinese spoken language, on which the Latinization must be based, is not a unified one. Disregarding dialects used in small areas, there are at least eight principal dialectical groups.

For instance, the northern Chinese speak a dialect commonly known as Mandarin. The people in Kwantung and Kwangsi speak a dialect all of their own. Then the people in East China, in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, use a different dialect. In the province of Fukien there are as many as twenty different dialects. A man speaking good Shanghai dialect would be hard put to make himself understood in Hankow.

That means the sponsors of the Latinized system will have to work out at least eight sets of dialectical versions in order to meet regional conditions and needs.

Another basic difficulty in the path of the Latinized language lies in the fact that the Chinese language, both written and spoken, has a great number of homophones. In the small *Commercial Press Chinese-English Dictionary* there are 113 characters all pronounced *li*, and, even if these are divided up with diacritical marks to distinguish them, there must still be considerable room for guesses.

The problem, however, is only a technical one; Chinese

characters are often used in groups. Thus the same character *li*, when used together with the character *tse*, means a pear. When it goes together with *mien*, it means inside. When it is used together with the character *hsin*, it means reason, and so forth. Therefore this problem may yet be solved upon further research.

For many years there was an official ban on the use of the Latinized Chinese language for several reasons. One reason was that it was contrary to the movement for the unification of the Chinese spoken language through the popularization of a modified form of Mandarin, otherwise known as *Kuo Yu*.

In this connection it may be of interest to mention that it was not a Chinese scholar, but a Russian savant, who started the idea of Latinizing the Chinese language. That was back between 1929 and 1931. Professor Dragunov worked out the twenty-eight-letter alphabet with research workers in the Academy of Science in Moscow and the Oriental Institute in Leningrad.

He experimented with the new system among the thousands of Chinese workers, especially the miners, in the Far Eastern provinces of the U.S.S.R. As most of these Chinese were from Shantung and spoke the same dialect, the question of diversified dialects did not exist. Today most of the Chinese in Soviet Russia can read and write in Latinized alphabets. They even have a daily paper called the *Workers' Way*.

The strongest reason against the Latinization of the Chinese language is not technical but political. There must be a number of reasons why the Chinese nation remains Chinese instead of having been divided into many countries. One of them, however, is the existence of a unified written language.

Further to strengthen this unity, the Chinese authorities have been working for the popularization of *Kuo Yu*. Today in all public schools throughout China all lessons are conducted in *Kuo Yu*. Therefore members of the rising generation will all be able to speak the national language when they grow up.

The Latinized language, on the other hand, has to be based on local dialects. Thus instead of promoting the unification of the Chinese spoken language, it tends to hinder this movement, which in the light of preserving China's national unity and culture is of the greatest importance.



## THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION BETWEEN AUSTRALIAN AND DUTCH NEW GUINEA

BY DR. W. C. KLEIN

AFTER having made elaborate enquiries into the administrative and economic development of Papua and the Mandated Territory the New Guinea Committee was in a position to inform the Dutch and Dutch East Indies public about progress in Australian New Guinea. Through their relations with that country and by perusing the Australian publications we are able to keep the Dutch public continually posted, also by means of the bimonthly periodical *New Guinea*, edited by the New Guinea Committee in co-operation with the New Guinea study circle. This periodical also brings the latest news and original articles about progress in Dutch New Guinea.

However, Australians cannot derive much information from this Dutch periodical, although we feel on the other hand that much of what happened on our side, especially in the last two years, would be of interest to Australians. Those who are desirous to know how the colonial problems in a Dutch tropical territory of Australian type, as Dutch New Guinea is, are solved by a colonial Government that can boast of a few centuries of experience, have no source of information at their disposal. We on the Dutch side, who started first the comparative studies between Dutch and Australian New Guinea, have realized in the last few years how interesting it is to compare the different ways in which one and the same problem (this can often be said, because both halves of New Guinea so much resemble each other) is tackled by two countries of quite different character. We feel sure that Australians will realize in the same way the interest and usefulness of comparative studies if they will only start them and make themselves familiar with the Dutch methods of approach and Dutch progress.

With the idea of promoting this the secretary of the New Guinea Committee has published some comparative studies in Australian papers. An article about imports, exports, and trade in both New Guineas has appeared through the kind intermediary of the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, and another article about aviation in both New Guineas will probably soon be published in another Australian periodical. This all tends to show that there is no lack of hospitality on the side of the Australian Press, and it follows from this that they also think that the Australian public

realizes the importance of studying the events on the other side of the boundary. The task of publishing and the whole management of such publications could be facilitated, however, by editing on the Dutch side a periodical in the English language, containing all the data and articles that we would otherwise offer to the Australian Press. This might in the long run be too heavy a burden for them. If we print everything on our side and supply the Australian papers with this information in a printed form the Australian public is reached just as well, but the New Guinea Committee can much more easily handle, select, and publish the information in such volume and at such a rate as may appear advisable. Moreover, we can then—and this is important—more easily reach other English-speaking countries. This does not mean that we will stop sending contributions to the Australian Press, but only that we will compile the gist of it in a new periodical, that might conveniently be entitled *Dutch New Guinea Bulletin*, and could start as a quarterly. The contributions would come from Dutch New Guinea, the Dutch East Indies, and Holland, and when this periodical is published at The Hague it can from this more central point be despatched easily to other foreign countries, where there is also much interest for our part of New Guinea.

We think that an exchange of experience between the two New Guineas could not be better served—in a printed form—than by the above-mentioned scheme, in which the Dutch New Guinea bimonthly paper supplies information about Australian facts and opinions in the Dutch language and wherein the *Dutch New Guinea Bulletin* offers quarterly information and articles to the foreign reader.

However, we may disclose here that the New Guinea Committee would be very pleased if the exchange of experience might in the long run lead to some form of co-operation, be it only semi-official, between the two countries. Such a co-operation could only be instituted at conferences, say, once in two years, where delegates of the two countries met. Of course the most suitable locality for such meetings would be in Australia or the Dutch East Indies, and in such an event the New Guinea Committee in Holland would only play a very minor rôle, if any at all; as a matter of fact the Committee would like to see, as far as practicable, the exchange of experience and the co-operation switched over from Australia proper and Holland to Australian New Guinea and the Dutch East Indies; as long as it has to serve as a link between the two interested parties it will, however, gladly fulfil its task. Perhaps the workers in tropical countries will never be able to spare enough time to run the periodicals required for the proposed exchange themselves. Any-



how, they could free themselves for conferences of a, say, biennial character. The development of this matter cannot be predicted, and it has to be left to the future how the above-sketched initiative and ideas would work out in practice. That a verbal exchange of opinions about administration, economic development, mission work, etc., is an extremely useful supplement to contact through the medium of periodicals goes without saying. Such exchanges of opinion are, of course, also much more popular and create a much more cordial co-operation than one that is only effected by printed documents or letters.

The New Guinea Committee has sent the sketch of the above scheme to various authorities, private bodies, and individuals, and will await their comments before taking further steps.



FIG. 1.—ELLORA, CAVE 4: THE INNER SHRINE.  
Late seventh century.



FIG. 2.—ELLORA, CAVE 4: THE VERANDAH, SHOWING AVALOKITESVARA.  
Late seventh century.





FIG. 3.—ELLORA, CAVE 10: A CHAITYA—THE BUDDHA IMAGE AND STUPA.  
Seventh century, A.D.



FIG. 4.—AJANTA, CAVE 26: THE BUDDHA IMAGE AND STUPA,  
Sixth century, A.D.



FIG. 5.—ELLORA, CAVE 31: GOMATA.



FIG. 6.—ELLORA, CAVE 31: MAHAVIRA AND INDRANI.



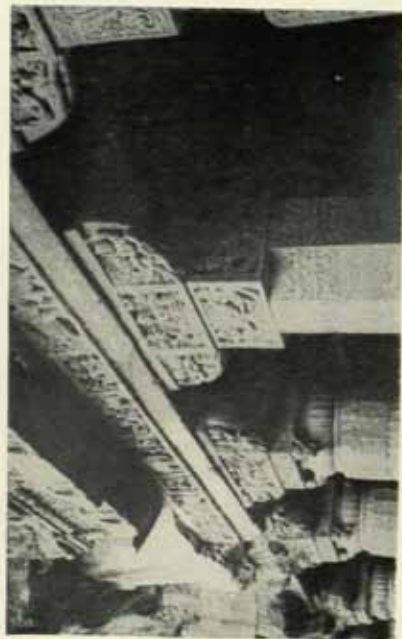


FIG. 8.—AJANTA, CAVE 1: CAPITALS.  
*Circa 600 A.D.*



FIG. 10.—DOOR LINTEL



FIG. 7.—AURANGABAD, CAVE 1: CAPITALS.  
*Circa 600 A.D.*



FIG. 9.—PEIPING: WOODEN CAPITAL IN THE  
YELLOW TEMPLE.



FIG. 11.  
AJANTA, CAVE 19;  
A CHAITYA. THE  
STUPA AND STAND-  
ING BUDDHA.

*Photo?  
Archaeological Dept.,  
Hyderabad.*



FIG. 12.—ELLORA, CAVE 12; SEATED BUDDHA.



FIG. 11A.—A SQUIRREL AT AJANTA.





FIG. 13.—YUN-KANG, CAVE II.



FIG. 14.—LUNG-MÊN, PIN YANG CAVE: BODHISATIVA.



FIG. 15.—AURANGABAD, CAVE 8: GUARDIANS AND ATTENDANTS.  
Late seventh or eighth century.



FIG. 16.—ANGKOR. INDO-KHMER  
STYLE.  
Ninth century.



FIG. 17.—ANGKOR. A GROUP OF  
FIGURES IN ANGKOR WAT.  
Eleventh and twelfth centuries.



FIG. 18.—LUNG-MÊN, THE COLOSSAL  
BUDDHA.



FIG. 19.—YUN-KANG. BUDDHAS AND  
BODHISATTVAS.





FIG. 20.—ANGKOR THOM. THE BAYON. UNFINISHED RELIEF OF AN ARMY WITH ELEPHANTS.  
Probably late twelfth century.



FIG. 21.—ANGKOR THOM. THE BAYON. DESIGNS COPIED FROM CHINESE FIGURED SILK.



FIG. 22.—ANGKOR WAT. CAPTIVE PIGMIES OF NEGRETTO TYPE.



FIG. 23.—ANGKOR WAT. THE WAR-CHARIOTS AND SOLDIERS.

# BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES FROM CHINA TO ELLORA

(Some Notes Made on Visiting Ellora, Aurangabad and Ajanta in India, Yun Kang and Lung-mên in China, August to November, 1936, and Angkor in 1938.)

By A. D. BRANKSTON

In Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in India*, 1898 edition, one may read of Ellora, Ajanta, and Aurangabad and the necessary arrangements to reach those places, relays of horses and servants being necessary. Today, however, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has made it possible, by the construction of excellent roads, rest houses, and the appointment of well-informed and courteous assistants, for anyone to make this journey in comfort. One may leave Bombay by train at ten o'clock in the evening and arrive at seven the next morning in Aurangabad, whence one travels by road to Ellora.

It was on such a fine morning that we arrived in Aurangabad. In August one may expect rain and heat with a resulting high humidity. Since there was no choice of season in this instance, it was in August that we went. However, the morning was cool and bright, the plain with cornfields and tufted trees looked fresh and clean in the pale rosy sunlight. We drove between banyan and yellow-flowered tamarisk trees, through villages and past bullock carts towards the hills.

Soon, from higher ground, we saw that, separated from the more distant hills, there stood a fortress which seemed to belong more to phantasy than reality. This was Daulatabad.\* Approaching nearer, three lines of walls and towers became distinguishable among the trees. Within the second wall a tall delicate minaret stood out against the massive rock and citadel. This marvellous place adds wonder to the Ellora road and stimulates excitement for the caves.

Then, climbing steeply to a plateau about 600 feet above the plain, we drove on through Khuldabad, where Aurangzeb lies buried, past other stone-built tombs of Moslem saints to Roza.

The bungalows at Roza are built on the edge of this plateau of terraced basalt and overlook the plain which stretches map-like to the north and west. The caves are cut into the hillside below the bungalows and a little to the north. The caves may be divided into three groups, and are numbered in sequence from south to north. The first, probably the earliest, are Buddhist and numbered one to twelve. The second, which were probably

\* Daulatabad is described in detail in Murray's handbook.



started at the same period as the latter Buddhist caves, are Brahman and numbered thirteen to twenty-nine. The third group is Jain and numbered thirty to thirty-four; these are probably the latest. By walking northwards one follows both the numbers, in ascending order, and at the same time the approximate chronology.

The Buddhist caves must impress their reverence upon all but the most hardened Philistine. The serene contemplative spirit of the men who carved them still lingers in the caves; the columns and the sculptures express it. The tradition of peace between man, beast, and bird seems to have remained untouched here through the centuries. Brilliant green parrots, red-backed swallows, doves, peacocks, many other birds and squirrels use their shade, while cattle graze among the Flame of the Forest trees below the caves.

One finds parrots and squirrels also in the Brahman caves, but no spirit of quietness. On entering cave 14 one becomes aware of a more fearful spirit in the men who made them. The Hindu gods are superhuman beings with human desires and passions. In early Buddhist sculpture we find fear nowhere expressed, and action seldom; but the dance of Siva over the destruction of the world is majestic and awe-inspiring. For although Siva destroys only to recreate, the sculptures better express destruction.

The Jain caves again express meditation and even more asceticism than the Buddhist. Gomata is shown standing naked with a creeper entwined about his limbs, nor do the stings of scorpions disturb him in his trance.

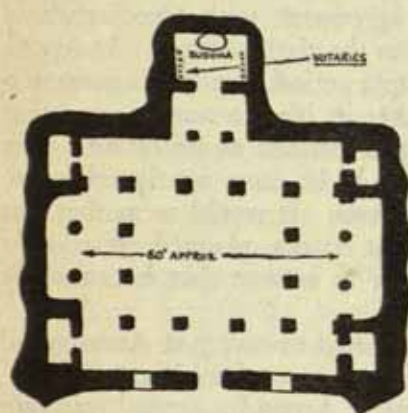
The Buddhist caves in general follow two principles of design. The *vihara* or monastery consists of a large rectangular hall supported by rows of pillars. Along the side walls often smaller cells are cut and in the centre of the back wall there is a shrine for the Buddha image, guardians and attendants. Often there is a verandah with windows, sculpture, and carved pillars. The *vihara* is varied by the addition of side-chapels, more or less sculpture and carving on the pillars.

The *chaitya* or cathedral was used only for prayer and is the most sacred of the caves. In its earliest form (perhaps second century B.C.) it consisted of a hall, rounded at one end, enclosing an undecorated *stupa*. Later, the Buddha image was placed in front of the *stupa*. Its form no doubt follows that of wooden buildings which may be seen illustrated on the reliefs at Sanci, the roof is almost invariably arched and the stone is cut in ribs to represent the rafters.

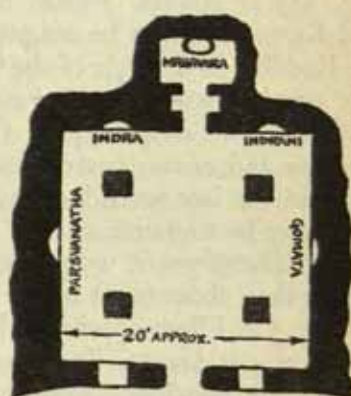
The dating of these caves is a problem which seems to have been avoided for many good reasons. Cave 2 appears to

be early, perhaps sixth century A.D., yet it contains unfinished side-chapels. Dr. Burgess' suggestion that these were added later is probably correct. Therefore, the other caves may also contain additions, so that it is unlikely that any of the caves could be judged, in its entirety, as representative of any one period. Also, the labour of cutting the caves was immense, and in many cases may have covered a period of more than one hundred years.

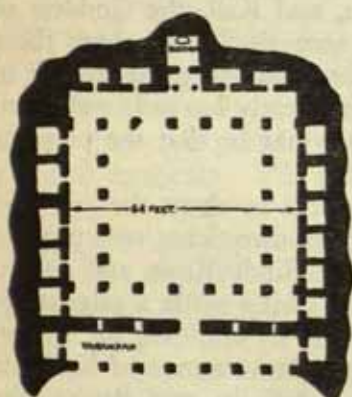
It would be almost impossible to judge the age of any of these



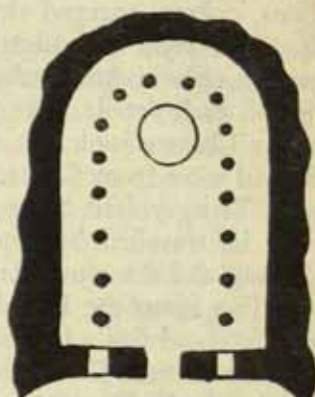
Aurangabad, Cave 3. A Vihara.  
(Not to scale.)



Ellora, Cave 34. Jain.



Ajanta, Cave 1. A Vihara.  
(Not to scale.)



A Chaitya Cave. Buddhist.

caves without comparison with those at Ajanta and Aurangabad. At Ajanta a sequence of styles may be traced from the first century B.C. to the late seventh or early eighth century A.D. Since these groups of caves lie within seventy miles of one another, it is not unreasonable to suppose that one group was influenced by the others and that definite styles and motives in sculpture were contemporary with one another. It probably would not be going



too far to assume that even the same sculptors were employed, but there is no need for that.

At Ellora there is no cave, judged by its sculpture alone, which, in the opinion of the writer, could be placed earlier than 600 A.D. It is reasonable to suppose that a *chaitya* would be one of the first caves to be cut, and since cave 10 (see Fig. 3) is the only *chaitya* at Ellora it is probably one of the earliest. The style of the sculpture seems to confirm this assumption.

The plan of this cave definitely follows that of No. 19 (see Fig. 11) at Ajanta, which, in agreement with Coomarswamy and Kramrisch, may be assigned to the sixth century. At Ajanta the Buddha, in the style of the Gupta period, stands in a gossamer-fine wind-blown robe. But neither in No. 10 nor in any other cave at Ellora is the typical Gupta Buddha to be found. The Buddha and *chauri* bearers appear to be more nearly related to those in the late seventh-century caves. It would seem that this cave may be imitative of cave 19 at Ajanta, planned on a larger scale. Therefore, it would be safe to assume that it cannot be earlier than about 600 A.D.

Cave 3 at Ellora appears to be related to cave 7 at Aurangabad and cave 4 at Ajanta. In each of these caves there is a representation of the merciful Avalokitesvara. Around a central standing figure of the Bodhisattva are eight scenes which illustrate the delivery of pilgrims from fire, the sword, captivity, a storm at sea, lions, cobras, enraged elephants, and Kali, the Goddess of Death. The style of sculpture is very similar in these three groups, but only at Aurangabad is the condition good enough to distinguish each detail; there the boat clearly has sails similar to those of a Chinese junk. It therefore may be that the pilgrims represented were from China.

Hsuan Tsang visited this part of India in about the year 640 A.D., but he travelled by land in both directions, entering via Tun Huang and the route north of the Hindu Kush, and returning to China across the Himalayas. I Ching made a pilgrimage between 671 and 695 A.D. and travelled by sea. Of the Indian pilgrims who visited China there were Gunavarman of Kashmir in 431 A.D., Bodhidharma in *circa* 529-536 A.D. and Paramartha of Magadha in 545 A.D. Of these it is most probable that the pilgrim represented is I Ching.

These caves cannot be widely separated in date, probably they were cut late in the seventh century. The style of headdress worn by Avalokitesvara is interesting. It is probably one of the earlier representations of the *Jata* headdress in its developed form; this consists of fine plaits, bound together, rising steeply from the forehead to a crest from which they curl backwards and downwards. In Brahmanical sculptures the *Jata* headdress was adopted

for Siva. Perhaps it was intended to represent the river Ganges flowing from Siva's hair.

Avalokitesvara is shown at this period holding a long-stemmed lotus at the left side and with the right hand either raised in *abahaya mudra* (courage), or holding a fly-whisk. In the *Jata* headdress there is usually a small image of Amitabha, his spiritual father. This style was widely adopted in China for Avalokitesvara, who later became the Goddess Kuan-yin, and, without the Amitabha image, for other Bodhisattvas.

The origin of this headdress is obscure. The Gandhara and Mathura Buddhas are shown with a coil of hair on the *ushnisha* (the protuberance of the head of a Buddha), but this is more than one stage removed from the *Jata* headdress. In cave 11 at Yun Kang in Northern Shansi, there is an example of an earlier or intermediate form of this headdress. In this cave there is an inscription which refers to the opening ceremony of the caves and is dated the seventh year of T'ai Ho in the Northern Wei Dynasty, 483 A.D. Also at Yun Kang in cave 3 (sixth century A.D.) there is a highly developed form which closely resembles some of the Indian examples.

In China during the T'ang Dynasty this headdress is almost universal for Bodhisattva images. It is worn by the colossal attendant figures in the Feng Hsien Ssu cave at Lung-mên in Honan, and on the figures, now removed, from T'ien Lung Shan in Central Shansi.

In the shrines of caves 4 and 5 the rarest flowers of sculpture at Ellora are to be found. There is a gentleness about them, not to be found elsewhere, which compels one to return awhile and linger there. It is the tenderness of an art in maturity with no trace of decadence. The style of the sculpture on the verandah of cave 4 resembles that of cave 3 and must be near to it in date, that is, late in the seventh century (see Figs. 1 and 2).

Cave 12 is perhaps the most ambitious of the *viharas*; it has three stories, of which the top is the most interesting. Here there is fine sculpture, better planned than elsewhere. It is an art in full maturity, the iconography has become standardized and, if one wished to be very critical, it could be said that it is beginning to become mechanical. The cave is divided into five cross-aisles by four rows of eight pillars. Cut into the back wall there is a rectangular recess which leads to an inner shrine. On each side of the shrine door there stands a *dvarapala* with folded arms, and around the walls of the recess are carved seated female figures. In the main cave against the back wall, on each side of the recess, is carved a row of seven Buddhas, probably the earth-born, seated in meditation. These fourteen figures are almost identical with one another. Each cross-aisle contains a Buddha at each end. The



central or third cross-aisle has at each end a Buddha (perhaps Maitreya, the Buddha to come) seated with feet on the ground (see Fig. 12). The second and fourth cross-aisles have at their ends Buddhas seated cross-legged in *padmasana*. Thus the figures are in pairs which vary only slightly. All these figures are supported on lion thrones, *sinhasana*.

It may be gathered that while the sculpture is still in many respects excellent, there is a certain over-emphasis on balance, and



Ellora, late Seventh Century. The Jata Headdress, *a*.



Yun Kang, Sixth Century. The Jata Headdress, *b*.



T'ien Lung Shan, late Seventh Century. The Jata Headdress, *c*.

lack of originality. This, therefore, must be one of the last Buddhist caves to be cut, probably in the eighth century.

Although this paper is concerned with Buddhist sculpture it would be impossible to leave Ellora without mentioning the Khalasa or Rang Mahl, dedicated to Siva. It is marvellous both for its sculpture and a feat of engineering. It is more a building than a cave; a large courtyard has been quarried out of the hillside leaving a mass of original rock in the centre. This mass of rock has been carved into a building which stands on a base 160 feet long and 110 feet wide, and whose spire rises 96 feet above the

courtyard which surrounds it. As architecture, the whole is rather too crowded in composition to be appreciated in its entirety. Many individual pieces of sculpture are very lovely, but the whole gives one the impression more of a colossal task than a spontaneous work of art conceived by one mind. The paintings in this cave are considered to be of the eighth century, so that work was probably started in cutting the cave in the seventh century, at the latest.

If one leaves the Khalasa with its dynamic sculpture and, missing the other Hindu caves, enters one of the Jain group, with figures in static trance, one becomes aware at once of the great difference between these religions. These caves are considered to be later in date than the others, and are probably of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries; there appears to be little precise evidence of dates.

The plan of the caves differs slightly from the Buddhist and Hindu. In the central shrine Mahavira sits in *padmasana* with his right hand placed in his lap over his left (see Fig. 6). He is entirely naked. On his left, under a mango tree, Queen Indrani sits on a lion, and on his right, under a banyan tree, Indra, the King, sits on an elephant. (The lion and the elephant are used in China as thrones for the bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra). On the same side as Indrani, Gomata stands with a creeper entwined about his limbs and his hair in curls upon his shoulders (see Fig. 5). On the same side as Indra, facing Gomata, there stands Parsvanatha, with the seven-hooded *naga* in place of the circular halo of Gomata.

These figures are wonderfully expressive of a state of trance rather than meditation. There is a calmness of sleep about them which is deeper even than that expressed in the Buddhist sculptures.

At Aurangabad the caves are cut into a hillside of the same type of rock and formation as Ellora and Ajanta, a porphyritic basalt. Here there are two groups of caves, distant about one mile from each other. Numbers 1 and 5 form the Western Group and are nearest to the road; these, from their style, appear to be earlier than the Eastern Group, which is numbered 6 to 8. Yet, there are unfinished caves in both groups. It may be that the western site was found, for some reason, to be unsuitable and so abandoned. The entrance of the *chaitya* cave 4, probably one of the earliest of the group, is ruined by a fall of rock; perhaps this occurred while the caves were still in use and so led to their abandonment. After removal to the second site, caves 6 and 7 were completed and No. 8 was not yet finished at the decline of Buddhism in the eighth century.



Caves 1 and 3 are probably contemporary with 1, 2, and 21 at Ajanta, which by their paintings and sculptures are judged to be late fifth to early sixth century. It may be seen that the ground plans of cave 3 Aurangabad and cave 1 Ajanta are very similar; in addition to this the decorations correspond very closely (Figs. 7 and 8). The same fat little *yakshas* adorn the pillars, the ogre masks below the capitals are almost identical and are not unlike some forms of the Chinese *t'ao t'ieh*, which, however, is seldom seen in Chinese Buddhist sculpture. The example from China (Fig. 9) which is illustrated here is from the Yellow Temple in Peiping and probably not earlier than the eighteenth century, but it is known that the influence of Indian builders and sculptors came to China together with Buddhism at a very much earlier date.

Of cave 1 only the verandah pillars and part of the verandah are complete. Cave 3, one may assume by its completeness, is of slightly earlier date, although very similar in style. The shrine of this cave is most remarkable. Through the shrine door one sees the seated Buddha dimly lit by the daylight which filters through the cave. Entering the shrine, one is at first shut in on either side by darkness. Then, when the pupils of the eyes have become more dilated, five figures emerge on each side of the Buddha. They kneel against the side walls facing the Buddha with hands clasped in adoration. The sculpture is extraordinarily good and the figures are of a most unusual appearance. They differ considerably from those of Buddhist significance and may represent foreigners, perhaps Persians, making their pilgrimage to Buddha. Their hair is crimped in ringlets and they resemble some of the figures in the Ajanta frescoes.

Similar figures may be seen in cave 6 at Aurangabad and caves 1, 2, and 17 at Ajanta with certain variations in grouping. In cave 6 at Aurangabad on Buddha's right are five male and on the left five female figures. In cave 1 at Ajanta the figures are placed (with two deer in addition) in front of the Buddha and on each side of the Wheel of the Law, symbolizing the turning of the Wheel of the Law in the Deer Park at Benares. In cave 2 there are only two standing figures and one deer, and in cave 17 there are two standing figures and two deer on each side of the Wheel of the Law. So there cannot be any significance in their numbers. Of all these, the figures in cave 3 at Aurangabad are the finest.

The Eastern Group of caves is most remarkable for No. 7, which contains the group of Avalokitesvara and the pilgrims, already discussed in comparison with No. 3 of Ellora and No. 4 at Ajanta. Cave 8 (see Fig. 15) was started (probably in the eighth century) on a more ambitious plan than any of

the others but was never finished. One is impressed by the abruptness with which the work appears to have stopped. It may have been that the monks laid down their tools at dusk and fled overnight.

At Ajanta the caves are even more beautifully situated than those at Ellora and Aurangabad. They are cut into the bank of a deep gorge on the bend of a river. The rock at all three groups of caves is of a similar porphyritic basalt, in which one may pick out the turquoise, red, and brown coloured fragments, from which the pigments for the frescoes were made.

It has been stated that the caves at Ellora and Aurangabad could not be judged without comparison with Ajanta, where a longer and more complete sequence may be studied. The sculpture at Ajanta is as varied as it is impressive and it would be no mean task to date each of the caves, if this were possible at all. Yet, it is possible to select, with some reasonable hope of accuracy, a number of caves which illustrate representative types of consecutive periods.

The caves are numbered in ascending order as one advances up the gorge and the oldest caves are to be found in the central section.

The *vihara* cave 12 is probably one of the earliest at Ajanta. There is no sculpture in this cave and at a first glance the arches appear to be Islamic. But the style of these arches dates back to the second century B.C. at least, and may be seen illustrated on the pillar reliefs at Sanci.

Cave 10, a *chaitya*, was perhaps contemporary with cave 12 and is notable for the simplicity of design and the plainness of its *stupa* or *dagoba*. The painting around the lower walls of this cave is dim and partly destroyed, but in what may still be seen the line is exquisite. Higher up between the arched rafters are painted Buddhas in red outline in a stronger and more calligraphic style than the more famous frescoes of caves 1 and 2.

The next in the series for purpose of illustration is also a *chaitya* cave, No. 19, to which reference has already been made. The Buddha, in Gupta style, stands in front of the *stupa*, which is decorated with restraint in low relief (Fig. 11).

Cave 17 may be of the late fifth century. It is the earliest in which the style of sculpture approaches that of Ellora and Aurangabad. The shrine of this cave contains a Buddha seated cross-legged with a standing *chauri* bearer on each side. Also on each side there is a sort of sea monster and an *apsara* which appears to be almost too plump to fly. In front of the Buddha are carved the Wheel of the Law, deer, and standing votaries already described. The pillars in this cave are not so lavishly decorated as those of the later caves and there are Buddhas in the pure



Gupta style which are not seen at Aurangabad. Also there are fat, pot-bellied *yaksha* figures which survive without much variation until the seventh century.

Next in order, and probably of late fifth and early sixth centuries, are caves 1 and 2. These are *viharas* and closely resemble No. 1 and No. 3 at Aurangabad (compare verandah pillars and capitals). There is little sculpture except in the shrines, which have been described. The glory of these caves is in the painting which adorns the walls. Here one pauses, step by step, trying by lamplight to burn the line and colours into the mind. Cave 26 (Fig. 4) is a *chaitya* of about the same date, but is decorated profusely with sculpture and contains little painting. It was probably after this model that cave 10 at Ellora was designed. Here, however, the Buddha seated in front of the *stupa* is still definitely of the Gupta type, while the figure on Buddha's right-hand side wears the *Jata* headdress which becomes so common in the seventh century. This is perhaps the transition period between the Gupta style at Ajanta and the later seventh-century style at Ellora.

It is unnecessary to describe further the caves at Yun-kang and Lung-mên, since there have already appeared at least three works which describe them at length and are well illustrated with photographs. However, if one consults these before visiting the caves, one may look in vain for some of the finer heads and even whole figures which one sees illustrated. Many, no doubt, are among the unidentified pieces in Western and Japanese collections and museums, others perhaps were destroyed in the attempt to remove them, for the rock at Yun-kang is in many places fissured and friable. This destruction is in China considered to be the work of foreigners, but could never have been possible had it not been for an apathy on the part of the Chinese for sculpture in stone. Foreigners certainly created a demand for such pieces in their admiration for them, Chinese dealers took advantage of that demand and enabled the foreigners to take some of the finest specimens home with them.

Today the average Chinese realises that his country has lost something, but seldom takes the trouble to find out exactly what it is. When foreigners wish to visit caves therefore, it is often suspected (not unreasonably) that some mischief may be afoot; however, the traditional respect paid to scholars in China usually makes it possible to overcome these difficulties and others.

The surest way to safeguard the caves would be to imitate the splendid example set by the Hyderabad Government: to encourage foreigners and Chinese to visit and to take an interest in the sculptures, and to provide custodians for them. At present there

are few who care to travel such a distance with the possibility of being disappointed at the end of the journey; for sometimes there are "too many bandits" and the foreigner is "protected" by soldiers until the next train arrives to take him away.

It is perhaps unfair to criticize China in the midst of her political troubles; there are Chinese scholars who are working towards these ends with as great enthusiasm as any foreigner. Until the Japanese are curbed or satisfied it is unlikely that the caves will receive any attentions of the right sort.

The Angkor group of temples in Cambodia is, geographically at least, midway between the Indian caves and Yun-kang and Lung-mên in North China. However, this seems to be one of the only certainties known of the ruins.

The stone temples and palaces at Angkor are believed to have been built between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Although there is both Indian and Chinese influence to be seen, the Indian predominates, and so, as we might expect, the iconography is more Hinduistic than Buddhist.

Perhaps the most interesting problem which these ruins present is the identity of their builders, the Khmers. The reliefs around and in Angkor Wat give us a clear picture of a thriving and highly developed civilization. Here, across the southern border of China, lived a people skilled in architecture and sculpture, textiles, weapons (apparently of bronze or steel), and, most remarkable of all, in horse-riding and charioteering. All of these arts had been known and practised in China for many centuries. China herself at this time was at one of the peaks of artistic achievement. Ceramics, bronzes, jade carving and painting were highly refined and so profuse that they were available to all and buried with the dead. Yet in the Angkor region we find hardly a shard of pottery that can compare with the Chinese wares; bronze and jade are almost unknown.

We must therefore assume either that such things were unknown to the Khmers or that the climate, white ants and the invading Thais destroyed or removed them all.

It is known that the aboriginal inhabitants of Cambodia, Siam and Malaya were pigmies of negretto type, some of which survive today in Northern Malaya. The Khmers were of Sino-Tibetan or Central Asian origin and probably migrated southwards in waves occupying the Menam and Mekong deltas in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

The Wei Tartars, who dominated North China in the fifth and sixth centuries, were also of Central Asian origin. They were Buddhists, but at the same time warlike, riders of horses and chariots and nomadic in habit. They were absorbed by the Chinese



and, within a few centuries, left no memorial except the very beautiful sculptures at Lung-mên and Yun-kang.

The Chinese, as a whole, are not lovers of sculpture; every impetus in the carving of stone and representation of the human form has come with an alien invasion. The origin of the Shangs is still obscure; they carved in stone and jade with wonderful feeling for mass and rhythm; after their conquest by the Chons, who were probably indigenous to China, in the twelfth century B.C. the art of sculpture practically died out until the arrival of the Wei Tartars, who brought a wealth of Buddhist motifs from Central Asia.

The Himalayas and the Kun Lun Mountains run roughly parallel. In the plateau which lies between these ranges the Menam, the Mekong and the Yellow rivers rise. It forms a natural gate from Central Asia into North and South China, Cambodia and Malaya. It might be expected that migrations would divide in this area; some would go east along the Yellow river into China and others southwards into Cambodia, Siam and Burma. Therefore it would not be surprising to find in Cambodia traces of art motifs and habits which came originally from the same Central Asian sources as some of those of China. At the same time we must not forget that Cambodia bordered upon China and many influences must have passed directly across the frontier, which probably was not clearly defined.

In the galleries around Angkor Wat are carved reliefs depicting scenes from the Ramayana and of battles with the aboriginal pigmies which are probably historical. The captured pigmies are driven in shackles or carried, bound by the legs, to the most unpleasant tortures. They are pinned on spikes, stretched and carved in pieces. In the battles are clearly shown chariots and horsemen with well-made armour. The use of horses and chariots may be a survival from Central Asia, for although these people migrated along the rivers, it seems probable that they brought their horses from Central Asia. Around the windows, both at Angkor Wat and at the Bayon, are carved in slight relief medallion patterns of phoenixes and flowers, probably copied from Chinese figured silks which must have come direct to Cambodia from China, probably in exchange for tribute.

Although it is clear that there is some Chinese and Central Asian influence at Angkor, these only add interest to the Indian motifs in decoration and architecture. For the sculptures are more Hinduistic than Buddhist and the design of the buildings is purely Indian.

So we see at Angkor the monuments of a Central Asian nomadic people who brought to Cambodia some of their own customs and art motifs. By their superior physique and weapons they en-

slaved the aboriginal pigmies and formed a powerful kingdom between India and China. They may have heard of, or even practised, Buddhism before their arrival in Cambodia. Then, meeting with Indian settlers, monks and traders with a variant of that religion, the races mingled under a cult of Hinduistic Buddhism. Added to these influences are probably stray motifs from China and the powerful softening influence of the soil and climate. The Khmers were reduced to degeneracy by the thirteenth century when they were overrun by the Thais, another migration of Central Asian origin.

The whole is a flux of influences, religious and cultural, crowded with interesting little problems which give scope to the imagination and are clustered around the central problem of the mysterious Khmers.

#### GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Apsara*, an attendant spirit.  
*Chaitya*, a chapel.  
*Chauri*, a fly-whisk.  
*Dagoba*, a domed *stupa*.  
*Dvarapala*, a guardian.  
*Jata*, headdress worn by an ascetic.  
*Naga*, serpent.  
*Padmasana*, seated on a lotus.  
*Sinhasana*, seated on a lion.  
*Stupa*, a tower, or solid dome, erected over a sacred relic.  
*T'ao t'ieh*, ogre mask used in Chinese decoration.  
*Usnisa*, the protuberance on the head of a Buddha.  
*Vihara*, monastery.  
*Yaksha*, an earth spirit or deity.

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## SHANGHAI: ITS PROBLEM AND ITS FUTURE

BY E. H. ANSTICE

## THE PROBLEM

WHEN ultimately order is restored out of the chaos brought about by the Sino-Japanese hostilities, an essential part of the terms of settlement must be the arrangements for the future of Shanghai. In recent years the recurrent difficulties, disputes and crises brought about by the legal and political uncertainty regarding the city's status, when challenged by determined Chinese nationalist claims, have been solved largely by makeshift expedients dictated by the circumstances. Rendition had been accepted as inevitable, and apparently it was to be reached by drifting from one concession to another. The collapse of the Nanking administration and the success of the Japanese should put an end to this policy of *laissez aller*, for, unless the latter are to be left to impose their own solution, there must be concerted action by all the Powers interested in establishing the city in a manner which will ensure future security and good government.

At the moment Shanghai is divided into three parts. There is the International Settlement, enjoying certain rights of self-government under what are known as the Land Regulations. While its administration is predominantly British in character, no nation can claim by right any more privileged position than another. There is the French Concession, entirely under French control. There is, or was, surrounding the first two, a Municipality of Greater Shanghai, including the very urban areas of Nantao, running cheek by jowl with the French Concession on the south, and Chapei, bordering the Settlement on the north. Neither the Settlement nor the Concession is foreign territory. They remain part of China, and are merely areas in which China's full exercise of sovereign powers is limited by treaty and other provisions. With the growth of the Chinese nationalist movement, which in its early years was largely based on anti-foreignism and has still not lost all traces of that feeling, the extent of the powers granted to the foreign areas, and in particular to the Settlement, was called in question. And when one of the partners in the Settlement becomes involved in a bitter personal quarrel with China, matters become still further complicated. Many problems of neutrality and rights arise which cannot be settled by precedent or by reference to any existing treaty or body of law.

As a result of these conditions the position of Shanghai has for

years been most unsatisfactory, its progress being hampered and its prosperity undermined by the disputes arising out of its uncertain political status. Four times in the last twelve years the local volunteer corps has had to be mobilised to assist in the maintenance of internal order, three times the Powers have had to rush troops to the area in order to safeguard the interests of their nationals and defend the city against the intrusion of armed Chinese forces. Twice serious hostilities have broken out on the very fringes of the Settlement, and once within the Settlement itself, which have imperilled the lives of residents and destroyed millions of dollars worth of property. Living in Shanghai, in fact, has been very much like living on the slopes of a volcano which might erupt at any moment.

The existence of three administrative bodies in an area where logically there should only be one has been a potent cause of friction and inconvenience. In the case of the two foreign bodies a disposition to amicable co-operation has prevented serious trouble, but the attitude of the Chinese municipality has tended rather to be obstructive. It would not, to give one instance, come to any arrangement whereby one car licence would suffice for the whole area, a small matter perhaps, but causing distinct and unnecessary inconvenience. More serious were the restrictions imposed on police efficiency by the administrative barrier. Nantao and Chapei provided ready bolt-holes for criminals, into which they could not be pursued by French or Settlement police, until such time as permission had been obtained from the Chinese authorities. Administrative diversity was further complicated by the situation on the waterways, over which China claimed and exerted full sovereignty. Their policing was in Chinese hands, and so too was the river fire-brigade.

The domain of public utilities provides another instance of unnecessary duplication. In the Shanghai Power Company and the French Power Company, Shanghai possesses two very efficient concerns for the provision of electric light and power, and the logical process would have been to call them in to supply the neighbouring Chinese areas as the demand arose. No sacrifice of Chinese rights or interests need have been involved. Instead the Chinese preferred to start plants of their own, which by the nature of things could operate neither as efficiently nor as cheaply and at the same time involved unnecessary capital outlay. The same thing occurred in regard to the Telephones and Water. Moreover the foreign utility companies were only allowed, after much negotiation and after consenting to impose a surcharge on their consumers in those areas for the benefit of Chinese concerns, to continue supplying consumers on what are known as the Outside Roads.



The question of these Outside Roads has long been troublesome. They pass through Chinese territory and are the property of the Settlement, having been constructed in past years when no effective Chinese authority existed in the neighbourhood. They were policed by the Settlement, residents along them received the benefit of the various municipal services and were required to pay municipal rates and taxes. At first no objection was raised by the Chinese to the Settlement's administrative control, but in the course of time there came a change, and the Chinese Municipality of Greater Shanghai, established in 1927, looked upon it as an obstacle to its own authority and a standing challenge to its own rights. Friction inevitably arose when the Chinese Municipality tried to assert its jurisdiction, to obstruct the working of the Settlement's public works department on these roads, to object to foreign utility companies operating thereon, and to police them with armed patrols, whose attitude to foreigners was at times most unnecessarily unpleasant, while they did not always co-operate in too friendly a spirit with the Settlement police, who still functioned there. An outstanding example occurred when a motor bus operated by the foreign-owned China General Omnibus Company was involved in an accident with a Chinese cyclist. Members of the Chinese police body stood by with drawn revolvers, and actually refused to allow the Settlement police to remove the bus from the body of the still living boy, until the arrival of their own official photographer some half an hour later. Recently the matter of taxation has been causing trouble, since Chinese residents began to refuse to pay Settlement taxes.

The attitude taken up by the Chinese municipality over the Outside Roads was part and parcel of a policy of encroaching wherever possible on the authority and functions of the foreign administrative bodies, and in particular of the Settlement. The extent to which Chinese residents in the Concession and Settlement are subject to the executive actions and decrees of the Chinese authorities has been a vexed question since the first establishment of foreign municipal bodies. The latter have fought hard to establish and maintain the principle that the power of the Chinese is, in this respect, considerably restricted, and that Chinese executive officials can only operate within their boundaries by consent. It has also never been admitted that all Chinese legislation is enforceable within the foreign areas, or that Chinese administrative ordinances will be recognized. The Chinese, on the other hand, naturally, possibly in view of their determination to get rid of foreign privileges, have consistently tried to break down this principle. In recent years a considerable extension of Chinese official activities has been allowed both in the Settlement and Concession. Various Chinese taxes have been imposed and col-

lected from Chinese residents, Chinese passport officials were permitted to open offices and to demand Chinese visas from foreigners entering the port, the claim of the Chinese Government to exercise a censorship over the foreign cable companies was admitted, and officials of the local Chinese Bureau of Social Affairs intervened in labour disputes. No doubt submission to this "peaceful penetration" was dictated by the various home governments, but it was far from satisfactory, leaving as it did the vexed question of foreign rights *vis-à-vis* the Chinese municipality still unsettled, and many debatable points for future disputes.

At the same time with the growth and development of the foreign areas and the increasing complexity of modern life many administrative problems arose which could not be properly dealt with under the powers possessed by the local foreign authorities. This was especially the case in the Settlement. The Land Regulations, which define the powers of the Shanghai Municipal Council, cannot be amended except by the unanimous decision of the Diplomatic body and with the consent of the Chinese Government, a consent which latterly it has been impossible to obtain, even in such a simple matter as the extension of polling hours at the annual municipal election. A matter of special urgency in recent years has been the need for industrial regulations to improve labour conditions, especially from the point of view of health and safety. The Shanghai Municipal Council can only exercise very limited control through its power to grant or withhold licences. An amendment was approved by the ratepayers in 1933, which allowed the Council to adopt factory regulations in conformity with the Concession and the Municipality of Greater Shanghai. This was approved by the Consular body and the Ministers of the Treaty Powers, but the Chinese Government refused its consent, taking the stand that Chinese factory legislation should be enforced in the foreign areas by Chinese Government officials. An attempt to reach a compromise along the lines that Chinese officials should inspect concerns not enjoying extraterritorial rights, while the Council should be empowered to make regulations for and inspect those that did was also wrecked by Chinese opposition. Thus nothing was done and nothing could be done except by a surrender of extraterritorial rights, which, even if some of the Powers were willing to cede, others were not, and which in any case hardly seemed advisable, since, despite praiseworthy progress, the spirit and efficiency of Chinese bureaucracy still left considerable room for criticism.

This unwillingness on the part of foreigners to submit themselves to Chinese administrative control was not lessened by experiences in the Chinese courts. In many ways these still func-



tioned in a far from satisfactory manner, so that business men often felt it useless to have recourse to them. Delays in obtaining redress were so long as to amount almost to a denial of justice, and, to quote one prominent business leader, no improvement could be expected until "the system whereby defendants are permitted to appeal at all stages of the proceedings without depositing security is altered." Shanghai was also particularly concerned over the operation of the local Chinese courts in criminal cases.

### THE FUTURE

Reforms have long been overdue in the Settlement's constitution. Not only do the powers of the Council need to be widened and more clearly defined, but the Council itself needs to be established on a broader basis and on lines more in accordance with the international character of the population, and the numbers and interests of the different nationalities composing it. The government of the Settlement, it is alleged, is too much in the hands of an Anglo-American commercial oligarchy. This may or may not be an overstatement, but leaving on one side for the moment the matter of Chinese representation and participation, a rather special question which must always be viewed in the light of the fact that the Settlement is primarily a foreign settlement and originated as an area in which foreigners could reside and administer their own affairs, the point does arise whether the predominantly Anglo-Saxon character of the Settlement's administration is today altogether in accordance with its claims to be international. Of its 40,000 foreign residents one-quarter though rate-payers are not voters, since they reside on the Outside Roads. Of the remaining 30,000, 50 per cent. are Japanese, 16 per cent. are British, 10 per cent. are Russian, 5 per cent. are American, 8 per cent. are Indians, 2 per cent. are Germans, 2 per cent. are Filipinos and the remaining 7 per cent. is made up of people of nearly forty different nationalities. Foreign membership of the Municipal Council is, however, fixed by long-established convention at five British, two American and two Japanese, and as long as the Anglo-Saxon community is determined to maintain this ratio it can do so through its preponderance of voting power. An attempt on the part of the Japanese to secure one more seat in 1936 was defeated by the British mustering their full voting strength. Undoubtedly the Japanese numbers and the growing importance of their commercial interests gave the Japanese a very good case for increased representation, and neither the British nor American community were unmindful of this or unsympathetic towards Japanese claims, but neither again felt called upon to grant that increase at its own expense. Tradition, past

work in building up the Settlement and the extent of their business interests were felt to justify them in this attitude. The logical solution, an increase in the size of the Council, was barred by the impossibility of obtaining the Chinese Government's consent to such an arrangement.

On the face of things the Japanese numerical majority should give them an electoral advantage, but it must be remembered that a far higher proportion of their numbers are minors than in the case of the Western communities, and also that the average individual income is considerably lower. Thus, although the voting qualification is fixed moderately low, approximately occupation of premises rated at £45 per annum or the ownership of land valued at £45, the number of Japanese voters is small. The same factor operates to keep the number of Russian ratepayers low. In any case the electorate is small, there being in all less than 3,500 qualified voters, a number which includes many absent landowners who are allowed to vote by proxy. The electoral roll contains a number of instances of men, usually lawyers, holding as many as twenty of these proxies.

For various reasons the government of the Settlement is dominated by Big Business, the main one being that the livelihood of most foreigners is in its hands, and to criticize the powers that be has been shown to be a risky undertaking. While many still contend that the circumstances of the Settlement justify its being a business oligarchy, arguing that the larger concerns, in safeguarding themselves, are safeguarding all, there are others who point to a large and growing foreign population whose home is Shanghai and whose interests lie completely in Shanghai, as contrasted with those who merely come here to serve a term of years with the prospect of a comfortable retirement at not too advanced an age to their home country. To the former a policy that is directed primarily towards the preservation of the interests of the larger concerns need not necessarily be satisfactory. They want town planning as well as business conservancy, and complain that too often the former has had to give way to the latter.

The question of Chinese participation in its administration has not arisen in any acute form in the French Concession, since there the government has always been kept in official hands. There is a municipal council, but it has only advisory powers. In the Settlement, on the other hand, there has been a steady increase in Chinese influence, and to hold the balance even between foreign rights and the growing claims of the Chinese and to effect an equitable compromise has been none too easy. At the moment there are five Chinese members on the Municipal Council, and a definite policy of the Sinicization of the Council's service has been adopted, with Chinese being appointed in increasing numbers



to senior executive posts. No future arrangement will be satisfactory which completely ignores this tendency. On the other hand it is undoubtedly a case for hastening slowly. Shanghai is, it is true, a Chinese city, in which foreigners represent only 2 per cent. of the population. On the other hand the vast majority of the Chinese population are still illiterate and uneducated, for whom as yet a paternal despotism is the only satisfactory form of government. In the Settlement foreigners pay at least 40 per cent. of the local taxation, and per head contribute from nineteen to twenty times as much (on a rough estimate \$220 to \$12), while their business interests and capital investments are at least equal to the Chinese. In the French Concession the tale is much the same. The city has grown up through foreign enterprise and thanks to the security and good government afforded by foreign control. Even at the height of local Sino-Japanese hostilities the Concession and the Settlement have remained, in the main, oases of safety amid a welter of destruction, cities of refuge into which the Chinese have flocked in their hundreds of thousands.

The problem then of arranging satisfactorily for the future of Shanghai involves, first, the provision of an effective guarantee against the wars and threats of wars with which it has been visited so often: in a word, security; secondly, the creation if possible of greater administrative unity; and, thirdly, a clear definition of the powers of the foreign municipalities and a widening of their scope, so as to eliminate existing causes of friction and enable them to perform their duties more efficiently. At the same time Japanese claims to a greater share in local administration must be satisfied, and so must those of what may be termed the indigenous local foreign population, while Chinese aspirations must not be crushed.

Above all there must be security. As far as is humanly possible Shanghai must be safeguarded against a repetition of 1932 and 1937. That can only be done by demilitarizing both the city itself and a wide zone surrounding it, and guaranteeing the neutrality of the whole by international treaty. No troops and no fortifications, either foreign or Chinese, should be allowed in this area, though the policing of the outer zone might be in the hands of a special police force under joint Sino-foreign control with a large percentage of foreign officers. These, at least, are the lines along which many foreigners in Shanghai are thinking, as also quite a number of the Chinese.

Complete administrative unity does not seem an attainable ideal. The French are hardly likely to consent to surrender their control over their own Concession, while the suggested outer zone would in the main be so purely Chinese in character as to demand an administration mainly Chinese in composition. It would seem

to be impossible to get away from the existence of three administrative areas; what can be done is to eliminate many of the existing obstacles to smooth and harmonious working, and to set up machinery to provide for mutual co-operation in the future. An extension of the Concession to take in Nantao, and of the Settlement to take in the Outside Roads and Chapei, has been suggested, while the outer zone would be formed into a special Chinese administrative area, all three areas being granted special charters by the Chinese Government conferring wide and clearly defined powers of local self-government. At the same time the franchises of the French utility companies might be extended to allow them to expand to the west and south, and of the Settlement companies to allow them to expand to the east and north. The question of control of the river might possibly best be settled by setting up a special authority composed of representatives from all three local bodies. Around such a framework it should be possible to construct a new city, in which due consideration would be given to the many diverse interests at stake.

At the moment, however, the Japanese are in the saddle. One part of the Settlement itself is in their hands, they are in military occupation of all the surrounding country, they exercise within the foreign areas those powers, as, for example, censorship of the cable companies, which had been conceded to the Chinese; the river is in their hands. From well-informed Japanese sources has come a report of Japanese intention to finance a new Municipality of Greater Shanghai which will be friendly to Japan, a "puppet" municipality, in fact, which among other things is to develop Woosung as a port. Such a development would certainly be no solution of the Shanghai problem from the viewpoint of other foreigners or of the Chinese, but there seems nothing to prevent its becoming a practical reality except co-operation with the Japanese to work out an agreed scheme for the future. It is true that such a scheme will entail infringement of China's sovereignty, the setting back of the clock of Chinese nationalism, but whatever form the new Shanghai takes that seems inevitable. Even if there were a sudden Japanese collapse and a recovery on the part of the Chinese, rendition would still not be practical politics for a long time, nor can anyone seriously advocate a reversion to the unsatisfactory régime that existed prior to the present hostilities. The well-being of the people must surely outweigh considerations of theoretical rights. Life must go on, as also the commerce by which men live.



## THE REUTER CONCESSION IN PERSIA

By L. E. FRECHTLING

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THE dream of a railway traversing the most fertile and populous section of Persia and linking the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf is now becoming a reality under the revived Iranian state which rose from the ruins of the old during the Great War. The original idea of such a railway is far older than the present régime, however, dating in fact from the 60's and 70's of the past century. The proponents then were Western entrepreneurs who envisaged huge profits in the exploitation of so-called backward areas and who were encouraged by the apparent eagerness of the dissolute court of the Shah-in-Shah to sell the nation's birth-right to the highest bidder.

The best known and the most spectacular of the commercial ventures launched in nineteenth-century Persia is the concession which was granted to Baron Paul Julius de Reuter in 1872. The original and principal aim of the concessionnaire was the construction and operation for seventy years of a Caspian Sea-Persian Gulf railway line, but when the contract was completed the scope of the concession had widened immensely. Beside handing over to Reuter all the necessary land and material for the building of the line, the Persian Government yielded rights in all parts of the kingdom for tramway construction, mining, irrigation and water works, and lumbering in state forests for a period of seventy years. The control of the state Customs was to be entrusted to the concessionnaire for twenty years, and he was to have first option for any further concessions for public utilities, roads, postal service, manufacturing plants, or banks. Such an extensive—wellnigh complete—delivery of the natural resources and commercial, industrial, and financial rights of an established state into the hands of a foreign exploiter had probably never occurred before in history. With almost the entire nation in its control, the company which Baron de Reuter proposed to form might well have been called Persia Incorporated, with powers approaching those of life and death over the unhappy subjects of the kingdom of the Shah.

When news of this gigantic sell-out became known abroad, it "literally took away the breath of Europe," as Lord Curzon said.\*

\* George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (two vols., London, 1892), I., 614.

The chancelleries of the European capitals began to buzz excitedly, for it was naturally assumed that the British Government had abandoned their long-professed policy of aloofness toward Persia and had acted through this intermediary in obtaining virtual control of the country. This would have been the logical step to take in face of the Russian advance in Asia, the conquest of the Central Asian khanates, the occupation of the trans-Caspian region claimed by Persia, and the increasing coolness toward Britain which Russian propinquity had developed at Kabul. Actually, neither the British nor the Indian Government aided Reuter in obtaining the concession or in carrying it out in face of various difficulties; instead they looked with great disfavour on the project, did nothing to aid Reuter when a controversy arose between him and the Persian Government, and only interfered in his behalf when it appeared that other foreign interests were about to obtain a foothold in this strategically located country.

For the origins of the Reuter concession we must go back to 1864, when the Persian Government granted a railway and mining contract to M. Salavan, an Austrian. No work was actually undertaken in connection with this concession, and it lapsed, to be offered and subsequently accepted by French, Prussian, and English interests in succession. The experience of the concessionnaires was much the same: on arriving in Persia they found great difficulty in keeping their materials intact from theft; it was a hard task to obtain labour; co-operation from local officials was not forthcoming until they laid out the inevitable monetary inducements. In fact, it appeared to the British Minister at the Court of the Shah in 1871 that "the projects presented from time to time by Europeans have been entertained principally as a means of profit to the Persian Ministers and the agents employed by them."<sup>\*</sup>

When concession hunters appeared less frequently in Tehran, Mohsin Khan, the Persian Minister in London, began to solicit English business men with a view to disposing of an exclusive concession. His approaches to several prominent City figures were unsuccessful, and then he met Baron de Reuter, already becoming well known in London through his news agency. Although by 1872 Reuter's activities covered a wide field, he had no connection either with railway and associated enterprises or with the geographical area known as the Middle East. Despite this lack of experience, the Baron listened receptively to the proposals of Mohsin Khan regarding a Persian concession. A preliminary agreement was reached between the two, and Reuter

\* Public Record Office, *Foreign Office MSS. Records*, Series 60 (Persia), vol. 405; Alison to Granville, July 17, 1871, confidential. (Hereafter the series will be cited in this form: F.O. 60/405.)



sent an agent to Tehran to arrange the terms of the concession. After several weeks of negotiation, a document entitled "A Concession between the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia on the one Hand, and Baron Julius de Reuter, Residing in London, on the Other," was completed and ratified by the Shah on July 25, 1872.

The original purpose of this remarkable contract was the construction of a railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. This was provided for in Article II., which gave Reuter the exclusive right to such a line for a period of seventy years and also the right to build branch lines "either to join together the provinces and towns in the interior of the Empire, or to join the Persian lines with foreign railways at any points on the frontiers in the direction of Europe or of India." The concessionnaire was offered all the Crown lands necessary for stations, yards, and workshops, and a right of way of thirty yards on each side of the tracks. The Government entered a means of control in Article VII., which stated that the actual method of constructing and working the lines should be determined by separate agreements between the parties before work was actually started. When the railway system began operation the Government was to receive 20 per cent. of the net profits.

As evidence of his good faith, Baron de Reuter was asked to deposit £40,000 in the Bank of England, which was to be forfeited to the Shah in the event of "the works not having been commenced" within fifteen months of the signing of the document. On the other hand, the caution money would be returned when it was reported that there had arrived at Enzeli, the Caspian port, enough rails to lay the line from Resht to Tehran.\*

In addition to all railway rights, the concessionnaire received the exclusive and definitive privilege of constructing tramway lines throughout the Empire, of working all mines of coal, iron, copper, lead, and petroleum (excepting private mines and mines of precious stones and metals), of managing and exploiting all state forests in the country, of executing works for irrigation, dams, dikes, wells, reservoirs, and canals, and of selling the water thus obtained. From all these enterprises the Government's share of the profits was to be 15 per cent. The company might also extend its activities in the future through the exercise of the right of prior claim should concessions for a bank or for such enterprises as gas supply, street paving, road building, postal and telegraphic arrangements, mills, and factories be granted. One of the most essential means of raising revenue possessed by the

\* Resht is located on the Persian mainland and Enzeli (now Pahlevi) on a bar several miles from the shore. Between them is a shallow lagoon over which all passengers and freight must be ferried to meet the Caspian ships.

Government was made over to the concessionnaire when the Customs control was granted for twenty years in exchange for an annual sum which should exceed the amount previously obtained from Customs contractors by £20,000.

In such an extensive and gigantic enterprise, the question of raising the necessary capital was naturally important, and the concession set out the position of the parties in this field very carefully. The contract authorized Reuter to issue stock to the extent of £6,000,000, on which the Persian Government was nominally to guarantee 5 per cent. interest and 2 per cent. for sinking charges annually. In reality, however, the guarantee of the Government amounted to nothing, for it was to become effective only after the railway was completed from Resht to Tehran; before that time the company alone was responsible for debt charges. Even after the railway was completed to Tehran, the guarantee was chargeable, not on the Government revenue, but on the profits of the company's operation of tramways, mines, forests, and irrigation works. In essence, there was no guarantee by the Government at all, which left the promoter to raise his capital without being able to promise much security to investors. The clever and careful wording of the provisions relating to finance might have warned Reuter that while the Persian Court appeared to be giving away the Empire with one hand, they had well secured it with the other by making it extremely difficult to execute the concession. From the very beginning the stipulation regarding caution money placed the entrepreneur at great disadvantage. His position was further weakened by obscure but meaningful clauses in the concession through which the Government was able later to win legal skirmishes.

The concession was ratified on July 25, 1872. Three weeks later Reuter deposited £40,000 as caution money in the Bank of England, naturally expecting the delivery of the concession at once to his agent in Tehran. Instead Hussein Khan, the Grand Vizier, came forward with an additional article to be appended to the concession whereby no work could be undertaken under any clause of the concession until the details had been agreed to by both parties in a *cahier des charges*. In negotiating these agreements the Government's representative was to be Malkom Khan, the recently appointed Minister at the Court of St. James. Reuter attempted to resist this article, which was patently designed to delay and complicate matters, and he only gave in when he realized that time was passing and that the caution money might soon be forfeited. He therefore authorized the Tehran agent to accept the addition, whereupon the concession was dispatched to England.

Not even then was the last hurdle cleared, for when Reuter's



agent applied to Malkom Khan for a *cahier* authorizing the purchase of railway material and the survey of the route, he was informed that the diplomat would prefer to deliver the document to the Baron personally when he arrived in London in the following spring during his trip to various European capitals in preparation for the expected visit of the Shah. As Malkom Khan proceeded westward in the spring of 1873, he was met and besieged by Reuter at Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and London. At the latter city he was eventually cornered and forced to admit that there was yet another difficulty which must be surmounted before the concession could become effective. It seemed that instead of receiving an unencumbered and complete title to the concession, Reuter had obtained only a partial one, and that Malkom Khan held title for a fourth of the concession, which he could use to the great disadvantage of Reuter by disposing of it to any unfriendly party, perhaps even Russia. He was, however, willing to part with it for a consideration, and the consideration came rather high: £20,000 cash and three further annual payments of £10,000. But into the balance he threw a promise to secure from his Government an absolute guarantee for a stock issue, a promise which he failed to keep. With the days and weeks flitting by and still nothing accomplished, Reuter decided to accede to the diplomat's demands and bought the "fourth share" of his own concession. In return he obtained on July 5 a *cahier* which authorized his engineers to begin constructing the Resht-Tehran line. This was nineteen days short of a year since the original concession was signed, and there remained only three and a half months before the caution money would be forfeited.

Shortly after, the horizon brightened considerably for the promoter, for the Shah on his triumphal tour of the European capitals was now approaching England. Long before the channel steamer carrying the monarch and his party, escorted by some of the first British ironclads, reached Dover, the British public had been well informed by the popular Press of the extravagant dress, Eastern manner, and reputed phenomenal wealth of the Persian autocrat. All classes high and low imagined him as a synthesis of Darius and Haroun el Rashid, of Cyrus and Hajji Baba, and all turned out to welcome him whenever he appeared in public. Just at this time the news was first released that the Reuter concession had been granted; it was greeted with lavish applause, and newspapers vied in forecasting the change which would come over Persia as a result of this act. Even the cautious *Times* noted that "when it is considered that Persia is about five times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and inhabited by only ten million people, the vast field she offers to commerce and industry now that she has entered upon the path of modern civilization

need not be dilated upon." *Punch* with its usual wit and penetration saluted Reuter thus:

"There's Reuter—let's hope 'twill be Reuter *Khan*  
 Instead of Reuter *cannot*—  
 Has set himself calmly the gulf to scan,  
 Which in Persia, since Kadjar rule began,  
 Hath yawned with wider and wider span,  
 'Twixt dried-up nature and dwindled man,  
 Where the gold stream—for Nadir Shah that ran—  
 Again to Nadir has got."

While the public was demonstrating its approval of the concession, Reuter was busy behind the scenes in an attempt to bring pressure on the Shah to grant the required *cahiers* and to stop the chronic seeking of *doceurs*. Reuter hoped to accomplish this by suggesting before the Shah left Persia that he should bear the travelling expenses of the royal train in Europe. Since Reuter needed money in Persia and the Shah required funds in Europe, the cost of transporting bullion over long distances could be obviated by the Baron providing £200,000 in various European capitals and by the Shah repaying that amount in Tehran. Once the party left the borders of Persia, they would be at the mercy of Reuter's cheque-book, and he expected to use this power to secure fulfilment of his concession. At the beginning he supplied the retinue with £20,000 and then refused to give more until certain demands were met. The Shah rejected them and was forced to finance the trip in other ways.\*

Nothing daunted by the failure of this ruse, Reuter took the obvious course when he resumed his attempts to secure official Government aid and approval for the concession. As early as September 12, 1872, not more than two months after the concession had been granted, Baron de Reuter had addressed a letter to Earl Granville at the Foreign Office, notifying him that a concession of wide scope had been ratified by the Shah. In undertaking this project, the Baron declared, his purpose was two-fold: to improve the economic and social condition of the Persians and to advance British interests in that country. He represented his concession to be of high value to Great Britain as a counter to the advance of the Russians who were "making great progress with their railway towards the Caspian Sea," and as furnishing a link in the chain of transportation projects between England and India. In the last paragraph he revealed the request which he felt entitled to make: "I . . . desire to feel assured that in the event of differences arising between the Persian Government

\* F.O. 60/361, copy of circular dispatch from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Persian representatives abroad, n.d.; in Thomson to Granville, January 21, 1874.



and myself, Her Majesty's Government will recognize the validity of my scheme, and protect my rights, as a British subject, so far as may be within their power."

Before giving answer to this request, the Foreign Office consulted its sister department across the quadrangle, and since the question was intimately connected with the general problem of the protection of Indian frontiers and the extension of transportation routes to India, the India Office was largely responsible for the attitude assumed by the Government. In formulating a reply, the India Office officials already had before them a memorandum on "Railways in Persia," which had been drawn up a year previously by Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, whose long experience in the Middle East as an army officer and diplomat gave him a commanding position on the Council of State for India. This Elder Statesman in Indian affairs expressed a thorough-going scepticism of the commercial value of any transportation scheme in opening up the ancient kingdom of Persia to Western trade, of finding there a source of raw materials or a market for the products of European factories, or of raising Persia to a position of prominence in the social and economic regeneration of the East. "With regard," he wrote, "to planting a 'seed of progress' in Persia from which a rich harvest is to spring up and rejuvenate the country, I look upon all such hopes as visionary. The nation is effete and is even more incapable than Turkey of adopting European habits of vigorous thought or of moral sense. It is only important to us from its geographical position, and our interest in it must be restricted to that sole consideration."

If, however, the Persian railway were to be considered as a link in an overland line from Constantinople or Syria to India, then Sir Henry was willing to give it his support. He had constantly urged the construction of an all-land line from the Mediterranean to the Indus in preference to the highly publicized scheme for a Euphrates Valley railway to the Persian Gulf, which would be linked to India by sea. If his plan were executed, there would be no necessity for trans-shipment at a Persian Gulf port, forty hours would be saved, and troops could speedily be brought from England to repel any threat of Russia to India. When it became apparent that the Reuter concession envisaged a line from the Caspian to Tehran and the Gulf, and that construction was to start at the northern end of the route, Rawlinson lost interest in the project. Such a line, instead of forming a link in the Mediterranean-to-India railway, would cut across Persia in the opposite direction and would benefit Russia rather than England, especially in the early stages of construction before the line reached the Gulf.

The Government of India, dominated by members of the

"masterly inactivity" school, demonstrated a lukewarm attitude toward the construction of railways to India, even to the less ambitious projects of a Euphrates Valley route. A similar indifference to a Mesopotamian railway was shown by the authorities in London, and although a Select Committee of the House of Commons designated to study the problem had reported that such a project was within the realm of possibility and desirable for imperial reasons, no definite steps were taken to get the plan under way. This lack of interest in a railway to the Persian Gulf could not fail to affect in a similar fashion any other proposals for railway construction in the Middle East.

In Government offices in Whitehall there was also a large measure of scepticism as to the financial soundness of the Reuter concession. It was obvious that an immense amount of capital would be needed to launch the railway alone, and that for tramway, mining, lumbering, and irrigation projects a large additional sum would be needed. In order to attract sufficient capital, ample security or definite prospects of a rapid return of invested money was needed, but neither existed under the Reuter scheme. India Office officials especially predicted that British capitalists would find the prospects so nebulous that they would refuse to risk money in the enterprise. Sir John Kaye, then Secretary of the Political and Secret Department, noting the high rate of interest offered by Reuter, wrote that "high interest is only another name for bad security."

In view of these disabilities, the Foreign Office replied in a distinctly discouraging tone to Baron de Reuter's request of September 12, 1872. Viscount Enfield notified the concessionnaire that "whilst Her Majesty's Government would view with satisfaction the efforts of the Shah's Government to increase, by means of railways and roads, the resources of Persia, they cannot bind themselves officially to protect your interests whilst carrying out your engagements with that Government."

Still undaunted by this refusal, Reuter made another request for assistance in May, 1873. This time he proposed altering the projected Persian railway to an east-west line to be linked up with a Turkish line which he would construct, the whole forming an all-land route from the Mediterranean to the borders of India. He maintained that the Ottoman Government would grant him a concession and the land required along a right-of-way running from Constantinople by an undefined route to Tehran and thence to India. To make this project feasible, he asked the British Government to give a contingent guarantee covering the Turkish guarantee on a stock issue, or alternately that Britain join with Turkey in a joint guarantee. The shrewd change made in the projected trace of the railway, rendering it more advantageous to



Anglo-Indian interests and less to Russian, was calculated to enlist the support of that section of British officialdom which followed Rawlinson in advocating a land line to India. It was well planned, for while Sir Henry had been discouraging before, he now held that Reuter's project "might conduce most essentially to the prosperity of Persia and to the improvement of our political position in the East." Rawlinson believed that a Mediterranean-to-India line would be built "sooner rather than later" and that it was obviously desirable that England should control this railway either directly or indirectly.\*

With this change of attitude among certain members of the Council for India, the Foreign Office passed the responsibility for answering Reuter's request to the Treasury. They replied shortly and succinctly that it "would be contrary to established rule for H.M. Government to guarantee interest on the cost of work undertaken in a foreign country . . ." and thus the Baron was refused aid for a second time.

In the meantime, the entrepreneur was having no more success in Persia than in England. After interminable procrastination on the part of the Persian authorities, Reuter had finally received a *cahier des charges* for the construction of a railway in July, 1873. In April of the same year, a party of engineers had been sent out to Persia and had begun to survey the line and prepare the roadbed. By the time that the Shah returned from his European journey in September, the roadbed had been completed for about half a mile southward from Resht. Soon the twenty-fifth day of October arrived, marking the end of the fifteen-month period within which the Baron was bound by the terms of the concession to begin construction. The roadbed had been extended another half-mile, the sleepers were in place, and the ballast laid; the only material lacking were the steel rails. They had been sent off from England on September 11 under contract to be delivered at Enzeli via Russia in five weeks, but the journey was long and difficult, and vague charges were made that Russian officials had delayed the shipment. It was not until March of the following year that the rails arrived in Enzeli.

Not long after the deadline stipulated in the concession had passed, rumours began circulating in Tehran to the effect that the Government would declare the contract void. In a semi-official note the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed Reuter's agent on November 5 that such a step was being considered, and a few days later there appeared in the *Tehran Gazette* an official announcement that the concession was withdrawn since it was "evident that the Baron does not intend fulfilling his engagement or adhering to his concession." Subsequently in correspondence

\* F.O. 60/405, Memorandum by Rawlinson, June 5, 1873.

with Reuter, the Government adduced a second reason: the works of mining, foresting, and irrigation had not been commenced within the fifteen-month period.

In annulling the concession on the basis of the concessionaire's failure to comply with the provisions of Article VIII., the Persian Government interpreted the article very strictly, to say the least. According to the relevant clause, the caution money was to be returned to the Baron when a quantity of rails sufficient to cover the distance between Resht and Tehran had arrived at the port of Enzeli. The deposit was to be declared forfeit, however, if within fifteen months the "works" had not been commenced. The Shah's Ministers read the latter phrase as requiring the roadbed to be levelled, the ties in place, and the rails laid. But since the rails had not arrived, it was obviously impossible for the engineers to fulfil this requirement.

While non-compliance was officially instanced by the Persian Government as the basis of the cancellation of the concession, they did no more than pretend that they had no more significant motives. Actually there were several important currents of thought running beneath the surface which led the Government to annul the contract. One of the cardinal factors was the opposition engendered by the narrow, reactionary priesthood of the Shiah Moslems. When the news of the Shah's grant of a virtual *carte blanche* to an outsider, an infidel, percolated through the land, a wave of disapproval arose. In May, 1873, Mr. Thomson reported from Tehran that there had been demonstrations of dissatisfaction in the capital, which redoubled in intensity as the Shah continued his European trip. When the ruler returned to Persia in September, he found the affairs of state in a critical condition, with several incipient revolts brewing in the provinces. In order to consolidate his position and conciliate the reactionary opposition, he was influenced to cancel the concession, especially when it appeared not to be feasible.

To a certain school of thought in Britain and India, the explanation for the Shah's action was much more exciting and sinister. The Russophobes and ardent imperialists wove much more devious plots to explain the cancellation of the concession given to a British subject. Behind it they saw the shadowy hand of Russia reaching out to check the pretensions of an agent of the British Government who presumed to put all of Persia under his domination, destroy Russian trade and political influence in the area, and bring it safely within the sphere of interest of the British Empire. The Russian Minister in Tehran, they insinuated, had represented to the Shah the displeasure of his sovereign at the grant. And when Nasir el Din reached St. Petersburg on his tour, he was informed by high officials, perhaps even by the Tsar



himself, that Russia resented the giving up of Persia's resources into the hands of her principal Asiatic rival.\*

Actually it appears that the British alarmists greatly over-emphasized the importance of Russian disapproval as a factor in the cancellation of the Reuter concession. It was to be expected that St. Petersburg looked askance at such a sweeping delivery of the economic interests of Persia to a British subject; naturally the Court indicated their displeasure when the Shah arrived on his tour. High Russian officials did extract from him a tentative promise to grant a similar concession for a railway to a Russian company. But there are no grounds for maintaining that this opposition was the deciding factor in the Reuter fiasco. A survey of the communications from Reuter to the Foreign Office discloses no charge that the cancellation could be attributed to Russian intrigue, and likewise there is no suggestion in the correspondence between the British Legation in Tehran and Whitehall that Mr. Thomson and his staff, who were usually able and prompt in discovering Persian Foreign Office secrets, had unearthed any evidence of official Russian pressure on the Persian Court to bring an end to the Reuter concession.

It is possible to underestimate the Russian factor in the cancellation of the concession, just as the Russophobes have over-emphasized it, and one must acknowledge that it must have played some part in the Shah's cogitations when he debated the fate of the concession. Wily schemer that he was, he could comfort himself by the thought that in case of any real and open pressure applied by the Government of the Tsar, the British would not abandon him completely. Conversely Russia would not stand idly by if British agents became too threatening in their desire to compel restoration of the contract. Persia occupied a highly strategical position between two great empires which gave to its ruler a vantage point from which to balance one force against the other. If the process of tipping the balance to the right and then to the left could be made profitable to the Shah and his Court, there was all the more reason to experiment in high politics. Already the bait of a railway concession had drawn in £4,000 from an earlier victim. Reuter had contributed £20,000 in gratuities and was soon to add unwillingly the £40,000 deposit in the Bank of England.

\* Cf. Lord Curzon: "In England the Shah found that but a lukewarm reception had been given to the scheme . . . but the *coup de grâce* to the project was in reality dealt in St. Petersburg." *Persia and the Persian Question*, I., 481.

Sir Henry Rawlinson: "In Russia he [the Shah] found intense chagrin—amounting almost to indignation—prevailing in the highest quarters on the subject of the Reuter concession." *England and Russia in the East*, 2nd ed., 126.

Having already invested heavily in his project, Baron de Reuter did not cease his efforts to persuade or force the fulfilment of the concession by Persia. While his agents in Tehran hammered at the Court, Reuter continued his appeals in London for the British Government to take an interest in his cause. Early in 1873 he had enticed official co-operation by offering to abandon the construction of a Resht-Tehran line in favour of one passing from west to east through Persia. Again in October of the same year, he came to Lord Granville with a grandiose scheme for which he asked British aid. Briefly he proposed going on with the Persian railway "in an international sense," a scheme which he said had already been endorsed by high officials of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. The British Government, having had a painful experience with another international company, the Suez, refused to lend any aid.

Having failed on three occasions to enlist the financial and political support of the Government, Reuter adopted a new strategy. In July, 1874, he communicated to Lord Derby, the Foreign Minister in the new Disraeli Cabinet, his disappointment at the lack of interest of the previous Government in his enterprise. He then threatened obliquely to embarrass Britain by disclosing that he could have disposed of a part of his concession at very favourable terms to a Russian company, and that in fact the offer was still open. In replying to this offer, he explained: "I have hitherto refused these proposals, because I am yet in hopes of utilizing the concession in the interests of England."\*

The significant words in this passage are "hitherto" and "yet," indicating subtly but surely that unless some aid were accorded him, Reuter would dispose of the concession to rival interests, as he was empowered to do under Article XXII. This covert threat, surprising as it was, could not have been entirely unexpected by the Foreign Office, for as early as May, 1873, seven months before the concession was annulled, British diplomats and even the Prime Minister himself had been warned of the Baron's contacts with Russian agents and of the possibility that he would assign to them some of the concession rights.† As an alternative to the transfer of the concession to foreign interests, Baron de Reuter suggested that the Government should intervene between him and the Persian Court to bring about a proper termination of the concession and a suitable recompense to the concessionaire.

With this pointed statement of intent before them, the Govern-

\* F.O. 60/406, Reuter to Derby, July 6, 1874.

† F.O. 60/358, Hammond (Permanent Under-Secretary, Foreign Office) to Gladstone, May 29, 1873; F.O. 60/405, Hammond to Lord Odo Russell, May 29, 1873; F.O. 60/405, Thomson to Granville, December 4, 1873.



ment speedily decided to support by the good offices of the Minister in Tehran the claim for monetary damages in exchange for a definitive termination of the contract. This represents a decided shift in the attitude of the Government, one which was calculated to remove once and for all the possibility of the disturbance of the *status quo* which the Reuter concession had brought on. In taking this step the Government had made it clear that they were intervening only to the extent of obtaining a fair hearing for Reuter's representative with the Shah and that they did not make the claim their own.

Meanwhile events were transpiring in Tehran which made the Government change rapidly from the high-handed attitude they had assumed toward Reuter. General von Falkenhagen, a recently retired engineer of the Tsar's Army of the Caucasus and builder of several Russian railways, had arrived in Tehran and had proceeded to the task of convincing the Shah that a concession should be granted to the interests he represented for the construction of a railway from Julfa on the Russo-Persian border to Tabriz. From Julfa the Russian Government would be expected to lay a line connecting the Persian branch with the Caucasian system at Tiflis. Falkenhagen also asked for a Government guarantee on the railway finances and the control of the lucrative Customs post at Tabriz. When the Shah hesitated in accepting these proposals, the General and the Russian Minister concerted in bringing to bear all the pressure which the Russian Empire could command in that area. These overtures greatly alarmed the British Legation, and Mr. Thomson lost no time in telegraphing the news home. He accompanied this with the suggestion that a convenient method of combating the Russians would be to remind the Persian Government that as Baron de Reuter still considered his exclusive concession to be in force, any other grant would be an infringement of that concession.

This telegram came as a distinct shock to the Government in Whitehall, as they had had only scant intimation of the character of the Falkenhagen mission. The crisis, though unknown to the public of the time, was pregnant with difficulty and might have precipitated a serious conflict between the two powers. In the past the Russian advance had been confined to the native khanates of Central Asia, and as long as the Tsarist officers used persuasion and force against the native tribal federations alone, calmer counsels prevailed over the alarmist school in the Government of India and in Whitehall. But Russian intervention in Persia, a kingdom with a long history, a comparatively settled population, and a Government recognized by Western states, was quite another matter; a thrust at Persia was a thrust at a buffer state of India and at the channels of transport and communication

between England and the East. The Foreign Office therefore authorized Thomson to take the preliminary step of advising the Shah's Government that any new railway concession would contravene the terms of Reuter's contract, and later instructed him "to use all the influence in his power" in encouraging the Shah to resist Russian pressure.

Encouraged by this evidence of English interest, the Shah felt able to take a firmer line with the Russian concession hunter and rejected the proposals for a Persian guarantee of the railway bonds and for the lease of the Tabriz Customs. He did grant a railway concession, however, but that was not enough for Falkenhagen, who pressed his other demands. At the same time, Thomson renewed his representations to the Shah, claiming that the Reuter concession had been contravened and threatening that if the Russian contract were ratified, his Government would abandon good offices for direct intervention. It was apparent that by this time the Shah had manœuvred himself into an exceedingly tenuous position, pulled on each side by rival interests and fearing to take a step in any direction for fear of affronting one of the parties. Under the circumstances, he made a move which turned out to be most opportune. Without directly rejecting Falkenhagen's request, the Shah offered him a Government guarantee of 3 per cent. only on the railway capital and refused to give up the Tabriz Customs. This offer was still unsatisfactory to the Russian, and he gave up the concession entirely.

With the Russian agent gone from the scene, the British Legation might have expected a respite in the tedious game of frustrating foreign concession hunters. Instead they continued to swoop down upon Persia, one after the other, like hawks after prey. Twice between 1875 and 1878 Dr. Tholozan, the French physician in attendance on the Shah, obtained for French interests a concession for navigation of the Karun River, for a dam at Ahwaz, and for irrigation, mining, and public works projects in that area. Twice the concession was cancelled. Another Frenchman, M. Alléon, proceeded with the survey of a rail route from Resht to Tehran in 1878 before he was refused a contract. A German engineer presented a scheme for connecting Julfa with Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf, but was unsuccessful. A few years later the American Minister in Tehran was disappointed in a similar way. Against each of these proposed concessions the British Legation brought up the same objection: that they could not be valid as long as the Reuter concession was in force. And in each case this was a powerful check to the ambitions of Western commercial interests.

During the whole of the period from 1872 to 1889, Baron de Reuter, who originally obtained the concession, invested in it,



and lost the caution money involved, had received no compensation. The British Minister was supposedly supporting unofficially his attempts to obtain satisfaction, but the Foreign Office was firm in maintaining that this support should be the same as that granted to any other British subject with a grievance against a foreign Government, and that in any case no official aid or diplomatic influence was to be employed. To emphasize the extremely distant view which the Foreign Office took of the Reuter concession, Lord Derby wrote in a dispatch that "although Baron Reuter may have suffered disappointment and probably injustice, from the failure to execute the contract, Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to say that the Persian Government were otherwise than well advised in cancelling it, when they came to appreciate its true bearing, at the earliest opportunity which presented itself."

While holding this opinion toward Reuter, the British Government closely identified themselves with the Reuter concession when addressing the Persian Government in Tehran. Eminently satisfactory as this was for British public policy, it was scarcely a just arrangement for Baron de Reuter and his associates. For seventeen years Reuter pressed his claim for recompense and was not able to obtain redress until 1889. By that time it had become impossible for British diplomacy to hold back the flood of Western entrepreneurs. A French firm had obtained a railway concession in 1882 and finally finished a narrow-gauge line from the capital to Shah Abdul Aziz, a shrine six miles away. The concession was then transferred to a Belgian syndicate, which secured rights for tramway construction also. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the new British Minister, himself obtained a firman from the Shah opening to the commerce of the world the navigation of the Karun River.

Thus when the New Oriental Bank opened branches throughout Persia in 1888 and cultivated an entirely unploughed but fertile field, British policy demanded that such an influential enterprise be withdrawn from private hands. The Shah was urged to give Baron de Reuter a concession for a state bank to be known as the Imperial Bank of Persia, which then bought out the New Oriental Bank interests. The Imperial Bank received a monopoly of note issue in Persia and served as a Government depository.

The story of the Reuter concession illustrates in a lucid and concise manner the policy pursued by the British Government toward Persia in the nineteenth century. From the time when Persia was drawn into the realm of European politics until the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, the statesmen in London had constantly and consistently conceived that England's interest in the Middle East would be satisfied if the *status quo* was pre-

served. Such a programme would seem at first sight to be well adapted to the conditions of the area between the Euphrates and the borders of India, for there one found only a sparsely populated land, largely desert, divided into several kingdoms once powerful but now mere shadows. There were forces on the march, however, that would not be stayed by the will of British diplomats. An early forerunner of the approach of commercial and industrial enterprise was the telegraph. Cables were laid in Persian waters and wires strung across Persian plains by promoters who were mainly English.

Although the British Government could be persuaded of the necessity for telegraph lines and of their comparative ineffectiveness in affecting the *status quo*, they took an entirely different attitude toward transportation channels. Only a few years before, the Suez Canal had been opened, and already it had become apparent in inner circles that such an important portion of the new route to India could not remain under non-British control. If another line to India overland through Persia were developed, the drama of the Suez would be played over again with Persia rather than Egypt as the background. This the British Government was determined to forestall, and hence gave no encouragement to a project which in another time and another place would have received full Government approbation and support.

Instead they used the Reuter concession to defeat the attempts of would-be concessionnaires to wring other railway contracts from the Shah. Eventually such a policy became so unreal that it collapsed of its own weight, for even British power could not prevent the introduction of Western economic influences into this attractive undeveloped land. In the late 1880's Whitehall finally realized that they could no longer maintain a wall around Persia high enough to exclude the onward drive of expanding capitalistic states, and, trying to make the best of the altered situation, the Government at last changed their policy and used the Reuter concession as an effective counter in the scramble for control of the development of Persia, which continued at a high pitch until 1907 and even beyond to the Great War.

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## THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

BY PATRICK LACEY

A FEW years ago the authorities of Calcutta University seemed to be thinking, at last, of their real responsibilities to the mother tongue of their own province. A movement was started to extend the vernacular as a medium of teaching into stages beyond those where it had been tried before. Not everyone liked the idea, and it inspired a Bengali correspondent to eloquent opposition. Few Englishmen can boast equal mastery of any foreign language, but perhaps his mode of expression unconsciously counterbalanced the force of his argument.

"English" (he wrote) "is not my mother tongue. Not that I love my mother tongue less, but that I have been compelled to love the English language more. I know that my mother and therefore her language are superior to heaven. I bow down my head also in eternal reverence to the precious assertion that 'the mother tongue is for students what mother's milk is for infants.' But what actual state of affairs is being presented before our eyes today?

"Is not our mother now anæmic, pale, emaciated and too feeble to carry her nurslings upon her breast? What palpable harm is there if we, until her recovery, suck the breast of a stepmother and offer our filial devotion and gratitude to her in return for her motherly care and solicitude? Education is not the manna that it will be dropped upon our path, neither is it the raindrop that it will be showered upon our heads by the merciful heaven. To have the light of education and culture solely depends upon one's will and resourcefulness. At present neither Bengali nor Hindi nor Urdu nor any other language in India is a paying language. The preference shown and the value attached to the English language would be clearly understood from the fact that an M.A. in English is offered better prospects and greater remuneration than an M.A. in any other language.

"But those are minor arguments. We want the solidarity of our nation to ensure the political salvation of our country. The moment vernacular-ridden our country will be, the moment the jostling currents of different languages will rush to the foundations of our nationalism to damp and destroy it.

The easiest means to prepare a united India is to pave the way for her one streamlet whose transparent waters would be tasted by all the communities alike. Let us not forget that the thorn that is lying pricked into our limb is to be got rid of through the thorn alone, and that thorn or weapon is the English language itself only."

Very true, up to a point. No one can question the benefits India has derived from its first *lingua franca*. The founders and early orators of the Indian National Congress blessed them without stint. I have seen in recent years the difficulties experienced at the party's annual sessions when efforts were made to conduct the entire proceedings in Hindi. Delegates from Bengal and Madras grumbled because they could not understand the speeches. An eminent Sindhi began to speak in English, but was silenced by shouts for Hindi. He tried it for a single sentence, and with roars of laughter was begged to revert to English. People with some knowledge of Hindi complain of Jawaharlal Nehru's "pure Urdu." And let it be acknowledged that no Indian orator in English speaks with the stumbling incoherence of many Members of Parliament or of this article. Even the four Indian and two British members of the Punjab University Inquiry Commission, concerned as they were for cultivation of the vernaculars, agreed in 1933 that "the use of English is perhaps the greatest bond which has linked together Indians of all provinces and communities. Without this bond the federation of India will be an idle dream."

But that is not, and was not, intended to be an answer to the case made by the Hyderabad Government in 1917 for the establishment of a University where the teaching, in text-books and lectures, would be vernacular. A State that had never been under direct British rule, was larger than England and Scotland, and had 14,000,000 people, need not enslave itself to the Macaulay tradition of British India. In his famous Minute of 1835 Macaulay recommended that in schools and colleges supported by Government funds Western learning should be taught in English. It was conceded that "the vernaculars should be improved in the hope that eventually they might be used as the media for the diffusion of Western knowledge"; but two years later English became the language of the British Indian courts, and in 1844 it was announced that Government appointments would go by preference to men having a Western education and sufficient command of English. Thus the whole educational system of British India had three over-riding inducements to base itself on the language of England: (i.) the hope of easy money for its schools; (ii.) the exigencies of litigation, one of the country's staple hobbies



and industries; and (iii.) the attractions and social *cachet* of Government service. Now that we know what happened, it is astonishing to read that in the eighteen-thirties and forties "the Government could not have been expected to forecast the subsequent neglect of vernacular education, which has been so distressing a feature of Indian educational development; nor could they have foreseen the sad neglect of the teaching of the vernaculars in schools and colleges."

Within the limits of Hyderabad and its Government's purpose, the inducements I have mentioned should have had little force. Urdu is the language of all civil and criminal courts in the State, all its Government offices, and its principal newspapers. But its early experiments in general education—perhaps inevitably—were imitative of the methods approved by British *raj*. When Nawab Imadul Mulk Bahadur, Director of Public Instruction in the State, set out his proposals in 1884 for stimulating education, he suggested a primary school in every village, an Anglo-Vernacular school in every town having ten thousand or more people, and a high school at the headquarters of each division. English presumably was to be the teaching medium above the primary stage.

I do not know how this scheme developed, but imagine it lay fallow many years, for in 1907-8 Mr. Hydari (now Sir Akbar) was urging the Hyderabad Government to overhaul its educational system. Two years later the State borrowed Mr. A. T. Mayhew from the Indian Educational Service. In his final report he suggested that Hyderabad might have its own University. Reforms were then being pressed with vigour, and in twenty-five years the State's expenditure on education was multiplied ten times over. Even so, when the last census was taken in 1931, only 5 per cent. of the State's population above the age of five was literate, as against 9.5 per cent. in all India, 28 per cent. in Travancore, and 3.5 per cent. in Kashmir. Of the literate Hyderabadis, 12½ per cent.—the same proportion as in all India—were literate in English.

For years higher education in the State was supervised by Madras University and affiliated to it, for the sake of degrees, through the Nizam College, where English was and still is the medium of instruction. This sort of arrangement had long been thought unsatisfactory in British India. In 1868 Sir Donald McLeod, a Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, thinking far ahead of his time, had written :

"A strong desire exists on the part of a large number of chiefs, nobles and the educated classes of this Province for the establishment of a system of education which shall give greater encouragement to the communication of knowledge

through vernacular literature, and to the study of oriental classics, than is afforded by the existing system—a system trained to meet the requirements of the University of Calcutta.”

In 1917 Sir Akbar Hydari approached Hyderabad's similar problem in much the same spirit. He submitted a long memorandum, criticizing the bond with Madras University and the effects of teaching in English. It imposed an unwarranted strain, he said, on the pupil's memory. Knowledge and appreciation of the subject-matter suffered from the difficulty of studying it in a foreign language perhaps imperfectly understood. Originality was stifled. The terms in which the educated classes expressed their information were unintelligible to their own countrymen. A gulf was fixed between them and the mass of the general public whom they were nominally supposed to serve. And lest anyone imagine that this was the view of an eccentric individualist, here are comments on the same mischief by the Punjab University Commission sixteen years later:

“It is a grievous impediment to students that they still receive instruction through the medium of a foreign language. The time spent in mastery of English as the vehicle of instruction probably amounts to almost one-third of the total period of education; and it is doubtful whether the object of all this labour is even then properly achieved by many. The fact, for example, that a student who is reading for the B.Sc. examination in Agriculture is expected to undergo, at the end of his course, an examination in English in which he is prone to fail, appears to indicate that he has not even then obtained a real mastery of English, through the medium of which he has been obliged to study his professional subjects. With an indifferent grasp of English and a scanty knowledge of his mother tongue, the average Indian student finds it extremely difficult to make much headway amid the intricacies of Western learning. Consequently he has placed himself under the tutelage of text-books, especially on the side of the Humanities, and has not therefore properly developed his independent judgment and his critical and constructive faculties. . . .

“The founders of the system confidently expected that within a few years the ideals of the universities and schools would become the ideals of the communities from which the students came, but that hope has not been fulfilled. Higher education has created a wide and growing gulf in the habits of life and thought between the intelligentsia and the mass of



the people. How to reverse the process, how to bridge the gulf, is perhaps the most important question which educationists in India have to face."

On Sir Akbar Hydari's advice the Nizam attacked the problem in Hyderabad by founding Osmania University in his own capital, and directing that in all grades of University education the medium should be Urdu, with English as a compulsory second language. The linguistic census of the State gave him an option of several vernaculars, for 6,900,000 Hyderabadis spoke Telugu, 3,750,000 Marathi, 1,600,000 Kanarese, and 2,400,000 spoke one or another in the group to which Urdu belongs. Statistics and communal jealousies of course inspired criticism of his choice, and in North India I have even heard Hindus say he should have plumped for Hindi script. You may think that Urdu was scarcely more suitable than English in a State where it is the mother tongue of a small minority. You may feel sorry for a Telugu or Mahratta compelled to learn Urdu by way of acquiring obligatory English. But Telugu is an incomprehensible joke to most Indians; and when a member of the Central Legislature at Simla spoke for nearly an hour in Marathi, three others in the House knew his speech was most unparliamentary, and no one else understood a word of it. For the present, the Nizam College in Hyderabad continues to cater for students wishing to be taught in English. Urdu, as I have said, is the official language of the State. Many of the Hyderabad majority are bilingual enough to get on with it tolerably well. It serves for intercourse with millions outside the State. It is the key to much Indian literature. Vincent Smith has commented on "the simplicity and flexibility of its syntax, and the extraordinary wealth of its vocabulary." The authors of the Nehru Report did not specify any particular script or category of derivatives when they urged "every effort to make Hindustani the common language of the whole of India." This effort's ultimate success may be doubtful, but no less a Bengali Hindu than Rabindranath Tagore was the most enthusiastic of several eminent Indians welcoming the Osmania venture. Twenty years of the University's early life do not seem to have made the Nizam regret his choice.

The University's first big task appears to have been tackled with energy. There were few, if any, suitable text-books in Urdu on the branches of knowledge required. A bureau was established to provide them, at a cost of nearly £20,000 a year. Its staff has translated about three hundred books, and more are coming. Those already completed include, for instance, the five volumes of J. R. Green's *Short History* and of Heitland's *Roman Republic*; Dunning's *Political Theories*; W. S. Jevons' *Money and the*

*Mechanism of Exchange*; Hoffding's *Modern Philosophy*; Descartes' *Discourse on Method*; the ineluctable laws of Anson, Dicey, Maine and Salmond; fifty-odd text-books of mathematics and physics; sixty of chemistry and medicine; forty of engineering. I am told—terrible thought—that the bureau has had to coin over 40,000 technical words. For some years the translated books had to be lithographed, as usual, but after repeated experiment the Superintendent of the Government Press evolved a Nastaliq type that permitted machine-printing without offence to tradition. This was another triumph of pioneering.

It is hard to say how Osmania graduates will compare with others when English is really nothing but a subsidiary study in all schools and colleges throughout the State, as Latin or French is in England. When I paid a flying visit to the University I was surprised at the chatty restlessness and extreme youth of a class hearing a lecture on geometry. In 1936, when there were 1,723 students at the University, the proportion graduating seemed small. But that is notoriously a common experience of all Indian Universities, and we shall see presently that Hyderabad has done something to remedy it. There is encouragement in the following note from an intimate British observer:

"Cambridge now recognizes Osmania University as an Associated Institution, so that an Osmania graduate with three years' membership is entitled to the privileges of affiliation, which include complete exemption from the Previous and the option of taking an Honours degree in two years instead of three. The question of recognition by Oxford is being considered, and probably such recognition will be granted. The same applies to London. Most of the other British Universities consider applications from Indian students on their merits, and there has been no difficulty in securing recognition for Osmania degrees.

"In my opinion, the courses and degrees of Osmania are as good as those of the older Indian Universities. During the past eight years I have found that students from Osmania have shown as good a record as students holding degrees at the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Aligarh, etc.

"Although Urdu is the official medium of instruction at Osmania, English is a compulsory second language. An Osmania student is thus able to read text-books and current literature in English, and, in fact, is just as well fitted to study at a University here (in England) as any other Indian student."

Professors of British Indian Universities have examined Osmania students in most subjects, for the Hyderabad authorities wished to



make sure of their academic standards. The examiners, I am told, seem to think Osmania students show greater originality and express themselves better, on average, than others who have been taught in English.

The governing body of the University is a Council on which appropriate Departments of State are represented. A Senate limited to seventy members has general charge of organization and is supreme in all academic matters. Seven of its members—including Dr. Amina Pope, head of the Women's College—form the Syndicate or business committee.

Four outlying Intermediate Colleges—in Hyderabad City, Aurangabad, Warangal and Gulbarga—may present candidates for the Intermediate Examination of the degree course, but Osmania otherwise is unitary. Its colleges severally embody the principal faculties, save that the Women's College is self-contained. The average number of students in each faculty is approximately: Arts and Science 1,450, Theology (mainly Islamic) 35, Law 100, Medicine 110, Engineering 45, Education 25. (There is a Training College for teachers.) The Women's College has about fifty students. The Faculty of Arts includes Lecturers or Readers in Telugu, Marathi, Kanarese, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, French and German. Research is encouraged by a rule requiring theses for the Master degrees in some of the Arts courses, physics and chemistry, and by provision for post-M.A. studies in certain subjects.

The permanent, whole-time staff of the University consists of thirty-eight Professors, forty-four Readers and about sixty Lecturers. A substantial majority of these are Moslems.

In addition to the College fees, which are small, residential students pay Rs. 17 a month (25s.) for board and lodging, light, water and incidentals. This modest charge is presumably made possible by the Hyderabad Government's annual grant of Rs. 23 lakhs, or roughly £170,000.

Two institutions of which Osmania is very proud are the Nizamiah Observatory and the Dairat-ul-Maarif. The Observatory co-operates in the international "Carte de Ciel" and the International Seismological Summary. The Dairat-ul-Maarif has been editing and publishing rare Arabic manuscripts since 1890, and was placed under the control of the University twelve years ago. It has published some ninety Arabic books, and has established its repute in Egypt, Arabia, Afghanistan and Europe.

Unlike the older Universities of British India, Osmania has not yet had time or opportunity to produce a glut on the market for educated labour. But because they had vision enough to experiment with a new level of vernacular education, the authors of the Hyderabad venture were able to see also that something must

be done to check an influx into the University of students unfitted for an academic training or unlikely to profit by it in making their careers. One of the well-known blights on India's progress is the superstition that makes a fetish of a B.A. degree either as an end in itself or as an essential key to employment worth having. Thousands of boys are crammed with superficial knowledge in mechanical pursuit of this objective along stereotyped grooves that may lead them nowhere. Many of them, by stultifying their own efforts, are lost to trades, industries or other practical professions which need men of their type; and in trying to cater for them the Universities are often tempted to lower their own academic standards.

The most interesting proposals for checking this evil may be found, I think, in (a) Sir Akbar Hydari's Convocation Address to the Punjab University on December 19, 1925; (b) the Report of the Punjab University Commission of 1933; (c) the recommendations of the Sapru Committee on Unemployment in the United Provinces; and (d) the ideas Sir John Anderson tried to instil into Bengal. The methods suggested differ in detail, but have a common basis. Sir Akbar Hydari noticed that each stage in the education of an Indian boy was regarded merely as a passport to the next. Instead, he would have "three distinct classes of education, each self-contained, having a well-defined goal and especially adapted to the attainment of that goal." He would make it the duty of a University

"continuously to investigate and collect data so as to be able to determine the numbers required by the Government services, railway companies, public and private concerns in the various professions and callings, and to see that a number not much in excess of the number so determined seek admission to the schools designed for these professions and callings."

To put it shortly, the four authorities I have mentioned thought that primary and secondary education should be broadened and extended, and pupils unlikely to benefit by the expense of a University career should be directed at the proper time into vocational training. These would then find their own level in a labour market offering them a fair chance of useful service, and a more selective admission to higher schools and degree courses would improve at once the standards of the Universities and the prospects of their students.

That appears to have been the advice and object of a Hyderabad committee whose proposals were sanctioned by the Nizam some months ago. Their aim is to rationalize education in the schools, and to ensure that "enrolment in the University shall be strictly confined to those for whom university education can be provided



without the lowering of standards, and who are fit to benefit by it." Committees and reports in India come much more readily than subsequent action, but here at least the fertile germ of reform has been sown.

Apart from its pioneer efforts in academics and research, Osmania has special claim to notice in its architectural design. It was handicapped in its early days by necessary confinement to makeshift or temporary quarters. Some years ago, however, Professor Patrick Geddes was commissioned to help in the selection and preparation of a healthy site on the hilly ground of Adigmet, outside Hyderabad City. Two experienced engineers were sent to inspect Universities in Europe and America, and the plan and lay-out of new buildings were made in consultation with Mons. Jasper, an authority on Oriental architecture. The whole project thus evolved is expected to cost about £1,125,000, and is bolder and grander than any that could be completed for that much in England.

The progress already made is enough to show a visitor that nothing quite like it can be found elsewhere in India. Two of the hostels are now in use, giving three hundred students comfortable accommodation without distinction of community or caste. They are fine buildings, though I could have wished one of them had been less infected with the Hyderabad nobility's liking for "modernish" angles and curves. The finished Arts College, others still in building, and the sketches of those not yet above ground, show how well the architects have employed their imagination, and how successfully an original taste for surplus frills is being subdued.

I have seen it claimed that the buildings "harmoniously blend the ease of modernity with the art of the past." That may seem trite and ominous to those who realize how often such blendings have been disastrous; but Osmania appears to be learning by others' mistakes. The Arts College is magnificent. Its massive grey walls have none of the depressing, flat monotony of the new mountain in Bloomsbury, and I would hazard a guess that they will prove more durable. Dignity is enhanced rather than sacrificed by the æsthetic economy of quasi-Persian colonnades. The builders have rejected the superfluous trimmings that were expected to be ornamental, and similar discipline in the great Library-cum-Law College and Senate House will make these equally majestic. All the buildings, completed and projected, are distributed conveniently over a large area that will be traversed by admirable roads and avenues, and relieved here and there by pleasant gardens, plantations for the forestry school, playing grounds and so on. On this score, at any rate, Osmania is a University City worthy of the name.

## HUMANISM IN SHAKESPEARE

BY DR. S. N. A. JAFIR

(Barrister-at-Law.)

THERE is hardly an educated man who is not familiar with the name of Shakespeare. This great dramatist-poet of England has achieved a name and reputation which goes far beyond the bounds of the British Empire. His works are a treasure-house of literary accomplishment, moral teaching and guidance in every walk of life. They give us an insight into the world and its ways which is almost encyclopædic. It is not easy to paint a man of such versatile genius in all his colours, and here an attempt is made to depict what may be called humanism in Shakespeare. By humanism is meant the intellectual and psychic movement based on literary culture which gave people a new idea of freedom and self-determination which resulted in a reorientation of human ideals and a readjustment of human relations. Our aim is to see, through an appreciation of his works, how and to what extent Shakespeare helped this movement through his plays.

His own life, his own attempts and failures, expectations and disappointments, enabled Shakespeare to see and study human nature first-hand in its true perspective and made him the leader of contemporary thought. His social environments no less than his domestic circumstances were instrumental in bringing out his genius. Contemporary projects of academies for disciplining young men; manners of speech and dress current in fashionable circles; recent attempts on the part of the State to negotiate with foreign Powers, the inefficiency of rural constables and the pedantry of village schoolmasters and curates, all form the subject of Shakespeare's art and satire. His mind, as Hazlitt suggested, contained within itself the germs of every faculty and feeling. He knew intuitively how every faculty and feeling would develop in every conceivable change of fortune. Men and women, good or bad, old or young, wise or foolish, merry or sad, rich or poor, yielded their secrets to him, and his genius illumined in turn every aspect of humanity that presented itself on the highway of life. Each of his characters gives voice to thought or passion with an individuality and a naturalness that rouse in the intelligent playgoer or reader the illusion that they are overhearing men and women speak unpremeditatingly among themselves rather than that they are reading speeches or hearing written speeches recited.

The intimate knowledge of the various spheres of human activity exhibited by Shakespeare would lead one to conclude that



he wrote of them from practical experience. But such a conclusion, in the absence of strong evidence, would be underrating his own intuitive power of realising life in all its aspects by the force of his imagination, his intellectual capacity and the way in which he turned to account his versatile powers. The many references to travel in his sonnets were doubtless reminiscences of theatrical tours presented with human interest, but a number of them, especially those realistic touches of foreign scenery, are based on verbal reports of travelled friends or on relevant books, both of which he had a rare power of assimilating and vitalizing. For our purpose it may be of interest to touch on one or two plays in which Shakespeare dramatizes human sentiment in various situations with his own peculiar skill as a dramatist and master of stage-craft in such a way that humanity may never forget them.

It is known that Shakespeare did not invent his plots. They are invariably humanized versions of old or contemporary themes. For example, the popular interest aroused by the trial in February, 1594, and the execution in June of the Queen's Jewish Physician, Roderigo Lopez, incited Shakespeare to an intimate study of Jewish character, and the result is *The Merchant of Venice*, between which and Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* a close resemblance is discernible. In other words, Shylock is but a humanized portrait of the Jew Barabbas.

*Love's Labour Lost* is a fantasy where the real and the unreal are in conflict. A vision of something eternally treacherous is presented to the audience. Here the poet deals with the idea that treachery caused by some obsession is at the root of most tragedy. It is an idea which remained all through his life the pole-star of dramatic action and the law of his imagination and is evident in almost all the tragedies. Tragedy, according to Shakespeare, is the result of a strong will rendered purblind by a stronger passion. Minor characters in this play are fashions of mind well observed, reminding us of the shrewdness of an unspoiled mind.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* the speeches of the clowns overflow with farcical drollery and irritating conceit. In accepting Proteus's apology, Valentine gives expression to one of the religious ideas which seems to have been constantly on the poet's mind—i.e., "By patience the Eternal's wrath is appeased."

Shakespeare is at his best in his art in *Hamlet*. He believed that reason was a divine attribute, for he says:

"He that made us . . . gave us not  
That capability and godlike reason  
To fust in us unused."

The chief characters of the play show that the laurels of victory in this world adorn the heads of those only who believe in action

and overcome the fear of death. From the religious point of view Shakespeare believed in the Islamic principle of "Laisa lil Insane illa ma sa'a"—"There is nothing for a man except in what he endeavours," or what we call "God helps those who help themselves." From this play it also appears that the poet believed in the idea of avenging the wrong to the extent done, according to the Islamic principle "Jaza-o-Sayyatin Sayyatun misloha"—"Retaliation to the extent harm is done is not forbidden." In Hamlet the conflict is between the divine principle of "Resist not evil" and the human principle of "Face evil squarely." Hamlet is the picture of a modern hero, or that of a hero who will be modern in any age. Hamlet's victory lies in his conquest over the fear of death and the fear of the unknown future. Is not a similar heroic spirit responsible for such exploits as attempts to climb Everest or ascend the stratosphere?

In *The Merchant of Venice* the ideal of justice tempered with mercy is presented to the world. What can be loftier than mercy? It is "twice blest" for "it blesseth him that gives and him that takes." It is "mightiest in the mightiest." And what can be more appropriate than that such thought should find expression through a woman—the abode of all mercy? As Coleridge says, in *The Merchant of Venice* we realize the "omni-humanity" of Shakespeare.

The character of Prospero in *The Tempest* indicates the need for co-ordination between nature and nurture for the progress of human society.

Until the time of Shakespeare, the general tendency among English dramatists was to make heroes only of gods or demi-gods who spent a part of their lives on earth for their own delectation. The chief characteristic of all Shakespeare's writing is that his heroes are all human beings. Instead of exploiting human weakness and frailties to expose them at a disadvantage, he rather used them as a background for rationalizing human emotions and in order to display human virtues to better advantage. There is no trace of the modern hero or heroine, the common individual overstrained or the idler. The characters are alive and spirited, leading a vigorous life, never forgetting, nor letting us forget, that they are animals—divine animals.

Shakespeare used the art of poetry and drama in humanizing contemporary ideas and thoughts. He made the philosophy of mind subservient to his art. Some critics like Dr. Smart aver that the ideas of Fate and Responsibility have been given equal place in Shakespeare's plays. It would appear rather that greater importance has been given to the principle of individual responsibility, fate playing but an auxiliary part.

Mediæval England, like the mediæval world, believed in the



mythological and the supernatural and Shakespeare made good use of this faith in his works. He deliberately introduced preternatural entities—fairies, ghosts, witches, and other black forces—wherewith he diluted his own ideas of individuality and rationality. He impressed upon humanity the emptiness of superstition. His aim seems to be to create a consciousness of realities with a view to arming mankind to face facts boldly and victoriously. His dramas, no doubt, went far to replace fatalist tendencies by such virtues as self-confidence and regard for law and order. Like Buddha, he indicated that life is a great purifier in itself and does not require any superhuman force to help it in the process.

In all his plays, Shakespeare simply presents the facts of a case without comments, showing that "our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together." He neither praises nor blames, for he is a genius and the task of a genius is not to sit in judgment but to see justly. He has shown time and again that success in life goes to them who are practical-minded and who can adjust themselves to circumstances, and that failure is the punishment of those who do not adjust themselves to their environments. In one place, he says, "If chance will have me king, why, chance may crown me, without my stir." In his attempts to humanize melodrama we often come across discrepancies between the characters and their actions, and he intermingles their conflicts in such a way as to give a shock to our moral sense and carefully produce a moralizing effect; note for example the discrepancy between the noble Moor and his acts in *Othello* or of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth*. The Persian poet Hafiz and the Urdu poet Akbar adopted analogous methods to produce the correct moral effect. Hafiz says:

"Zahidan keen jalwa bar mehrab-o-membar mi kunand  
Chun ba khalwat mi rawand in kare digar mi konund,"

or "The saints who are visible on the pulpit and the dais, when they are in private, they are different." And Akbar says:

"Janab-e hezrat-e waaiz ka wah kya kahna  
Jo ek bat na hoti to auliya hote,"

or "What shall be said of the respected preacher—but for one thing, he would have been a Divine Being." The apparent inconsistencies are only proof of the fact that his was a live intelligence open to new impressions and ready for new ventures. Or it may be that he believed in describing the reaction so as to bring home the entire atmosphere of the action.

His many dramas vividly portray and reflect the period to which they belong. However, one very noticeable thing is that

even when his hopes were at a low ebb and his prospects dim, there is no trace of malice or spite in any of his writings, as might easily be expected in any ordinary man in similar circumstances. His attitude towards Southampton alone, even though he forsook him at a time when he had put all his faith in his help, proves this point. Always kindly and free from malice, the dramatist's humour and shrewd understanding of human nature enabled him to penetrate beneath the outward trappings to the real man or woman. We may, for contrast, recall here an incident in the life of a great Persian poet, Firdausi. Mahmud of Ghazni, for whom Firdausi wrote the *Shahnamah*, did not pay him as he expected, and in consequence the disappointed poet wrote a comprehensive *Kasida*, calumnizing the king.

Little is known of Shakespeare's human relationships. That we conjecture much is the penalty humanity pays for failing to recognize a genius when he appears.

"Life took thought for Shakespeare. She bred him mind and bone in a twofold district of hill and valley where country life was at its best and the beauty of England at its bravest. Afterwards she placed him where there was the most and the best life of his time. Work so calm as his can only have come from a happy nature, happily fated. Life made a golden day for her golden soul. His plays are the soul's thanksgiving" (Masefield).

We may be pardoned if we plagiarize, for after four centuries of praise, no praise can be original and the aptest expressions are not inexhaustible. In knowledge of human character, in wealth of humour, in depth of passion, in fertility of fancy, in soundness of judgment, and in mastery of language, he has no rival. Creatures of the imagination are delineated with a like forcefulness, and the reader or spectator feels instinctively that these supernatural characters could not speak, feel or act otherwise than Shakespeare represents them. So mighty a faculty sets at naught the common limitations of nationality, and in every quarter of the globe to which civilized life has penetrated, Shakespeare's genius is recognized. All the world over, language is applied to his creations that ordinarily applies to beings of flesh and blood. Hamlet and Othello, Lear and Macbeth, Falstaff, Brutus, Romeo, and Shylock are studied in almost every civilized tongue as if they were historic personalities, and the greatest of his impressive sayings which fall from their lips are rooted in the speech of civilized humanity. It is no exaggeration to say that Shakespeare is the driving force behind the British people, for his plays inculcated in the minds of Englishmen the importance of personal initiative and energy, the virtues of organic law and order, the need for independent thought and of justice tempered with mercy. In the alchemy of life, progress means the combat of human



talents with forces of nature. Shakespeare reveals to us that that progress lies only in the future; that the millennium has not passed, but is to come. In short, Shakespeare is prominent in humanizing the world. The stream of time, which is continually washing away the foundations of other poets, leaves Shakespeare's fame intact.

## PALESTINE AND THE PROBLEM OF POPULATION IN POLAND

BY PROFESSOR SMOLÉNSKI

TOWARDS the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Poland, that is those territories which today make up the Polish Republic, formed, after Italy and Great Britain, the main source of the emigration movement in Europe. According to statistics by Mr. S. Fogelson, at the last International Congress, held in Paris in 1937, which dealt with the question of populations, it was computed that, in the period between 1871 and 1914, that is up to the outbreak of the Great War, the regular emigration from that area reached the figure of 3·5 million. In spite, however, of this decrease in the population, and thanks to a high natural increase due to a high birth-rate, the population of Poland increased in that period of time by some 12 to 13 million. Out of the 3·5 million emigrants who left their country permanently, the majority, 1·9 million, went to the United States of America, 850,000 to Germany, 400,000 to other European countries, and 350,000 to 400,000 to countries outside Europe other than the United States—chiefly to Canada, Brazil, and the Argentine. In the last few years preceding the Great War, the regular emigration from Poland exceeded the figure of 140,000 persons yearly, thus corresponding to almost one-third of the yearly natural increase of population. Poland was one of the areas where emigration was not only numerically high, but where the urge to emigrate was exceptionally strong. Besides, it should not be forgotten, in this connection, that apart from regular emigration there also occurred seasonal migration at harvest time, for example, to Germany in particular, and this amounted to about half a million persons annually. This powerful emigratory current was the consequence of the over-population of the agricultural countryside, which had made itself felt on Polish territory as early as the end of the nineteenth century.

The World War, fought during its whole duration on Polish soil, left its indelible mark more strongly there and brought in its wake a decrease in population of some 4 million—about two-thirds of which total were those who left the country voluntarily or those who were forcibly evacuated (forced labour, etc.). It needed nine years to make good these losses, so that it was not till 1927 that Poland regained her pre-war population figures.



After the war, all these movements in Poland took on another form. In the first years there was a noticeable decrease in emigration and, on the other hand, a powerful current of immigration which was the result of repatriation, that is the return to the country of those who had left as a result of events connected with the war. During the years 1919 to 1922 approximately 1,000,000 were repatriated. Emigration began again in 1920 with a figure of 116,000 emigrants, attaining 127,000 in the following two years. In 1924 this figure fell once more to 74,000 owing to the restrictions introduced by the United States of America. On that account new outlets for emigration had to be sought. In the years 1926 to 1930 some 363,000 persons emigrated to Germany, 285,000 to France, 120,000 to South America, and 104,000 to Canada. The total of emigrants began to increase again, reaching 170,000 in 1926 and approaching a quarter of a million in 1929. But before long Canada, Germany, and France closed their frontiers to immigration. In 1931 the number of emigrants decreased to approximately 80,000, and as at the same time the figure for re-emigration was about 90,000 the total balance was on the adverse side.

This phenomenon has not recurred, it is true, but the number of emigrants from that year onwards exceeds by only a very small margin the number of immigrants. So, for example, in 1935, we note a state of almost complete equilibrium: 53,800 emigrants as against 53,400 immigrants. In 1936, the surplus of emigration (54,600) amounts only to 10,900. It is worth noticing that in 1935 more than half the emigrants were Jews going to Palestine. Today even that flow of immigration has been firmly stemmed.

The post-war decline of emigration from Poland is the consequence of the emigration prohibitions and restrictions introduced by several countries. This decrease runs counter to the existing and ever-increasing tendency and need for emigration which is a natural outcome of Poland's demographic conditions and of her economic structure.

The Polish Republic has today over 34 million inhabitants. In the matter of population, she occupies the sixth place among the nations of Europe and the eleventh on the globe. With a density of population of an average of 88 persons per square kilometre, she exceeds the figures for Denmark, Austria, and France. Indeed a greater density of population in Europe is only to be found in the countries which are highly industrialized—and in Italy. But Poland is a country for the most part agricultural: 73 per cent. of her population live in the country; 61 per cent. earn their living exclusively from agriculture. For each inhabitant of Poland therefore who gains his livelihood from agriculture, there is 1.7 hectares of arable land. (In Germany the proportion is

more than 3 hectares per person; in France about 4 hectares; in England about 7.6 hectares.) Half the agricultural population, representing more than 20 million, live from the produce of holdings having an area of less than 5 hectares, while only 6 million work on holdings exceeding that area (including the large estates or *latifundia*). Thus there are left several million peasants who possess no land. These form the village "proletariat." This mass of people is unable to find work in the villages and seeks it in the towns—often in vain, for the latter are but little industrialized as yet. Consequently Poland presents an area definitely over-populated, and this over-population becomes accentuated from year to year owing to the natural increase. The rate of this increase, which is now 12.1 per thousand, is one of the highest amongst civilized peoples. There are, it is true, countries in Europe where the total surplus of births is still greater, for example Greece and Yugoslavia (not counting Russia, for which more recent statistical data are not available). But in those countries the density of population is less, so that the immediate effect of the high birth-rate is smaller. Speaking numerically, the natural increase of population in Poland amounts to 400,000 to 450,000 a year. As the area of Poland covers 388,000 square kilometres, it follows that to every square kilometre there is a yearly increase of more than one person, which means that as there is no emigration the average density of population increases every year in Poland by one unit per square kilometre as a result of the natural increase of population.

There are only five countries in the world where the yearly natural increase of population exceeds one person per square kilometre. These countries are Japan (without Manchukuo), China (without Tibet and Mongolia), Holland (without her colonies), Italy (without her colonies), and Poland.

With the exception of Holland, whose affluent colonies enable her to sustain a strongly concentrated population in the mother country, all the above countries are notoriously over-populated. Poland is in the most disadvantageous position, as she does not possess any colonies or dependent territories which, by their influence on her economic life, or by the possibility of their absorbing a part of her population, might lessen the ever-growing demographic pressure within the country. The over-population is here due not to the density of the population itself, as related to the economic structure, but to the increase of this density at a rate too rapid for economic evolution.

That the real increase of the population in the course of the last ten years has proved to be the largest in the whole of Europe is due to the difficulties of emigration. In that period the population of Poland increased by 4.6 million, while in Italy the increase



was 3,870,000, and in Germany, which has a population twice the size of that of Poland, only 3.5 million. To sum up—since the recovery of her independence Poland's population has increased by 7 million.

In order to grasp fully the significance of that figure in relation to the internal conditions of Poland, it should be borne in mind that over-population had already made itself apparent in that country at the end of the nineteenth century. That period, however, was one of economic liberalism, a period of freer exchange of capital, goods, and people. The disastrous results of over-population were lessened then by the powerful current of emigration which provided an outlet for the surplus population, regulated the level of wages in the country, and ensured the return of the capital saved by those who had emigrated. This amounted to a considerable sum of money. According to an approximate estimate every year the seasonal emigrants brought back with them to the country from 150 to 200 million francs in gold, and the emigrants from overseas sent home to their families about 250 million francs in gold. In all, therefore, the emigrants before the war ensured to Poland a yearly income of some 400 to 500 million gold francs. It seems superfluous to emphasize the importance of such an influx of capital into a poor and over-populated country. Again, the World War, which wrought such havoc in Poland (the losses being roughly estimated at 6,000 million gold zlotys, that is about one-fifth of the entire wealth of the country), did not put an end to over-population, because the losses in population were compensated in the course of several years by the natural growth of the population. At the same time, as emigration was decreasing it ceased to act as a safety valve for the ever-increasing population and also that of a source of capital. Moreover, owing to the regulations which demanded that emigrants to various countries should provide themselves with—in some cases—quite considerable sums of money, emigration nowadays has come to represent a deficit in the Polish budget. Yet in spite of this Poland is faced with the necessity for finding new facilities for the expansion of her population. The situation is as follows: over 400,000 persons who represent the surplus of births annually, unable to leave the country, increase every year the number of the inhabitants and the density of the population. As this increase is more rapid than the creation—by means of savings—of capital necessary for the provision of work to all, there arise these phenomena of a harmful nature which usually accompany over-population and which are characteristic of it: a progressive pauperization of the people and a gradual lowering of their standard of life. Under these conditions the tendency to some outlet for the expansion of the population is comprehensible.

Poland can only at the moment aim at its accomplishment by means of an emigration to foreign territories; and any obstacles which she may encounter on this path must needs be overcome by international action, with a view to giving such Polish emigration access to these foreign territories which are suitable for white colonization and which are also under-populated. Poland's interest in this direction has, as is well known, been brought by the Polish Government to the attention of the League of Nations.

The problem of emigration is not only important to Poland because of the ever-growing surplus of the population of the country and the general demographic pressure resulting from it; it is its special significance in connection with the Jewish problem which is so vital today. Poland has at present about 3·3 million Jews; she has—after the United States of America—the largest settlement of Jews in the world and largest percentage (9·8 per cent.) after Palestine. The Jewish population in Poland is characterized by an abnormal professional and social structure. It comprises an exceptionally large proportion of persons having no specialized professions, inasmuch as it is found that in Poland 40 per cent. of the whole Jewish population are representatives of commerce and middlemen, while among other race groups in the country hardly 2 per cent. pursue these occupations. Consequently, commerce in the Polish towns and boroughs is in Jewish hands and to a certain extent the arts and crafts are monopolized by the Jews. The tendency to seek work in these professions, to which the population from the agriculturally over-populated areas is turning in ever-increasing numbers, threatens the position of the small Jewish shops and workshops, which are for the most part not efficiently run, and is gradually undermining the existence of the wide masses of the Jewish population. The co-operative movement, which is developing in a satisfactory manner, has very much the same effect. The position of the Jewish population is becoming more and more difficult in proportion as the country develops economically. Under these conditions the solution of the Jewish problem in Poland is to be found in the development of the emigration movement. This movement, indeed, is desirable from the point of view of Poland's surplus population, of which a third lacks, in Poland, a healthy economic basis of existence. Emigration is in the interest both of the State and the Jews themselves. The tendency among them to emigrate is accordingly very strong—proof of which may be found, for example, in the high number of Jews among the quota emigrants which is out of all proportion to the number of Jews in Poland and to their natural rate of increase. Any voices which are from time to time raised by members of certain classes of Jewish society in Poland against emigration are politically biased and are



counterbalanced by the considered opinion of other Jewish circles—in Poland as well as abroad—who admit the necessity for emigration. But even this aspect of emigration activity requires to be dealt with on international lines. It is worth while also to note that when, during recent years, Jewish emigration was directed chiefly towards Palestine, the Polish Government initiated its own air service between Constanza (Rumania) and Jaffa. The development of events in Palestine put a stop to this movement, while the throwing open of new territories (such as Madagascar) for Jewish emigration from Poland has only reached the discussion stage.

It is clear from the above arguments that the solution of the problem of over-population in Poland by means of emigration would be efficacious under present conditions only if Poland had some outlet for her surplus population. Emigration is, naturally, not the only means by which the effects of this over-population may be combated. The solution might also be found in an increase of the productive area and of agricultural productivity in Poland itself and, finally, by a change in the whole economic structure of the country, that is by its industrialization. Owing to agrarian reform, nearly 2.5 million hectares of land have already been "parcelled" out and about 140,000 new holdings and 460,000 supplementary grants for dwarf-holdings have been made. But even with the most radical execution of such a reform—even to the suppression of all larger estates—the reserve of soil would hardly suffice for the supplementing of the dwarf holdings and there would not be enough for allocation to the village "proletariat," which now numbers several million persons. As far as the increase of the productive area is concerned, there are in the eastern provinces of Poland (for example, the marshes of Polesia) areas which are not yet tilled and which might be reclaimed for cultivation. Work in this direction has been started, but it requires large capital. But even these areas, should they be made arable, will allow at most the settlement of from 250,000 to 300,000 persons, while the yearly natural increase in the population—as we have mentioned above—amounts to 400,000. Apart from emigration, the only means which might lessen the effects of over-population by providing work for a population which multiplies so quickly would be the industrialization of the country. But the main condition of industrialization is an access to raw materials. In so far as the basic raw materials for industry are concerned, Poland has sufficient coal, but too little iron, while she lacks copper and aluminium, not to mention tropical or sub-tropical vegetable raw materials such as cotton or rubber. The purchase of these raw materials for the use of her industry forms almost half the total of Polish imports, and causes a yearly ex-

penditure (subject to the fluctuation of prices) of from five hundred to one thousand million zlotys in gold. Poland endeavours to acquire foreign currency by increasing her export of goods, since the influx of foreign capital, formerly sent home by the emigrants, has practically ceased, together with emigration. But this export, even with the aid of premiums (which are very burdensome to the internal market) on such articles as coal, sugar, etc., meets with great difficulties owing to the generally applied system of compensatory agreements, quotas, and import restrictions and the ever-growing autarchic tendencies. Just as on account of existing international difficulties, the Polish problem might be solved, not by the acquisition of colonial territories, but by proper facilities for large-scale colonial settlement and a free access to raw materials on a footing of complete equality with other nations. The lack of such raw materials, which is the effect of the restrictions which govern the international exchange of goods, is detrimental to the Polish industries, and the rectification of this injustice is essential if the industrialization of the country is to be carried through without seriously endangering the balance of the Polish budget.

Hence both methods of overcoming the effects of over-population and of lessening the demographic pressure in Poland demand facilities for emigration and the free access to raw materials.

The difficulties enumerated in this statement show how complicated is the problem which has to be solved.

So long as there are empty spaces rich in natural resources and suitable for white colonization, some exit must be found for over-population. Such a settlement of the problem would be in conformity with the interests of all other countries which are over-populated and suffering from the same lack of raw materials as Poland.

As far as one can envisage the concrete possibilities of solving the raw material and emigration problems in Poland, outlets could actually be found in South America and in Africa.

1. In the South American States the level of production in the event of an influx of population and capital could be raised to a noticeably higher degree; because, owing to the natural resources of this continent and to the utilization of the uncultivated soil, colonization there requires proportionately less capital than in the European countries.

South America in general could very well prove an emigration territory *par excellence* for an agricultural emigration from Poland. As a matter of fact and even before the war this emigration admirably contributed towards the transformation of the Brazilian and Argentine wilderness into cultivated lands.

At present, as a result of the world agricultural crisis, the



settlement of emigrants from Poland is hindered by lack of capital. This question might receive an advantageous solution if the so-called international capital could come into collaboration with the immigrant and emigrant states for the purpose of developing the land lying idle, as well as the man-power, which is not now rationally utilized.

2. In Africa there undeniably exist the possibilities for partly satisfying the raw material and emigration needs of Poland. The granting to Poland of larger concessions for exploiting certain mineral or vegetable raw materials in certain African colonies, which until now have been little exploited, and in this way facilitating the access of the Polish settlers into West and East African territories, which like Madagascar are suitable for white colonization, would not only give Poland concrete benefits, but at the same time would contribute—in the ordinary course of events—towards the strengthening of the white element and towards increasing the production and consumption capacities of the respective colonies. Their capitals especially would be benefited.

Among the intricate details of the Polish emigration problems, the complicated question of Jewish emigration occupies a special place. The impetus of the rural element from the over-populated countryside into the towns, the emerging into existence of a Polish middle class and, as a consequence of this, competitive struggle with the Jewish element, 83 per cent. of which is concentrated in commerce, handicraft, and industry, has resulted in a specially heavy emigration pressure among the Jewish population. Already before the war the Polish Jews were conspicuous in the particular activity of their emigration, and from 1900 to 1914 nearly 200 per cent. of the natural Jewish increase of population was emigrating yearly. Nowadays the rate of emigration of the Polish Jews is estimated by the Jewish experts as 100,000 to 120,000 per year. (This figure was quoted in 1936 at the Jewish World Congress at Geneva.)

In the face of the closing of the United States after the war to immigration in general, and in face of the restrictions applied specially to Jews in a certain number of other cases, the Jews were deprived of their traditional immigration outlets, and were thus compelled to go out in search of new openings. At this stage came a national renaissance, and its first idealistic result, in the ordinary course of events, was a direction of thought to Palestine. Mr. Balfour's declaration followed, and it became clear that in reliance on this the Jews were expected to rebuild their own national home. In view of the turn which the Palestine question has taken recently, for reasons in a large degree outside Jewish control, it is very doubtful whether the Jewish national home will

ever become suitable for all the Jews whom the economic conditions in their adopted countries have compelled to look out for new possibilities of existence.

Undoubtedly the partition of Palestine will compel Jews, as well as the states interested in the solution of the Jewish emigration problem, to find additional territories for their surplus population. Today such possibilities do not exist in the North American continent, and the possibilities in South America are also somewhat limited. Therefore the need is felt for finding new outlets for Jewish emigration in certain colonies and in Australia, which, if only for political reasons, will have, sooner or later, to solve the problem of reinforcing its present settler population with some hardy influx of the white race.

The capacity of the Jews for colonization, as it has been shown in Palestine, and the fact that they have proved their ability to transform themselves from merchants into settlers and farmers, make Jews especially fit for courageous and large-scale pioneering activities in young countries not yet completely developed. In this way Jews are suitable for playing a conspicuous rôle as a vanguard of the white population in the countries which are already today marked out as territories for inflow and exploitation by various races.



## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY STANLEY RICE

THERE are four main communities in South Africa: (i.) the Europeans, (ii.) the natives, (iii.) the coloured, and (iv.) the Indians. I have put them in the order, not of population (for, of course, the natives outnumber all the rest put together), but in the order of their importance in the Union. The European holds all the political power, and, after the manner of Europeans, quarrels about it, for there is much jealousy between Afrikaner and English. The natives have no political power. They are split up chiefly into the various branches of the great Bantu family which came down from the Belgian Congo and established various tribes—Swazi, Swahili, Bechuana, Basuto, Zulu, Matabele (who are also Zulus), and many others, chiefly by a process of fission. The coloured people are an amalgam of many races and seem to defy definition; there may be strains of Hottentot, of Zulu, of various African peoples, of Malay, of English, and of Dutch. The result is a predominance of brown colour, for it would seem that when there is a white strain it is not usually very pronounced. Finally, there are the Indians, with whom this article especially deals.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Indians were imported into Natal by the colonists themselves as labour for the sugar plantations, either because they were supposed to know more about it, or because (as is indeed probable) the Africans of those times were so backward or so addicted to tribal custom that they could not or would not work on the fields. The result was that a very low class of Indians came to Natal and were there classed by the colonists with the native Africans—that is to say, as something little, if anything, better than slaves. This was not unnatural. The Boers had a hatred of colour: it was unthinkable to them that a dark man should ever be the superior of a white man. They were a pious folk, brought up on the Old Testament, and they clung tenaciously, even fiercely, to the idea that the sons of Ham were born to be servants to the sons of Japhet—that is, to themselves. In the early settlement in Natal which followed the Great Trek, their principal native policy was to get as many as they wanted to till the farms and to tend the cattle and to hustle those whom they called "redundant" off their territory into other parts, no matter where. The Indians suffered from this colour prejudice. They too were dark-skinned, their standard of living was low, the kind of work they were doing was such as could be

done by slave labour, and the average white colonist, however intelligent in the matter of making money, was not likely to differentiate to any marked extent on the point of culture or of ancient civilization. For all these and similar reasons the white colonists could see only one point of difference: the community was either white or it was not.

For all that, although colour was the obvious outward sign of the difference, there was also a subtle distinction which was not put into words and which perhaps defied analysis. The ways of the dark people were not as those of the white; they thought differently and they acted differently. It was not alone that to Western ideas their houses were squalid and ill-kept; there was something deeper that separated their lives altogether. And it was in this sense that colour prejudice prevailed.

The Indians, having come to Natal as coolies, remained to trade. They flourished and they multiplied. They competed with the white men on terms that were not equal because their wants were fewer and their way of life was less extravagant. Some became wealthy: many were engaged in market-gardening, and the Indian market in Durban is one of the show places of the city. There you will find stalls of various kinds—curios to attract visitors, basketware, brassware, but above all fruit of various kinds. Out in the country you may see at small centres stalls of fruit neatly arranged to tempt the passer-by, and these, too, are the products of Indian industry. Some became domestic servants and now their excellence is acknowledged as equal, if not superior, to the Zulu, whose reputation in this line also stands high.

The line which separates white from brown is more sharply drawn in South Africa than perhaps in any other part of the world. At Pretoria there were two little girls, one white, the other brown, walking together, and a friend remarked that though you might see such things in the Cape it was extremely rare in the Transvaal. Yet these children were innocently walking together evidently with no thought of colour. The Transvaal is of course the place where Boer tradition is strongest and the intense feeling which the Boers have in regard to colour is reflected in this little incident.

For all that the Indians in Natal seem to be happy and contented. They have no political power, but it is very doubtful if the great majority want it, so long as they are allowed to live their lives in peace. There are, however, certain disabilities which are peculiar to themselves. Of late years the natives hold conferences on native affairs: they are represented in the Assembly, by Europeans it is true, but representation, after all, means something, and probably no African native would understand what is



discussed in Parliament or be able to follow the English proceedings. Within the last month or two a Commission set up to enquire into the condition of the coloured people has reported and has made several recommendations in amelioration of their lot. Indians are not included in either category, and I have it on the assurance of the then Agent-General for India that while the individual Ministers, whether Afrikaner or English, are affable and very often sympathetic, it is very difficult to get anything done. In spite of constant efforts there is generally a blank wall which obstructs every attempt. And so in spite of the fact that many Indians are men of wealth and position, they not only cannot hold an office, however humble, but are denied a vote even on what—to use the English term—might be called parish councils.

I have already said that it is very doubtful whether Indians are so anxious for the vote as we may be, or attach the value to it that we do. But just as in England, when women clamoured for the vote, their motive was quite as much to remove the stigma of inferiority which the denial of it implied as to obtain the vote itself, so it may be said that while the vote may not have of itself any particular value in the eyes of colonial Indians, the grant of it is calculated to induce self-respect, or at least to enhance it.

It is difficult to appraise the social status of Indians by observation in the streets. It is, however, noticeable that in the tramcars the lower part is always filled with Europeans, if not by actual ordinance, at least by tacit consent. A typical instance of the "colour bar" occurred lately in Johannesburg. The late Agent-General and his wife had occasion to visit an important business firm there. They arrived a little early, just too early, it seems, to be met by the representative whom the directors had sent, courteously enough, to meet them. They therefore tried to enter the lift, but the liftboy explained that his orders were to admit no coloured people. Sir Raza Ali protested, told the boy who he was, and explained why he had come, but all to no purpose. Fortunately a neighbouring liftboy used his discretion more wisely, and they were taken up. The incident caused a momentary stir; it showed plainly the attitude of the white people, more especially in the Transvaal. Of course it was explained and apologies were made, but none the less the indignity rankled, for Sir Raza Ali was not only received by Ministers, but might often be seen entertaining European guests. It is in fact not the educated European who carries his colour prejudice to this point, but he is not blameless, because it is his attitude that has inculcated a spirit which has spread to the illiterate. It was even said by a South African gentleman that all Indians were regarded as "coolies," whether they were labourers or members of His Majesty's Privy Council! That, however, does not seem to be

substantiated, and there are Europeans who consort with Indians and acknowledge them as friends.

Gandhi, of course, worked hard to improve the status of Indians and got a certain amount done. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri followed worthily in his footsteps, and in Durban the Sastri College for Indians is a monument to his work. But after all, it is public opinion that counts, and Government can do comparatively little to alter public opinion. It is a settled thing that the coloured man must be inferior in mental calibre, in grit, and even in manual dexterity, and he consequently finds it difficult to obtain any work more exalted than that of the domestic servant or the manual worker. This is largely responsible for the fact that so much of the crime, especially the minor crime, is committed by coloured persons. Like others of the poor whose recreations are few, they have shown a great liking for liquor and to some extent for drugs. The drug "dagga," which seems in some ways to be the counterpart of Indian hemp, is expressly prohibited, and severe penalties are prescribed for its use and for its cultivation. Nevertheless a certain amount of surreptitious indulgence does take place. I do not suggest that Indians are prone to this abuse either of liquor or of drugs. But in a country where the sharp line is fixed between white and coloured, it is not always easy to draw the line between coloured and coloured. Actually it seems to be the coloured men of the Cape to whom these remarks on crime, liquor, and drugs especially apply.

But though the Indian has no vote, and though his holding of land is severely restricted, he is not unhappy, and the efforts of successive Agents-General, backed by the Government of India, have certainly done a good deal to improve his lot. At the back of all is fear. If Indians were given the vote, it would be difficult to justify the refusal of it to Africans—and when the majority is arrived at simply by counting heads, so that a majority even of one would turn the scale, the white population would be swamped, and that, of course, they have no intention of being. It might be argued that the Indians, who are far the smallest community, belong to a higher civilization, are more intelligent and better educated than the great majority of Africans. But it is always necessary to remember the conditions in which they arrived and the white man's rather crude conclusion that white is white and black is black, and that is really the beginning and end of the argument.

To what an extent colour prejudice can be carried was well illustrated in a book by an authoress of at least local repute, Mrs. Gertrude Millin. In this book a missionary to the Hottentots, being unable to make any headway, decides that the solution is to marry a Hottentot woman, with the not unnatural result that



she drags him down to her level instead of his raising her to his. The issue of the marriage is a half-caste girl who is seduced by a white man. In the third or fourth generation the son is entirely white, goes to England to enter the ministry, and marries an English girl. But he is so obsessed with the far-off strain of black blood that he dare not tell his wife. When the secret does leak out, she treats it with indifference; but the shadow remains, and he finally deserts her and his unborn child to go back to what he calls "his own people." That may be an exaggeration of the present situation, but it is not far from the truth. There is a kind of horror of dark blood, whether native or Indian, which operates to keep the races apart but which may also have the advantage of preventing to some extent a population of mixed blood, in spite of the fact that many of the coloured people have European blood in their veins. It is undoubtedly true that the coloured man, if he applies for a job in a commercial house, will be summarily turned down with the curt sentence: "We do not employ coloured people." And what applies to the coloured man applies also to Indians. The Indian quarter in Durban is left severely to Indians, who have their shops and no doubt do a thriving business among their own people and the Africans, but Europeans seldom go there unless for the purpose of picking up curios, or to see what to them seems to be the "mysterious East." It is in fact remarkable that the white people of South Africa take so little interest in the coloured races. As often happens in India, a man will swear by his servants, Basutos or Zulus or Indians, to whom he is often devoted, but really knows little of them and still less of the natives generally. You may occasionally hear some few details from a tour-conductor who has made it his business to find out a little, but if you probe a little deeper, you will only get the remark that "they have their own customs," or something of the sort, and the conversation will be switched on to something more important that concerns the white civilization.

To say, then, that South Africa is democratic in the fullest sense of that term is untrue. The Government is in effect a form of oligarchy, in which two sections of a minority, the English and the Dutch, quarrel for the ascendancy. The vast majority, coloured and native and Indian, have no share in the government, nor, indeed, any voice in it. The idea is that South Africa is a white man's country and must be kept so. The Government is confronted with the task, which is in principle, as regards the Indians, the task of the United States as regards the negroes. They imported Indians as agricultural labourers; the Indians increased and flourished and now they have so far become South Africans that to many of them India is as foreign and as far off as England. They do not know from what part of India they

came originally; some will tell you that their grandfathers came from such a place, but they have little idea where that place may be on the map.

The Government can indeed do very little beyond removing some of the outstanding grievances. It is public opinion that counts, and public opinion is still very strong—it may be wrong to say as strong as ever—against the admission of anything coloured, not merely to any real share in the administration, but also against giving coloured people any opportunity to rise in the social scale. They may be servants, or workmen, or even shopkeepers and traders, but they remain a class apart, and must be content to be so, at any rate until there is a “change of heart.”

The majority of Indians are contented, knowing that under any form of government they could not expect much more than they have. The laws are not oppressive; they have ample liberty, subject only to such restrictions as I have been discussing, and if they desire the franchise, it is probably more from the wish to remove a stigma of inferiority than to exercise any real pressure upon the Government of the day. If, as was said, they are not allowed to enter the Free State, they probably do not want to go there, being happier in the Province where they are chiefly to be found, Natal. In any case they are better off under the Union Government than they were under the Boers, whose creed it was that the coloured people were created to serve the white man. Things move slowly in South Africa. Johannesburg thinks itself very up-to-date and, in American phrase, ready to hustle; it may be so, especially where the gold industry is concerned, but correspondence in the *Cape Times* showed that Cape Town is astonishingly apathetic and dilatory. Men anxious to push their wares are kept waiting for weeks and even months, because they are continually being put off with excuses which enable the directors of commercial enterprises to postpone the hour when they must decide. And this attitude may account for the slowness of the Government.

Whether or no it would be wise to grant a limited franchise to Indians must remain a moot point. If, as I have said, the country is to be run on the lines of absolute majorities, and if the grant of the franchise means the grant also to Africans, the opposition would certainly be too strong and probably rightly if the country is to be administered upon the European pattern. It would perhaps be possible so to manipulate the vote by educational and financial minima as to exclude the less literate and those who have not what is called “a stake in the country.” Communal representation might be an alternative solution; such representation would necessarily be small in accordance with the numbers represented. In South Africa the disadvantages of this would not be



so great as they are in India, where it is argued that it tends to keep apart two intrinsically hostile sections of the same community. In South Africa the communities are not hostile; they are already as wide apart as colour prejudice can make them, and the representation of Indians would hardly tend to widen the breach. The fact that the natives have been allowed a limited representation is some encouragement for the hope that in time a similar concession may be extended to Indians, who by their numbers, their intelligence, and their superior civilization, are undoubtedly deserving of it.

## DICTATORSHIP BY PROXY IN INDIA

BY SIR ALBION BANERJI, C.S.I., C.I.E.

ONE of the most curious developments in recent years in most countries in which rival political doctrines are having their full sway is a vague discontent with the existing system of government, be it monarchy, constitutional monarchy with democratic institutions, full democracy or a modified form of suppressed democracy with dictatorships, as not satisfying present-day requirements. No one knows how things are likely to shape themselves in the future. But all agree that we are in a transitional stage and each country will have to work out its own solution. The Russian Revolution has produced a form of government for which there is no name in the dictionary of constitutions. All we know is that it is the offspring of Communism. But what is Communism today as compared to the doctrines of Marx or Lenin or Trotsky? Is it not changing with the march of time and imperceptibly allowing Capitalism to creep in to consolidate a system which started with the idea of destruction and which has now to build up with the aid of human instincts that cannot be eradicated?

Fascism, a more recent growth, is a very general term, and I wonder if the man in the street can define it precisely. We have two definite examples of that in Germany and Italy, and although Italy has clearly embraced the term, in Germany they call themselves Nazis, following the political doctrine of "National Socialism." This cult in Germany is somewhat different from Fascism as established in Italy. The whole world is watching the struggle between Communism and Fascism in Europe. The declarations by Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini would almost make one believe that war is imminent, and that these two classes of political adherents believe in the absolute righteousness of their cause, which they are determined to spread by propaganda, rearmament and indirect interference with other people's affairs.

Lord Samuel, in a lecture on "India Today" before the East India Association, under the chairmanship of Lord Stanley, said much on the working of Provincial Autonomy by the Congress Ministries in seven of the eleven British Provinces. He also gave his impressions of the All-India Congress held in Haripura, where many of the outstanding questions were discussed by the Congress leaders. He was invited as a guest, and had naturally many opportunities of informal conversation during this Congress



session. The picture he drew of the situation created by the Congress majority in the Provincial Parliaments was optimistic, but he erred on the right side in emphasizing the prevalence of goodwill between the Ministers and the Civil Servants on the one hand, and between the Governors and Prime Ministers on the other.

It was noticeable that he did not, probably by deliberate intention, make any reference to the feeling that is now spreading all over the country amongst those who do not belong to the Congress, that India is drifting towards dictatorship. In Germany, when Hitler was almost a voice crying in the wilderness, nobody anticipated that his power would grow to such an extent that the very foundations of the German Constitution would in the near future be swept away. Lord Samuel dealt with the creed of separation and independence, which is an essential part of the Congress propaganda, and gave it a very liberal interpretation. He adds that it will be necessary to grant Dominion status to India, and that if she is left free to choose she will remain within the British Empire.

Be that as it may, one has now to consider how far the grant of Dominion status would prevent the control of Government passing from the hands of democracy into the hands of those who want a Totalitarian state. Further, democracy is on its trial in India, and, as emphasized in Lord Samuel's address, the system of party government which is essential to the smooth and satisfactory working of democratic institutions shows no sign of developing either in the Provinces or at the Centre. It is not generally known in this country that the Congress Premier of Madras, speaking at a gathering which was not entirely political, almost challenged his opponents to form an organized party.

No question was put to Lord Samuel as to his impressions regarding the prospect of dictatorship, and what the position of the several minority communities would be should the Congress Party, as the only strong organized party in the country, gradually get hold of the four remaining Provinces and rule over them. We see every day now a kind of conflict spreading over the Indian States between the Congress propaganda and the autocratic or semi-autocratic form of government in the States under the Princes.

Should Federation come into being and the obstacles now in the way are removed by the introduction of suitable reforms in State administrations and in the constitutions, the representatives in the Federal Assembly as well as the Senate will undoubtedly be for the most part Congress adherents. The Prime Minister of India will surely be one of the leaders of the Congress commanding the highest majority, and thus able to form a Cabinet of Congress



followers. All these developments will not remove the necessity of a high command which now exists with Mahatma Gandhi in power in the background. It is greatly to be feared that when Mr. Gandhi's influence disappears, the young bloods of the Congress Party, who now represent the Extreme Left, will gradually secure ascendancy in the Congress itself, and may choose a leader who, while not occupying any position in the Parliament of India, Provincial or Centre, will exercise dictatorial authority over the whole Government, making use of the so-called representative institutions, which would be only representative in name, for merely Congress purposes. This was the case in the earlier stages of the Fascist régime in Italy, and also in Germany. Elections will be held, as in these two countries, under a certain form of coercion. As a result of all this the country would gradually drift into Fascism.

If this be so, and these conjectures are not too far-fetched, what is the use of granting Dominion status to India? Will she be able to make use of the Constitution under such a status continuing as an integral part of the British Empire like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa? That is a moot question.

There are other implications. We see forming in India a new kind of political institution unheard of in past history—namely, dictatorship by proxy. Such a dictatorship does not need military strength behind it, but uses great popularity and support from the general masses of the people under the avowed creed of non-violence, and uses the democratic institution of an elected Parliament as an instrument to carry out its policy. Even so, the Cabinet is no more than a servant, acting on the commands of its master, who is constitutionally not responsible to anyone. It will be interesting to watch how this kind of dictatorship by proxy will work. To quote one example, Mr. Gandhi has always been urging that Hindi should be the lingua franca of India, and he has now given his word of command that the Congress Ministries should introduce legislation immediately to bring this about. As a result, the Minister of Education in a Province will, no doubt, bring a Bill before the House. Supposing there is strong opposition (and we know there is a very strong feeling amongst the Muslims on this matter), what will be the consequences if the measure is thrown out? According to Parliamentary procedure the Ministry should resign, but I doubt very much whether the Congress Ministry will be willing to resign on any one particular measure. It will try and carry out other similar measures, disregarding defeat on the plea that the matter will be brought up at a later stage. When such tactics are pursued, can the House as a whole bring about a motion of censure or want of confidence against the Government? Even if such a motion is brought, is there the



slightest likelihood of its being carried, especially as the majority of the Members being Congressmen will muster in their strength to vote against it? It should be noted that on the election platforms the Congress candidates did not put forward this particular measure as one that they would force through the Legislatures once they come into power. The other alternative for consideration is that by the sheer force of the majority the House may pass a measure of this kind in spite of the bitter opposition of non-Hindi-speaking communities, and it will then be a case of forcing a sudden change upon the people through the dictatorial powers of the Congress High Command.

Supposing there are strikes in schools, boycott, and even the threat of violence, is the Congress Party going to direct from its headquarters that force should be met with force, violence with violence, and should the police of the country be instructed to coerce the people to accept this change? It stands to reason that, if the Government seriously intended to carry out such a policy, it would have to use force in the ultimate resort. In such cases, how would the Congress creed of non-violence help the introduction of changes in the face of bitter opposition? The only course open to the High Command would be to direct the police to enforce it. All this would result in much discontent, not to say hardship, also disturbance of a serious kind throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The situation has brought about a recrudescence of the communal clashes in India between the Hindus and Muslims, and it is ominous that Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his presidential address to the special session of the All-India Muslim League at Calcutta on April 17, made a declaration criticizing the Congress High Command. He said that

"Muslims could not submit to the dictates of the High Command of the Congress which is developing into a totalitarian caucus, functioning under the name of the Working Committee and aspiring to the position of a shadow Cabinet of the future Republic."

The point that I wish to make is that India is gradually drifting to the curious and anomalous position of having in Mr. Gandhi a dictator by proxy, who does not directly rule as the head of the Government, but who dictates policy which is accepted without demur, almost as a religious obligation. Evidently Mr. Gandhi's personality is too sacred for him to come into the arena of party politics and fight his battles in the open for himself, although he is quite capable of doing so. Direct consultations take place between him as the *de facto* head of the Congress and the highest British representative, the Viceroy, in all matters which excite controversy.

My conviction is that such a situation will be a stumbling-block to an All-India Federation, which the late Congress President, Mr. Nehru, has emphatically characterized as a plan which must be destroyed before it takes effect.

Thus we see that politics in India today, irrespective of the conversion of modern youth to Congress doctrines, are in the melting-pot. I think that there is little hope, though I may be considered a pessimist, unless those who do not agree have the courage of their convictions, are not afraid to speak out, form themselves into a strong party in healthy opposition and use every legitimate means in their power to educate public opinion against the establishment of such a dictatorship in the general government of the country. Mr. Gandhi while he is alive will undoubtedly exercise a wholesome influence over all matters political, economic, religious and social, but India with her teeming millions cannot be governed justly and impartially unless there are leaders who are prepared to take the risk and stand before the bar of public opinion and abide by the consequences. A dictator by proxy, guarded by the halo of his own greatness, does not make himself liable to any of the dangers which European dictators every day have to face. Nor is he responsible to the electors, who are really the final arbiters in choosing the men who should, by selection amongst themselves, govern the country and yet be liable to be turned out when they fail, by those in opposition who are prepared to apply their view in practice when called upon to do so with the support of the majority of the general electorate. Political opinions must differ on major questions of social, educational, or agrarian reform, but a healthy organized opposition is essential to the success of democracy in Federal India that is to be.



## AN ADDRESS ON CHINA\*

BY ROSE QUONG

My friends, I am so very happy to come to you this afternoon to tell you a little about China. Yet I must confess that, set by the gods, as I have been, to go round the world talking of China, I feel at times as though I were mounted on the back of a tiger; it is before just such an audience as this that I fain would dismount, but *Mei yu fa-tze!* No way out!

You all probably know a good deal more about China than I do. In the different countries that I have visited, however, I have found varying estimates of China and the Chinese people. For instance, in a country as young as Australia I feel that they know comparatively little of the culture, the life and character of our people; then on the Continent I find sometimes that we are received as something exotic or something fit for museums and such. Throughout England and America I hear so many chairmen telling a particular story that I think if only some of our ideas and ideals could fall as deeply into the familiar currency as this particular story there might be some hope of a perfect understanding between East and West. You have probably heard the story as often as I have—about a distinguished Chinese gentleman who, at a public dinner, was asked by his neighbour: "Likee soupee?" After delivering a very brilliant speech in perfect English, he turned to that neighbour and politely queried: "Likee speechee?"

This is a very tiny platform. I have only once before been on as diminutive a one—about one inch larger, perhaps—that was in America. It was at a Luncheon Club, and as I looked towards the platform from which I thought I was to speak I saw that it was cluttered up with drums, trombones, and saxophones. I asked the chairman if some of these instruments could be moved, but was told: "You will not be speaking from there. We are going to fix up a nice little platform right down here amongst us, *in view of your probable linguistic disabilities.*"

There is one great thing about these lecture tours for which I am grateful; I come into contact with so many of my own people—wonderful pioneers, wonderful torch-bearers for the great new China that we are building. I meet these Chinese students all over the world. Some with the rather seriously intellectual manner of the German universities, some with the lighter courtly manner of France, and some the free-and-easy type of America, occasionally with what is known in America as the "Smart

\* Delivered before the China Society on January 28.

Alec" touch, and, of course, in England I find the classic stamp of Oxford and Cambridge. In China today there is not only a great mixture of ancient and modern, but so many brands of modern.

When after leaving America I landed in China, it was not long before I realized how deeply sensitive to creature comforts a lengthy sojourn in the West had made me, and I was rather saddened at certain things I came across. What did impress me, however, was the eagerness on the part of the young people to know something about England and something of the English language. In the hotel where I stayed I had a regular procession of boys coming to my room offering to fill up my teapot or water-jug, all in the hope of learning a word of English. Everywhere I found this eagerness to learn what is, as you know, the secondary language in China. Travelling through the British Empire and America I cannot say I find quite the same eagerness to learn Chinese!

It is just about a hundred years ago that the first teacher of English was appointed in China—one named Sam Brown. He was a Yale graduate, and the President of Yale pointed out that Mr. Brown's academic experience had only been among the *deaf and dumb*, but as this was the case it should be a tremendous advantage to him in learning Chinese.

Not a few of the signs in China are now written in English. At times it would seem as though the sign-writer had taken the letters of the alphabet and mixed them up somehow—no matter so long as he got the right number in. I saw this sign in Peking: "New eyes and teeth inserted. All the latest *Methodists*." And another one, which I did not see, but heard of, read: "Here English spoken; American understood."

Not long after I got back to Shanghai I came across one of the modern magazines—*T'ien Hsia*, a literary magazine equal to rank with some of the finest of its kind in the West—in which was a poem by one of our modern poets, Wen yi Lo, "The Dead and Hopeless Water," translated by Harold Seton and Chen Hsi-hsiang. As I read it I remembered noticing as a child in Australia the colour of just such a ditch of water into which had been flung old battered kerosene tins, bits of iron red with rust, and the water green with oily slime:

There is a ditch of dead and hopeless water;  
No breeze can raise a ripple on its skin.  
Better cast into it scraps of brass and iron,  
And fling the refuse of your dishes in.

Maybe emeralds on the brass will grow,  
And rust on the iron turn to ruby flowers.  
Let rank oil weave a layer of silky gauze,  
And microbes broider cloudy patterns there.



Let it ferment into a ditch of wine,  
Green wine with purple froth upon its brim.  
A lustrous pearl will spring and swell in a laugh,  
To be burst by gnats that come to rob the vintage.

And thus a ditch of dead and hopeless water  
May boast of vivid colour.  
If frogs cannot endure the deathly silence,  
The water may have songs.

There is a ditch of dead and hopeless water;  
A region where no beauty ever is.  
Better abandon it to ugliness—  
See from it what a world may still be wrought.

As I travelled through China I began to realize what a marvellous new world was being wrought out of the humblest material—which today still bears the impress of the mind of Confucius and of others of our great sages and poets of the past. This modern poet, in taking water as a symbol, is following generations and generations of our poets. Water, so yielding in quality, yet able to permeate where there is not the tiniest crack; water, the softest, the most adaptable of all things, yet it can wear away and overcome that which is hardest and strongest. Our sages all preached the gospel of gentleness and stillness, of harmony and peace. "Who can make the muddy water clear? Let it be still and it will clear itself." We have never believed in violence, and for centuries past have said: "You cannot chop a thing as round as you can pare it." Confucius more than any has moulded our character and our life. He saw this world as a world of order, a society of men, and just as the universe was ruled by laws of order, so, he thought, must our world of human beings be ruled by laws of order that govern social relationships between men. He built up the ideal of a humane orderly existence, where the highest type of our people is held to be the scholar.

At the beginning of 1936 there was a movement on foot to do honour to a beggar. He was a child born into such poverty that his people could not feed him. So he was sent out to beg for his bowl of rice. He conceived the hope of being able some day to help others to get what he had never been able to receive—an education. After begging for thirty years he managed to save out of the little cash that was flung into his basin sufficient to start three tiny Charity schools—very humble, very tiny, but still the beginnings of three schools. In 1936 steps were taken to honour his memory by erecting a memorial temple. In the past we have deemed our scholars worthy of the highest positions in the State. We believed that because a poet could understand best the heart of Nature, he could understand best the heart of his fellow-men.

Ideas have been carried down through the ages by way of our fables and our proverbs. We have the story of Mr. Foolish moving mountains. Mr. Foolish used to have to take a very long, round-about route every day to his work because of two huge mountains, so one day he made up his mind to move these mountains. He told his wife, and Mrs. Foolish asked: "Where are you going to move them to?" "Into the sea," replied Mr. Foolish. Then came along Mr. Wise, who declared it was utterly impossible to move even a corner of such huge mountains. Mr. Foolish explained that if he and his sons and his grandsons began to dig the earth and throw it into the sea, and their sons and grandsons continued digging earth out of the mountains and throwing it into the sea, and so on, right away down through the generations, then, of course, their numbers would go on increasing, whilst the mountains would gradually diminish. So Mr. Foolish commenced digging, and in this work he was helped by Mr. Wise's little boy. So set did Mr. Foolish have his heart on his work that at last two gods, fearing for the mountains, complained to a superior god: "This Mr. Foolish is so firm in his determination that he surely will move the mountains!" The superior god, however, was so delighted with the patience, the courage, and the perseverance of Mr. Foolish that he commanded two of the very strongest gods to hoist the mountains on their backs and to carry them off. So one morning when he looked out of his window Mr. Foolish found that the mountains were gone.

We have again and again this idea in our stories and proverbs. "The highest tower rises from the ground," "A thousand-mile journey begins with one foot."

These qualities of courage and patience are rooted in the soul of the Chinese people, which today is united with a new mind and a new body. I saw with pride the great achievements in China within such a remarkably short time. In Greater Shanghai was that fine municipal building, combining the best of Chinese architecture with the best of the West, and a stadium equal to some of the finest seen in America. The enthusiasm with which the young people of China are taking to sport is one of the factors in the remaking of China. I saw the wonderful universities and scientific institutions and met brilliant scientists and medical men in China. In America I met Dr. K. Chen, a Chinese doctor who was the Director of Pharmacological Research in one of the finest scientific institutions in America. He had a staff of men from all parts of the world, and when I was shown over this institute I found something I was very pleased to find—a sample of a herb which had been used in China in 5000 B.C. In this plant, during his research work, Dr. K. K. Chen had discovered ephedrine, the basis of so many cures for colds. He had not only brought this



discovery to the West, but was engaged on most valuable research work on other herbs of China. And so going through the world I find that China is contributing its share to the common treasury of world knowledge.

In China I glimpsed the eagerness with which they are absorbing ideas and ideals of the West, and the hopefulness with which they are going forward—with gratitude in their hearts, accepting the help offered so generously by the finest type of Westerners. Meeting these Westerners, I was told many lovely stories about our people. One man, a Belgian, had adopted a tiny little Chinese boy whose parents could not afford to feed him. The Belgian could do nothing but talk of what a brilliant man this child would make. According to him, the child is going to be one of the great men of New China, and he is being thoroughly educated, not only in his native language, but also in French, and later he is going to be sent to one of the finest universities.

Among many characteristic stories is this one told by Wilhelm. Once when he journeyed up the sacred mountain of T'ai Shan (he had had a couple of relays of coolies), he found near the top a little old Chinese mother, with tiny crippled feet and carrying a pilgrim's staff. She looked so contented, so happy, that he stopped and asked if she had climbed all the way, and whether she had not found it hard. She said: "Oh no, not hard, not hard. I am seventy-one years of age, and my life now lies behind me, but that the old Lord of Heaven has helped me so far, through the years when I have brought up my sons and my grandsons, makes me grateful. Now I ask nothing. I am just quiet, and so I find the journey was not hard, not hard."

This is the spirit which is behind our peasantry—three-quarters of our huge population—and which is at the root of the stubbornness of our nation in its endurance for thousands of years: patience, courage, perseverance.

Let me mention a few of the beauties of China—the lovely gardens, the wonderful colour, the temples and courtyards; in Suchow the ghost of a garden created in the fifteenth century, created, so the founder said, "as a memorial of his failure in politics." A T'ang poet gives us a picture of a Suchow scene—a river, maple trees, fishing lanterns, a moon overhead, and then a temple bell ringing. I think the chimes of the churches here are lovely, but on a moonlight night you should hear a temple bell struck and the sound going on and on through the air! You will perhaps get the image from the poet's lines:

The moon goes down, a raven cries, frost fills the air;  
River maples, fishing lanterns, facing sadness I lie.  
Outside of Ku Su city stands the Han Shan Temple.  
At midnight a bell rings; it reaches the traveller's boat.

In the way of gardens we often are satisfied if we have only a little plot of ground with a tree, under which we can sit and read our favourite poems, a little plot of ground upon which we can grow melons. Lu Yu describes just such a little garden in these lines:

In the little garden mist steaming from the ground,  
And green grass spread to my neighbour's house;  
Thick mulberry trees shelter a winding path.  
I lie at ease, reading Tao's poems,  
But before I reach the last page,  
In the drizzling rain again I set off to hoe melons.

And so we have these bits of pictures and poems and proverbs, out of which we can weave a fabric to show to the West our civilization. I find that going round the world I can quote proverbs and tell stories and chant poems, and I need not trouble about being trammelled by facts, as directors of Oriental colleges and learned professors perforce must be. It really is not bad riding round the world on a tiger! I keep quoting these proverbs, which tell of patience and humility and the kindness and gentleness we expect of man, notwithstanding what we at times see of man's inhumanity to man.

There is the story of an Englishman who was showing a Chinese visitor his garden, and they were having a wonderful time when the Englishman's dog ran out into the garden, barking loudly at the visitor's heels. The Chinese was terrified the dog was going to bite him. The Englishman, knowing the Chinese proclivity for proverbs, said: "Surely you know the proverb 'Barking dogs never bite'?" "Oh yes, yes, me know proverb, you know proverb, but damn dog, does he know proverb?"

I was telling that particular story once at a meeting when I suddenly realized that my chairman was a right reverend gentleman. I apologized to him afterwards and said that I hoped he did not mind. "Oh no," he said. "Not at all. I will tell you one." And so he told me that in the north of England a Chinese arrived who could not speak a word of English. But after a while he started to take around things to sell from door to door. He kept calling at a certain Englishwoman's door, and one day when he knocked she looked out of the window, and, seeing who it was, she called back to her servant: "You go, Ella." The Chinese heard, and very indignantly he cried out: "You go 'ella you'self."

Our language is a monosyllabic language, and there are a few English words which we find it very easy to pick up!

Another story I heard the other night. There was a man who, having more money than knowledge, had spent a large amount on a Chinese antique. He was very proud of this cabinet. One day he called in a job carpenter to do some odd jobs about the



house. He showed him the wonderful old Chinese cabinet and started to enlarge on its beauties. When he got almost to bursting-point in his pride of ownership, the carpenter began to grin and at length called out: "Me know—me know—me make 'im!"

There is in China wonderful craftsmanship amongst those who, in the West, would be merely ordinary tradesmen.

Before I finish I want to tell you of my last day in China, about a year ago, when I saw there the one and only specimen of millinery. We don't wear hats in China, you know, but this was a marvellous thing with a high crown and a brim and lovely red flowers on it, and it was being worn by—a horse! Well, imagine my amazement when I arrived back in San Francisco and found all the fashionable ladies wearing exactly the same kind of hat.

In Shanghai I stayed at an hotel run entirely by Chinese, which was just opposite the Post Office. One morning I was awakened at 5 a.m., and it sounded just as if six brass bands were playing immediately in my bedroom. I discovered that this was the Post Office band, and each man was playing a different part of the same tune in a different key. I thought this a good illustration of the concentration of our race. And then at six o'clock that band swung into the most wonderful military march, in perfect time, and I was told that they had an English bandmaster. So that shows what can be done with English discipline and order.

One of the last things I saw in Peking was a procession, the men and boys in red and green robes and caps, with pennons flying. These were what correspond to your sandwich-men here, and they were advertising patent medicines; they were singing the qualities of their wares to the tune of this folk-song which I am going to sing to you.

By the way, recently a friend and I here in London saw a sandwich-man, and on the board on his back was "Consult Madame X." My friend asked him, "Is she any good," and the man turned round and shouted: "No, she is a lying devil."

Now I shall sing you my folk-song, and I would like you all to join in the chorus. It is the complaint of a girl who says that, while all her friends have husbands who are fine mandarins, all she managed to get was a husband who could do nothing but beat a drum; and a man who grumbles that while all his friends have wives who do beautiful embroidery, all he has got is one with two big feet!

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## GENERAL

SUBJECT CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY. By Evans Lewin. Vol. IV. (*Royal Empire Society*.) £1 11s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FRANK BROWN.)

This catalogue is well up to the standard of the three previous volumes, notwithstanding the exceptional difficulties under which it was prepared. These arose from the rebuilding of the premises of the Society, which necessitated the whole of the Library going into storage, and thus excluded the possibility of referring to the publications catalogued for purposes of verification of the considerable part of the material already available or that under preparation. Many of the queries which arose had to await solution until access could be obtained to the books and periodicals of the Library. But this was something worth waiting for, since the Library is now so admirably housed, and the facilities for readers are so good.

The volume is designed to cover the sea-road to the East, and beginning near at hand with the Channel Islands includes the Mediterranean colonies, the Middle East, the Further East, and the Far East. Special reference should be made to the Cyprus collection presented by the late C. D. Cobham, sometime Commissioner of Larnaca, consisting of books in many languages, relating to the island. Some of these are of great rarity. Cobham's enterprise is comparable to that of Morison of Peking, who, as *Times* correspondent in China, made an unrivalled collection of books relating to that country.

Some idea of the wide scale of the work may be gathered from the fact that the Indian portion, including Burma, occupies some 400 pages. Yet the preface indicates that the Indian section of the Library is not as comprehensive as the Canadian, Australasian and African collections. For one thing it has few rarities; and we may share Mr. Lewin's hope that the production of this catalogue will encourage collectors of Indian books to bear in mind the special needs of the Library in this respect. The thoroughness of treatment in the present catalogue is exemplified by the Indian entries under Forests and Timber covering ten pages, and Christian Missions six pages. The larger Indian States occupy fourteen pages; and fitly enough Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, and Kashmir take the principal shares.

Much interest attaches to the catalogue of the belt of Muslim countries from Palestine to Afghanistan. It may be noted that the editor retains the name "Persia" (as he was bound to do in view of the titles of the books cited), but with the new name of "Iran" duly bracketed in the heading.

In the classification of subjects country by country the learned editor has made utility rather than uniformity the first consideration. For countries so varied and at such different stages of development uniformity would have been unsuitable. Every student of Eastern affairs must be grateful to the Carnegie Trust and to Mr. Lewin and his assistants for a work of such unique value.

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SURVEY OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS. By W. K. Hancock. Vol. I: Problems of Nationality (1918-1936). (*Oxford University Press.*) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by DR. C. COLLIN DAVIES.)

All who are interested in India's future as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations would be well advised to study that part of Professor Hancock's exceedingly well-informed volumes which deals with "India and Race Equality." The Boer attitude comes out clearly in President Kruger's bigoted reply to a deputation of Indians: "You are the descendants of Ishmael and therefore from your very birth bound to slave for the descendants of Esau. As the descendants of Esau we cannot admit you to rights placing you on an equality with ourselves. You must rest content with what rights we grant you." Although this pontifical pronouncement was denounced by British Ministers, the end of the Boer War brought bitter disillusionment to Indians who had hoped for better treatment under their new masters.

Professor Hancock begins his study in 1918, when the Imperial War Conference passed a resolution that each colony had the right to settle for itself the character of its own population and to restrict immigration. At the Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923 the Indian members vehemently demanded equality of Indians with European South Africans under the franchise laws of South Africa. An attempt by General Smuts to show that the inferiority of Indians in South Africa was no contradiction of the commonwealth ideal only served to add fresh fuel to the flames of Indian resentment. Anti-Indian legislation continued in Natal and the Transvaal, and the position of Indians would have been distinctly worse had General Hertzog been able to pass the Areas Reservation and Immigration Regulation. The situation was eased by the agreement of 1927 and the conference at Cape Town in 1932. Professor Hancock's study ends with the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenures Act Amending Bill of 1936 which admitted Indians to the right of landownership. Special stress is laid on the galling position of Indians in Kenya.

Compared with the African native question, the position of domiciled Indians in South Africa is a minor problem, but, so far as India's future in the British Empire is concerned, this penetrating study reveals the immense force of Indian nationalism and some of the obstacles standing in the path of India's progress towards full dominion status.

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### NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

SEARCH FOR TOMORROW. By Rom Landau. (*Nicholson and Watson.*) 70s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The only thing I do not much like about Mr. Landau's latest book is his title. It is true that in surveying the present condition of the countries of the Near and Middle East he is at pains to disentangle those tendencies which seem to him to possess especial significance in shaping the future.



But his real "search" seems to me to be concerned, not so much with the future of politics, as with the future of other-worldliness. He is animated throughout by that deep conviction, so eloquently expressed in *God is My Adventure*, that life holds no meaning without a personal grasp of religious truths. In all his wanderings and in all his interviews with the great and the near-great, the thing that interests him most is to find out whether the people to whom he talks share this conviction; if they do share it, what are they doing about it? If they do not share it, have they any other explanation of the real meaning of life?

Mr. Landau's odyssey falls into two main divisions. The first includes the Arab countries, Egypt, Turkey, and Palestine. The second comprises the Balkan group. For my own part, I was more impressed by what Mr. Landau has to say about the first division; for with the best will in the world, I was born too late to be able to look upon the Balkans as anything but a heterogeneous collection of doubtless admirable peoples with a constitutional inability to settle their problems for themselves. Mr. Landau tells me that I am wrong; that the Balkans represent the regions from which our civilization has in large measure sprung (which is quite true), and that it is here that the spiritual foundations which Europe so sorely needs may in the near future be evolved. I am not entirely convinced; but I can at least advise everyone to read what Mr. Landau has to say, if only because he has obviously got closer to the real minds of those statesmen and reformers who now shape Balkan life than anyone else who writes in English.

To me the most impressive part of the book was the account of the investigations in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordania, and Palestine. I did not derive nearly so clear a picture of the conditions in Ankara, which added little to what most of us know. The impressions of Egypt are excellent; and all that has happened there since bears out the accuracy of Mr. Landau's delineation. If he will forgive me for saying so, I think that the author was a little hypnotized by his encounter with H.M. Ibn Saud, whose strong personality and intense religious conviction won swift mastery over Mr. Landau's usually objective mind. But I know of no better and more sympathetic account both of Wahabism and of the great Ruler who has made it so intense a force in the politics of Arabia. By contrast, the state of Trans-Jordania appears almost pathetic in its artificiality.

The study of Palestine is of great importance; and nothing more illuminating has recently found its way into print. Mr. Landau gives good reasons for believing that the plan for partition is wrong; and that what is wanted is a new angle of approach based upon more humane and less bureaucratic values. He was greatly impressed by the idealism of the Jewish colonists in their community life—an idealism which now far transcends the political aspects of Zionism, with whose leaders Mr. Landau found himself somewhat out of sympathy. He thinks that when once the present stress is mitigated, the example of the Jews will do much to influence the Arabs in the direction of co-operation in building up the new Palestine which will be the common heritage of both.

It is not easy, within the limits of a brief notice, to do justice to Mr. Landau's important work. Even those whose outlook on life is far removed

from the "practical mysticism" which means so much to him will find their mental horizons, as well as their exact knowledge of the contemporary world, greatly enlarged by his thoughtful pages. The photographs are more than beautiful; they contribute in very valuable fashion to the purpose of the book.

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THE MUSIC OF THE SUMERIANS, BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. By Francis W. Galpin. (*Cambridge University Press.*)

(Reviewed by DR. ARNOLD A. BAKÉ.)

Not so very long ago we regarded the different civilizations of antiquity as separate units. Somehow, in a way not further explained, we met with civilizations, one after the other, sometimes co-existent, and if we had been told of vivid intercourse among very distant peoples—if, for instance, anybody would have suggested possible parallels between ancient China and Egypt, we would have shrugged our shoulders.

It is one of the great services archæology has rendered to our times, aided by the untiring labours of philologists and, of late, of musicians, that the world of antiquity has developed into a system of correlated states and entities. So we have now accepted distant connections, direct or through intermediaries (were not presents from South Africa conveyed to the Emperor of China through the seafaring heroes of ancient Java in the first centuries of our era?), and we have come to see the currents and cross-currents of cultural streams.

Apart from the astonishing scholarship, skill and intuition in musical matters, as shown in Canon Galpin's latest book, it seems to me that its wider appeal lies in this proof of cultural contact it furnishes. When one starts reading (and the reading is not easy when one wants to check all references to objects on the different admirable plates), one encounters these cultural hints from the very beginning in the most tantalizing fashion, until the subject is taken up in its fulness in the last chapter on "the racial element in music." It is with joy that one notices that due honour is paid to the banished German pioneers, the late Dr. von Hornbostel and his one-time collaborator Dr. Curt Sachs.\* Not everywhere are the suggested connections equally acceptable. Thus, for instance, I cannot believe the tempting relations between *Katral* (the Sumerian *systrum*), *Khattaki*, *Kartal*, *Karatala* (the Indian cymbals) on page 11, as the Indian word has such a natural explanation in its derivation from *tala*, handpalm, used for stressing time, and hence the cymbals used for the same purpose. Also, I think, has the vertical position of the *Toda* wind-instrument led the author to compare it to the "ti-gi," the vertical flute of the Sumerians (page 76), where he says: "In India it is the Dravidian-speaking *Todas* who still maintain this primitive instrument of pre-Sanskrit days." The *Toda* wind-instrument is sounded, not by blowing across it, as is done with the vertical flute, but definitely *into* it through closed lips, very much in the way a trumpet is sounded. The effect, too, has a kind of bellowing quality, absolutely unlike

\* Erroneously called Dr. Carl Sachs once, on page 88, note 15.



any flute imaginable, and the instrument gives almost exclusively very deep notes.

This, however, does not affect the main argument, concerning the Sumerian relation with several of the present-day instruments in India, from the remote days of the kindred civilization of the Indus valley. It is with pleasure that we recognize the parent of the present-day shanai in the Sumerian "Na"—the Arabic "Nay" and "Suryana"; and then, above all, the Sumerian bow-shaped harp, called "Giš-pan" or "ban," which gave India the "Bîn" in its archaic form—not the present-day long-necked shape—identical with that of ancient Sumer. The "ban" also gave Egypt its "ban," "ben," or "bain" (page 28), and China its "Kin." The Gaelic harp even is derived from forms in Sumer, through the intermediary of the Ugrian Ostyaks; and also the Bantu-speaking Baganda in Uganda have their bow-shaped harp apparently from Sumer, together with their gruesome human slaughter at the grave of deceased kings, which accounts for many of the miraculous finds at excavations near royal tombs on Sumerian sites.

It is a book that, with its fine illustrations to the text, opens many new vistas, a clear demonstration how in this world the peoples are made to interchange their cultural goods, and how never in history any state has succeeded in being entirely self-sufficient.

ÉTUDES SUR LES VILLAGES ARAMAÉENS DE L'ANTI-LIBAN. Par S. Reich. With 32 plates and 33 figures in the text. (*Institut Français de Damas.*)

The French Institute at Damascus has by its publication done fine and valuable work. It has brought to light much information withheld in the past, and it has preserved from oblivion much which is on the point of disappearing. The present beautiful volume follows in the steps of its predecessors. It was known that an Eastern Aramaic dialect was preserved in three villages of the Anti-Libanon, and this M. Reich had to study on the spot: it will not be heard much longer. The excellent monograph is divided into two sections. One deals with the language. It contains selected texts, with translations into French and graceful references and notes to previous writers and works. The other section, and this is the major one, deals with ethnography, such as childhood, marriage, death, festivals. This part alone, by the information and critical references to works by writers in the same field, displays an extraordinary amount of learning. Thirty-two beautiful plates adorn the handsome publication. We trust that further material will be found by which the "Documents" can be continued.

L'AFGHANISTAN: HISTOIRE, DESCRIPTION, MŒURS ET COUTUMES, FOLKLORE, FOUILLES. Par René Dollot. (Paris: Payot.)

The author of this fascinating work was for two years Minister of France at Cabul. He belongs to the small number of diplomats who, on account of their culture and spiritual outlook, must earn the respect and gratitude of

the states to whom they are accredited. Perhaps the time will come when diplomats will be chosen, not so much for their political ability as for their cultural refinement, such as M. Dollot displays in these pages. The History of Afghanistan is dealt with in fifty pages, and yet we have hardly seen before such a complete picture. Another chapter of note is devoted to Art, both Greek and Buddhist, with which French work is closely connected. The social life of the people, their belief, manners and customs is described in a sympathetic way. A gradual development, a combination of ancient and modern institutions, is taking place which promises well for the future. No greater tribute can be paid to M. Dollot than to express the hope that this fine work will find an English publisher.

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IRAQ: A STUDY IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By Ph. W. Ireland. With three maps. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 15s. net.

Mr. Ireland, according to the volume before us, is a great scholar, a good writer and a politician of the old school. The views held before 1914 have given place to a very different outlook. The actions of Governments are guided by another position and spirit. Yet the book proves that the author still belongs to the old school. A man knowing Arabic, such as Mr. Ireland, has many advantages. He can speak to people of action in the Near East, he can listen and he can read. Therewith he can act, according to his ability. Mr. Ireland is, or would be when the case arises, a man of action. His unusual learning has allowed him to write this study in a most efficient manner. Documents, mostly in English, less in French, a very few in German, and numerous Arabic sources, have helped to substantiate his arguments. The volume begins with events before the war, when so-called self-interest ruled the world. We are reminded how the war was conducted in that old Turkish province, how it ended with the setting up of British administration.

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ARABICA AND ISLAMICA. By U. Wayriff. (*Luzac.*) 15s. net.

The greater part of this volume of almost 400 pages contains extracts from the traditions of Bukhari. To the traditions partial commentaries have been appended. The life of Muhammad is another long chapter. It appears to be more a critical review of English and other, including Arabic, writers, and includes a number of the author's own translations. Other, shorter, sketches deal with historians, especially Tabari, and with the poets. The volume apparently is composed of articles which were written in the author's leisure hours. They show a knowledge of such a difficult language as Arabic. His index to the different chapters proves that he is at home in the subject.

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## FAR EAST

A COURSE OF COLLOQUIAL CHINESE. By S. N. Usoff. (Peking: *Henri Vetch.*)  
In England 11s., in China \$7.50.

(Reviewed by A. D. BRANKSTON.)

This is another book on the Chinese language, which, without a Chinese teacher, is unfortunately and unavoidably as useless as all the others. Yet this seems to be the best of all the useless books, and with the help of a teacher or gramophone records would be most excellent.

The vocabulary and phrases, which are given in romanized Chinese, English and, in the supplement, in Chinese characters, are well chosen and exactly what are needed in practice. There is no missionary jargon, and Mr. Usoff has not tried to be more polite than the Chinese themselves. So, for the language student who intends to go to China and hopes to speak Chinese as the man in the street in Peking, this book is the one to take. If a series of gramophone records could be made from these lessons, the book would be equally useful in England. For it is impossible by reading romanized Chinese, with however many accents, aspirates and tonal numbers, to capture the pronunciation, flow and rhythm of the language. For who can tell that p-e-n should be pronounced "bun" and that c-h-i-h is "jerr"?

So, lacking the teacher or gramophone records, the student invents a new language of his own which would be unrecognizable to any Chinese. Perhaps by stressing this fault, which must exist in any book on colloquial Chinese, we have failed to express the excellence, in every other respect, of this book.

A HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. The Period of the Philosophers, from the Beginnings to 100 B.C. By Fung Yu-lan. Translated by Derk Bodde. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 25s. net.

While the greater part of Europe was intellectually undeveloped, the minds of the Far East displayed a philosophy that will astound future generations even more than it does ourselves. The reason is not far to seek. Our knowledge of Chinese literature is too limited, while the translation of Chinese thinkers, which have appeared in European renderings, appeal chiefly to the scholar and a few select students. It is true that the public generally know something of Confucius, Lao-tzu, and, perhaps, Mencius, but they are only a few of China's great men.

A history of Chinese philosophy in English was badly needed which could give the names of the exponents, their works, and their thought. A beginning was made some years ago by a small, fine book compiled by the well-known scholar D. T. Suzuki, whose name is not mentioned in the new and large work. Then we also have Professor Forke's large, magnificent volume, but being in German the public cannot follow it. Now, at last, we possess a comprehensive history, due to Dr. Bodde, who has translated it from the Chinese edition of Dr. Fung, Professor at the

National University of Peiping (Peking). Dr. Bodde is not merely a translator, and as such alone he would step into the front rank of Chinese scholarship, but he has re-edited the book, in order to render it more suitable for the Western reader. It would be difficult to determine to whom the greater credit is to be ascribed. It is, perhaps, the happy company of both the original author and the editor which will make this fine work enduring to the English reader. The present volume, which corresponds to the first volume of the Chinese edition, leads us to about 100 B.C., and it is to be hoped that Dr. Bodde will give his time and knowledge to offer us also the remaining part in the near future.

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CHINA'S FIRST UNIFIER: A STUDY OF THE CH'IN DYNASTY AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF LI SSU, 280-208 B.C. By D. Bodde. (Leyden: E. J. Brill.)

Dr. Bodde, who has just issued an important work on Chinese Philosophy, places at the same time before us the present volume displaying great scholarship. It informs us of the social, political and economic movements which took place in China under the Ch'in dynasty. The outstanding statesman of this period was undoubtedly Li Ssu, Grand Councillor under the most famous Chinese Emperor, Ch'in Shih-huang. It is chiefly due to him that the unification of China was made possible. He was also responsible for the Burning of the Books on political grounds, which Chinese scholars deplore to the present day. Dr. Bodde has produced a monograph the like of which will not easily be found. In his thoroughness he enters into details of the preceding dynasties, so necessary for the understanding of the Ch'in. The life-story of Li Ssu is not taken merely from one source, but all other channels have been explored, and it is also critically treated. However, it is his measures which it is essential to study. We see, for instance, that he was not so much interested in the welfare of the common people as in the strengthening of the state which he served. Dr. Bodde's monograph is of service to the scholar, but it is to be hoped that statesmen and politicians will study this remarkable work from which so much can be learnt.

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THE NATIONAL FAITH OF JAPAN: A STUDY IN MODERN SHINTO. By D. C. Holtom. (Kegan Paul.) 15s. net.

Mr. Holtom is a Japanese scholar who has already used his knowledge in his book on Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies. On the Shinto religion a few works have been issued, for instance, by Aston, Dr. Kato, and Rev. Schurhammer, but these deal with the old system of the classical period. Changes in religion take place, like in everything else; and in view of the events in the Far East a closer study of modern Shinto has become desirable, if one wishes to understand the mind of Japan today. Mr. Holtom has provided us with such a treatise in a complete and efficient way. He has made full use of his knowledge of the language by delving into the original sources. An important part of the volume is devoted to an historical survey of the



religion. Separate chapters deal with Ceremonies and Charms, Gods and Goddesses, and about 100 pages enlighten us on the various sects of Shinto. Regarding the future of this Japanese religion the learned author seems to be in doubt. Modern life exacts changes in time-old mythology and demands readjustment with modern requirements. The illustrations show sketches of Shinto shrines, temples and other architecture, amulets, placards, etc. Mr. Holtom has dealt with the subject in a most thorough manner, which will be appreciated by serious students.

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MALAYSIA: A STUDY IN DIRECT AND INDIRECT RULE. By Professor R. Emerson. (Macmillan.) 21s. net.

Professor Emerson of Harvard University has spent one year in British and Dutch Malaya with the object of obtaining independent knowledge of the system of government in that part. The more he saw of the country and people, the less does he think reliance could be placed on official and unofficial information. We must welcome criticism, especially when it comes from an unbiased American source. Only criticism can lead to eventual improvement. The author distinguishes between two methods of rule of subject races; one under which a European authority was imposed with the help of officials carefully chosen from the local population, and it was hinted that the backward colony should benefit by the example of the far-distant power. The other policy, or indirect rule, described as European Imperialism, carries with it absolute control over the resources and productions of those colonies—in other words, exploitation. Professor Emerson, to whom all respect is due for his convictions, deals with the beginnings of trading in an historical form, and states, quoting helpful documents, first how the Federation of the Malay States was accomplished. At the same time he stresses the fact that the population gained in many ways by the firm rule of the Foreign Power, although the privileges of the chiefs were curtailed. In detailing his account, the author displays a most remarkable independence of spirit and a grasp of learning which is truly remarkable. On pages 310-311 we learn of the way in which the voluntary annual gifts of the colony are brought about. Hereafter the Dutch methods are explained and treated in a similar way. In a long concluding chapter Professor Emerson discusses the British and Dutch ruling systems.

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## INDIA

PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE INDIAN STATES.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD.)

The latest report of the Medical and Public Health Department of Hyderabad (Deccan) deals with the year ended October 6, 1935. Colonel John Norman-Walker—formerly Civil Surgeon at Delhi—still is at the head

of the Department, his term of office having been extended by the Nizam's orders. The official review of the report refers appreciatively to the arrangements made for equipping hospitals with facilities for purdanashin women—a reform in which Colonel Walker himself has taken close personal interest. Increased attention is being paid to the treatment of eye diseases. The number of dispensaries has been raised and special efforts are being exerted to grapple with the ravages of tuberculosis. The nucleus of a Tuberculosis Clinic has been established at Bayroon Dispensary. There patients are treated and receive advice on home treatment with the view of staying the progress of the disease and preventing its being carried to relatives. A sanatorium is to be provided in the Ananthagiri Hills as part of a complete scheme to deal with the disease. It will have all the modern amenities. The site is 2,280 feet above sea level, and the nearest railway station, Vicarabad, is only three miles away, a road leading directly to Hyderabad City. The Medico-Legal Department again did good work in assisting the detection of crime. Opium was by far the most commonly used poison (33·92 per cent. of the positive cases), the other substances being dhatura, alcohol, arsenic and mercury salts. Energetic measures for the extinction of rats have given good results in controlling plague. An epidemic in the course of the year was effectively dealt with. The chief causes of death during the year were fevers (5·4 per mille), cholera (0·7 per mille), and plague (0·2 per mille).

Good progress in the administration of public health is also reported in the State of Mysore. The quarterly survey for July-September, 1937, to hand shows active inspection by the Public Health chiefs and the extension of the new system of registration for the better understanding of the incidence of disease. Stimulating reports of the activities of voluntary organizations continue to be received. The inspection of factories for improving the health of the workers is being developed. Interesting work is being done in taking surveys of the spleen index for the prevention of malaria. Cinema publicity is effective in demonstrating measures for the safeguarding of the public health. A travelling cinema covered over 2,000 miles during the quarter.

The Government of Mysore is taking special steps to improve the contacts between its district officers and rural areas. It has made the travelling allowance regulations more favourable and it has revived the old rule which prescribed the provision of a suitable mount by the district officer. This is revealed in the latest administration report which, however, records satisfactory increases in revenue collections. The Revenue Commissioner, Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, is congratulated on the work done during the year.

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LETTERS TO MY SON. By C. S. Angré. Translated by his Private Secretary, V. K. Datar. (Bombay: Taraporevala.) Rs. 3.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

These letters are of more than ordinary interest, for they are of a character more intimate than that of the general run of published correspondence.



Their main value lies in the fact that they have been written only for the eye of the recipient; and for this reason it must have required no small fortitude to give them to the world at large. In his Preface, Sardar C. S. Angre explains that the principal object in publication is to invite comment and criticism, so that the son to whom they have been addressed will be in a position to judge for himself whether the admonitions they contain have an intrinsic value, apart from the weight which filial duty would obviously attach to them.

It is not easy, from the translation, to judge of the literary merits of the original Marathi. The English version is smooth and flowing; supremely competent, but a trifle impersonal. There is no attempt at epigram or rhetoric; all is plain, simple, and clear. It may be that here and there something of the vigour of the Marathi has been sacrificed to the requirements of literary English; but the result is just that sort of letter which an upper-class Englishman might write to a son who is completing his education in circumstances rather alien from his home life—say at a Continental or American University.

Sardar C. S. Angre is the head of a Maratha noble family, with large landed possessions and a strong tradition of public service. He is at present the Head of the Foreign and Political Department of the Gwalior Government. He therefore writes to his son in a dual capacity; as an aristocrat and as an official. His son must realize the heavy responsibilities in both spheres which will fall upon him when he is of an age to assume them. He must be mindful of the obligations of birth and wealth, as well as of the traditions of State service which accompany them.

Accordingly, these letters deal not only with certain ethical problems, but also with the problems of everyday life. How is one to judge men? What kind of friends and companions should be admitted to one's confidence, and how is one to judge of their sincerity? What kind of purposes are particular men to be used for, and how can their dispositions be detected? What are the general principles to be adopted in dealing with relatives and dependants? And how best can charity be directed by good sense? All these, and many similar problems are dealt with frankly, not with the epigrammatic cynicism of a Lord Chesterfield, not with any thrustful aim of "getting on in life"; but with the calm and sensible assumption that they are things which a young nobleman should know if he is to uphold with credit the high traditions of his family.

It may be asserted with some confidence that Englishmen have never before been privileged to obtain so intimate an acquaintance with the general circumstances, with the outlook on life, and with the mental processes, of a Maratha nobleman. This of itself would make the publication of these letters something of an event.

The discussion of ethical problems is of equal interest; and here some welcome light is thrown upon the differences in the scale of values which are sometimes a barrier to understanding between Englishmen and Indians. Particularly illuminating is the discussion on truth-telling. To tell a lie for the sake of personal advantage is, of course, equally repugnant to gentlemen of both races. But how, and when, is truth to be told? Is there any

advantage, indeed, may there not be the serious vices of pride and arrogance, in the blunt telling of a truth that may wound and injure? Does not religion itself dictate the deliberate misdirection of a butcher who is pursuing a cow escaped from the slaughter-house? Are there not many ways of telling the truth, some to be pursued by the man of refinement, and some worthy only of the underbred boor? And when does duty dictate the telling of unpalatable truths to Kings, and how is this to be done? Above all, how is truth to be determined?

The whole of this discussion may be read with great profit by those who realize that differences in behaviour, under similar circumstances, between Englishmen and Indians proceed in many cases from a different scale of values. To appreciate this fact fully is to take a long stride on the path which leads to a better mutual understanding between the races. The Indian is as a rule the better psychologist, and can make allowances for this difference in values. Not so the Englishman, who is sometimes prone to regard himself as the incarnation of all the virtues because by training he is taught not to tell a lie in answer to a straight question. The Indian ranks other things higher—courtesy, kindness, consideration for the feelings of others.

Sardar C. S. Angre has done good service, both to his country and to the Empire—though doubtless he is far too modest even to have considered the possibility of such a result—by permitting the publication of these intensely interesting letters.

DUPLEIX ET L'EMPIRE DES INDES. By John Charpentier. (Tours: *Maison Mame.*)

(Reviewed by C. A. KINCAID.)

In the delightful book before us M. Charpentier has written a fascinating and popular account of the great Frenchman Joseph-François Duplex in the clear and arresting manner of France and with an impartiality all his own. It would be impossible for an English writer to be more fair to Clive and Stringer Lawrence than is this charming eulogist of their formidable enemy.

On January 1, 1697, Joseph François Duplex was born at Landrécies in Northern France. His birthplace was, however, due to accident. His father came from Poitou and his mother from Languedoc; in other words, Duplex was a southerner by blood, with all the mystic fire of Southern France. He was educated by the Jesuits of Quimper, where the sight of the ships returning from Eastern seas fired his ambition to seek far-off lands. His father obtained for him a post in Pondicherry, which he reached after a journey that lasted more than a year. He soon became devoted to India; but it was Nadir Shah's easy conquest of Delhi that gave him the idea of substituting the French King for the Great Mogul as ruler of Southern India. In earlier days the French and English merchants had been good friends, and Duplex was at one time a regular correspondent of David Hume in Calcutta. But in time the Anglo-French war of 1740 spread to the East, and in 1746 Duplex, with the help of La Bourdonnais, took Madras. The English appealed to Anwar ud din, Nawab of the Carnatic, for help. He sent his son, Maphuz



Khan, with a force of 12,000 men to their help. A small body of French and Indian troops, under a Swiss officer named Paradis, destroyed this force. The arrival of an English fleet turned the tables on the French, and Dupleix was in his turn besieged in Pondicherry. He defended his capital so skilfully that the English were foiled and the reputation of the French rose to the highest point. At this moment the death of the great Nizam ul Mulk, ruler of Haidarabad State, gave Dupleix the chance of which he had dreamed. The Nizam left six sons. Of these Nasir Jang seized the throne. Another son, Muzaffir Jang, invoked the help of Dupleix; so, too, did Chanda Sahib, a pretender to the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Dupleix gave his support to both princes. Anvaruddin and Nasir Jang tried to prevent their troops effecting a junction with the French. The Nawab of the Carnatic attacked them at the pass of Damalcherry. The allied army, led by the heroic de Bussy, destroyed the army of the Nawab, who fell in battle. Another French force under d'Auteuil destroyed the army of Nasir Jang. Next de Bussy with 450 men defeated a Carnatic force of 12,000 men, drove them into the impregnable fortress of Jinji, and took them and the fortress, all within twenty-four hours. Finally, Nasir Jang was defeated and killed by a small French force sent by Dupleix, and the whole of South-Eastern India fell into his hands. He appointed Chanda Sahib Nawab of the Carnatic, and Salabat Jang, an uncle of Muzaffir Jang, who had been murdered, Nizam of Haidarabad.

Unfortunately for Dupleix, his successes provoked the emulation of the English. Mahomed Ali, the son of Anvar ud din, had thrown himself into Trichinopoli, where he was besieged by Chanda Sahib. He craved English help, which was readily promised. Among the clerks serving the English company was Robert Clive. To him the Governor entrusted the relief of Trichinopoli. This he effected by taking Arcot by surprise and then defending it against all assaults.

From this moment the fortunes of Dupleix began to wane. The French had been invincible through the talents of their leaders and the admirable discipline that a former Governor, M. Dumas, had introduced into their local levies. In Clive the English found a leader as able as de Bussy, and he reorganized his sepoys on the French model. Another English leader of great merit was Stringer Lawrence. He and Clive were on the spot, while de Bussy was safeguarding French interests in Haidarabad, and Paradis had been killed in the siege of Pondicherry. The result was inevitable. The English company, better supported from home, and the English soldiers, better led, made themselves masters first of Trichinopoli, then of Southern India, and lastly of all India, carrying out the plan of conquest conceived by Dupleix. That great man, deserted by the French company, whose shareholders wanted, not wars, but dividends, was recalled and died miserably in Paris on November 10, 1763.

It is well indeed that M. Charpentier should have written this charming work to revive the knowledge in France that Dupleix was one of the greatest of the sons of "that fruitful mother of heroes."

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ANNUAL REPORT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S REGULAR FORCES, 1935-36.  
(Hyderabad-Du: Government Central Press.)

The report of the Hyderabad Regular Forces for the Fasli year 1345 (October, 1935, to September, 1936) is certainly brief and might with advantage have been rather more informative. It also tends to emphasize still existing shortcomings and deficiencies, when credit could be justly claimed for the great improvement effected during the present decade in the efficiency, equipment, and general well-being of His Exalted Highness's army. No one who is acquainted with the State will deny that his wise decision taken eight years ago to borrow the services of two British Officers of the Indian Army as Chief of the Staff and Adjutant and Quartermaster-General is largely responsible for this improvement. The crying needs of his Regular Forces are more barrack accommodation, a reduction of the excessive guard duties that are calculated to break the heart of any Commanding Officer, and the curtailment of the present terms of services. When these have been met His Exalted Highness will have an army which, though small, will be in keeping with his position as Ruler of the Premier State in India.

The recruitment of Punjabis is an experiment that apparently promises to be most successful. It is perhaps unfortunate that, for obvious reasons, it can only be done on a comparatively limited scale. For while the officer class in Hyderabad is excellent, the Marathas may be said to be the only indigenous race in the Dominions with martial traditions from which the rank and file can be drawn, and they, of course, are Hindus. The importation of Arabs, who have played such a prominent part in Hyderabad history, is no longer a practical proposition. The State must therefore look to the North for the stiffening that is admittedly required, and it is gratifying to note that sense has prevailed over sentiment in the matter. The location of a Cavalry Regiment at Mominabad is another interesting departure from past practice. Hitherto all the units of the Regular Forces have been stationed at the capital or in its environs. The new policy of showing the flag in the districts is to be welcomed on more grounds than one and should have happy results.

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF BOMBAY. By R. J. F. Sullivan. (Bombay: Times of India Press.)

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce was established on September 22, 1836, and this book is a record of its history up to the same date in 1936. Its secretary, Mr. Sullivan, is to be congratulated on the result of his research and the clear and interesting manner in which he has set forth that body's achievements and efforts. His book is not only a valuable contribution to the history of the City of Bombay, but makes the reader realize what a large part the Chamber has played in its development during this period. It raises, moreover, a good monument to the memory of the public-spirited men who have laboured in the past for its commercial and economic progress. The chapters are well arranged so as to deal with different subjects



in turn, without destroying chronological sequence; and, as Lord Brabourne says in his foreword, Mr. Sullivan has been careful to set each event against its appropriate background. The volume has three maps and eighteen illustrations, which add to its interest.

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A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1677-1679. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. (*Oxford University Press.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.)

This is noteworthy as the last volume of this series to be compiled by Miss Sainsbury, who retired last year after being associated with the Record Department of the India Office for forty-five years. This and the preceding ten volumes cover the Court Minutes of the East India Company and connected documents in the India Office and the Public Record Office from 1635 to 1679. In carrying out this work she has shown herself to be a worthy successor to her father, the late Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, who calendared the corresponding documents of previous years in his *Calendars of State Papers, East Indies*. This volume follows the usual lines, and its more important or interesting contents are well summarized in Mr. W. T. Ottewill's introduction. A note on page 198 (by an unfortunate slip) antedates Gerald Aungier's death by ten years.

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INDIAN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. By A. D. Patel, M.A. (Bombay: Taraporevala.) Rs. 6.

(Reviewed by SIR S. H. FREMANTLE.)

This book, though it bears an ambitious title, is nothing more than the economic study of a *taluka*, and a very interesting study it is. Such a comprehensive survey as this for every *taluka* in the Presidency would be of the greatest value as a preliminary to the rural reconstruction campaign which is now beginning.

A *taluka* is a subdivision of a district, and Borsad *taluka* in the Kaira district, which has been chosen by the author because he is himself a resident therein, is included in the *charotar* area, which is famous for its tobacco crop and is called the Garden of Guzrat.

Tobacco growing is an expanding industry, occupying no less than 14 per cent. of the cultivated area, as against 7 per cent. in 1894. That crop requires ample manure and regular irrigation, and there is great lack of both. For there is little grazing land in the area to supply manure, and, as for irrigation, there is no canal, and wells are expensive to construct and to work. There is a tendency to depend on the rainfall, which, though generally sufficient in volume, is irregular in its incidence, and on the average of recent years only 9 per cent. of the cultivated land has been irrigated. There is thus much leeway to make up.

Otherwise agricultural conditions are generally good. Plough bullocks of

fine quality are imported, while buffaloes also of good quality are bred, and their breeding is a source of profit. The balance between food and fodder crops is well maintained. A characteristic of the country is the retention of strips of grassland 15 to 20 ft. wide round the fields, and this grassland, together with the leaves from the trees and hedges standing on it, provides a valuable addition to the fodder supply.

The author deals with the history and characteristics—economic, social, and religious—of the different castes, and the conditions—educational, medical, and sanitary—under which the people live; he describes the land tenures, from which it appears that there are eighteen *zemindari* villages in this *raiyatwari* tract; he discusses the revenue assessments, which would have been revised in 1925 had it not been for Congress opposition, the subdivision of holdings, indebtedness and the co-operative movement, cattle breeding, the provision of seed, the revival of cottage industries, and other economic questions which affect an agricultural community, and he has something enlightening to say about each. Generally he holds the same view as other enquirers, that there is much scope for more intensive cultivation and some for the development of subsidiary industries.

The author and his helpers have been at great pains to calculate from actual enquiries the income and expenditure of 288 families in different villages of the tract, and the figures are tabulated in an appendix. Of these accounts, one-half in the best group of villages and three-fourths in the other two groups show a deficit, and if this were indeed the case agriculture could not go on. The amount provided for interest on debt is not shown separately in the table, but in a schedule of average estimated expenditure (on p. 296) it is taken at one-third of the whole expenditure. Surely no enterprise could afford to pay interest at such a rate, and the entry seems to vitiate the whole account. We are on easier ground when estimating other items of expenditure, but as regards food the estimate of Rs. 150 per family which is said to be required for a decent standard of living is surely high when a family of *patidars*, who are among the most substantial peasant proprietors of the Presidency, spends on the average only Rs. 114.

Some of the local terms used require definition. *Kudara* and *kudari* are both referred to as staple food crops. One of them, no doubt, is the Hindustani *kodon* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), but it is not clear which, and these two grains and another, *bavto*, require to be given their botanical names to admit of identification. A map showing the physical features and communications of the tract and distinguishing the different groups of villages would also be useful.

THE LAND OF THE GURKHAS, OR THE HIMALAYAN KINGDOM OF NEPAL. By Major W. Brook Northey. (Cambridge: *Heffer*.) 10s. 6d. net.

Nepal seems to attract officers and travellers, for within the last few years quite a number of books on the country and its people have been issued. Major Northey is specially fitted to write with authority, as he has been engaged in his duties for many years in Nepal. The outcome is a very happy one. In short chapters the writer informs the general reader of the



country itself, of the people, its characteristics, its history, amusements, of its temples and shrines.

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ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR THE YEARS 1930 to 1934. Edited by C. L. Fabri. Two vols. With 154 plates. (Delhi.) 1936. £3 17s. net.

Several reasons have decided the Archæological Survey to make an alteration in the issue of the Annual Reports so ably begun by Sir John Marshall, the late Director-General. The results of activity during 1930-34 have now been combined into two stateiy volumes which are most ably edited by Dr. Fabri in the same style and manner as those by his predecessors. The first section deals with conservation of the nine circles. The second section informs us of the excavations throughout India and Burma; while inscriptions form the contents of the third section. The second volume contains miscellaneous matters and 154 plates. The half-tone plates thus form a perfect picture-book, as the objects represented show in a very great variety architecture, stages of fresh excavation, new seals, inlay work, implements, beads, ceramic wares, pottery, and especially sculpture. Dr. Fabri has introduced a new feature by appending a useful glossary of technical terms.

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GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. (Baroda: *Oriental Institute*.)

This valuable series is remarkable for the excellence of its production and contents. Attention has been drawn on previous occasions to its great merits under the editorship of Professor Benoytosh Bhattachargya; the new volumes just appeared are no exception.

Vol. 71 represents the Sanskrit text of Narayana Sataka of Vidyakara Purshita, with the commentary of Pitambara Kavicandra, and is edited with notes by Srikanta Sarma. The subject matter is the praise of God with the description of His limbs in the form of advice to the devotees.

Vol. 73, Shabara-Bhashya. Translated into English by Ganganatha Jha, vol. iii. The translator, who is one of the most eminent modern Indian scholars and Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, has published a number of translations from the Sanskrit greatly treasured by European scholars, but the present volume crowns his life's work, of which any man can be proud. It contains over 2,400 pages. The Sanskrit world will thank Professor Jha for his very eminent services.

Vol. 74, Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, from the Portuguese Original of S. R. Dalgado. Translated into English with notes, additions, and comments by A. H. Soares.

Monsignor Dalgado's Vocabulario was issued in 1913 in Portuguese and stands as a monument to the Lisbon Academy of Sciences. The work, though so important to Oriental scholars, was almost inaccessible to them on account of ignorance of Portuguese. The influence of this language, exercised over a large part of Asia, has left its traces to this day, and these traces found in about 50 Asiatic languages have been here united in a

unique dictionary. Apart from the credit due to Monsignor Dalgado's careful and eminent services, hardly much less can be said of the learned translator and editor. Just tribute is paid in a sketch of the author's life by Professor Soares, who has accomplished his task of translation in a masterly manner; it includes Dalgado's own introduction, which in itself is a masterpiece, and a bibliography of eight pages.

The Director of the Gackwad's series deserves thanks for making the publication of this valuable work possible.

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## FICTION

BELOVED MARIAN. By K. L. Murray. (*Jarrolds.*) 12s. 6d.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The authoress is concerned to trace the social history of Warren Hastings and his wife; and incidentally to redeem both of them from the somewhat scornful rhetoric of Macaulay. Her account is both pleasant and readable; and if she has made no outstanding contribution to historical knowledge, she has at least put together in popular form an eminently charitable, and for the most part accurate, account of the married life of the greatest Governor-General Britain ever gave to India. At times the reader may feel that the indulgence is carried to extremes; and the authoress would, perhaps, have been better advised to lay even more stress than she has done upon the general laxity of morals which prevailed both in Britain and in Anglo-Indian society during the closing decades of the eighteenth century.

Baron Imhoff does not cut a very dignified figure in this book; but the legend that he virtually sold his wife to Warren Hastings has been successfully disproved. What seems to have occurred is that Warren Hastings took advantage of difficulties which were of Imhoff's own making, to force him to return to Germany and to free his wife by a formal divorce. During the long period which elapsed—more than four years—"beloved Marian" maintained her somewhat ambiguous position with astonishing dignity and correctness; and although positive evidence is lacking, it seems probable that the Governor-General and his lady did not live together, whether formally or informally, until after their marriage was possible.

The authoress pays a well-deserved tribute to Marian's strength of character, which not only sustained Hastings through the almost intolerable strain to which he was exposed during the height of Francis' power, but remained an abiding consolation to her husband through the long-drawn agony of the impeachment. Moreover, although generous by instinct, she was an excellent woman of business, and it was largely due to her financial prudence that Hastings was able to pass the last years of his life in the peaceful existence of a country gentleman. She faced her own early troubles, as well as the far more dramatic trials of her married life, with a dauntless courage fully equal to that of Hastings himself, and whether in prosperity or in adversity she rarely lost her cool judgment. Although devoted to her



husband, passion played a subordinate part in her life. Her instincts were largely domestic, and she remained an affectionate mother to her sons by her former husband.

There can be little doubt that the married life of Warren Hastings constitutes one of the great romances of history, and this book will do good service in presenting the story in sympathetic and lively form to readers who know little of Indian conditions. The style is light and picturesque, and the book will take its place with Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta* as a vivid picture of the social life of the British community in India during the days when the foundations of the British Raj were being laid.

THAT STATE OF LIFE. By Hilton Brown. (*Geoffrey Bles.*) 9s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

There is a legend of my College which relates how a Certain Philosopher, aspiring to a Fellowship, found himself called upon to write an Essay concerning *La propriété c'est le vol*. Being more familiar with the Terminology of Philosophy than with the Language of Rousseau, he discoursed At Length upon the Relationship between the Personality and the Will. It was a Magnificent Effort, but not Wholly to the Point.

Mr. Hilton Brown's delightful story recalls this legend to my recollection; for the sentence of the Church Catechism from which he takes his title will not sustain the interpretation he seeks to place upon it. We do not strive to do our duty in that state of life into which it *has* pleased God to call us—that is, the sphere in which we happen to have been born; but in the state of life into which it *shall* please God to call us—that is, the sphere where we, it may be by strenuous and class-ignoring exertions, at length find our niche. Here, as is so often the case, the Church of England is so much more progressive than her critics.

Since the quotation is in no way necessary to Mr. Hilton Brown's argument—which is the old dilemma concerning the relative advantages of changing one's social class or "staying put" in it—we may perhaps regret that he took it for his text. Actually, of course, the tragedies of transplantation between social groups have nothing whatever to do with the line of thought in the Catechism, if only because the "misfits" were no more and no less "called" to their new conditions than to the conditions which of their own volition they had abandoned. But to Granny, whose indomitable realism supplies a kind of Greek chorus to the story, this would, I believe, appear as mere sophistry. Class was class, she maintained; and anyone who ignored the fact did so at his or her own peril. Certainly the experience of her own family bore out this contention. But then, if Mr. Hilton Brown will pardon the colloquialism, they were rather a "rum crowd." It says much for his creative powers that he can make them so convincing. If most of his readers think matters over, they will find that Mr. Hilton Brown's characters are rather additions to their acquaintances, new types, as it were, than portraits of people they have already met, or are

(I think) likely to meet. This was certainly my own feeling; I have added to my list of human "contacts"; but the additions are not quite like any people who were on the list before. I would not have missed these new acquaintances for anything.

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HUSSEIN. By Patrick Russ. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

At first sight, this book bears a disconcerting likeness to the immortal "Kim." There are characters, and, if I mistake not, phrases, deriving directly from Kipling. But since the scene is laid in the Indian bazaar-world, of which Kipling was the first to write convincingly in the English language, it would be strange indeed if Mr. Russ had altogether escaped from the sway of the master story-teller. And as the tale proceeds, the reader comes to realize that Mr. Russ is no slavish imitator. He sketches his background with a sure hand, although more lightly than his master; he has a great deal that is new to tell us, both in incident and in local colour. As a character, Hussein himself is rather slight; it is as the central figure in a series of adventures that he holds our attention from start to finish. There is an incidental Secret Service background, which Mr. Russ is too wise to labour in detail. Perhaps he has learned wisdom from the single artistic fault in the construction of "Kim." However this may be, Hussein really knows very little indeed of the inner meaning of what he is doing—which is exactly as it should be in real life!

Hussein is a mahout; and there is a good deal of elephant lore in these pages. He runs into misfortune, becomes the object of a blood-feud by bribing a fakir to curse his love-rival to death, wanders up and down India, encounters ladies fair and frail, has many narrow escapes. Apprenticed to a story-teller, he learns (and relates) a number of excellent yarns. Finally he becomes wealthy through stealing funds designed for seditious purposes, and carries off his faithful sweetheart to a happy (and respectable) village life.

Such a story as this is full of traps for an author who does not know Indian life like the palm of his hand. Mr. Russ is to be congratulated on escaping all the obvious mistakes and a good many of the more subtle ones. I do not think that Hussein could tell "by his caste-mark" whether a man was a mahout or not: such a mark is, of course, primarily related to the worship of a particular deity, and has no direct relationship to caste at all. Moreover, there are many Muslim mahouts—Hussein himself was one! Nor do I think it very convincing to introduce a "sutler" called Dhossibhoy and to give him a daughter named Parvati. Finally, Mr. Russ's spelling of Indian names suggests that he has picked up his knowledge by ear unsupplemented by eye. But the quality of the knowledge is undeniable.

This is really an excellent story, and I enjoyed it very much.

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By TOPHET FLARE. By Louis Macgrath King. (*Methuen and Co., Ltd.*)  
7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

Mr. Macgrath King has written a very readable tale of the far-off Chinese-Tibetan frontier, where Brundish, a man of almost superlative ability and acumen, goes as Consul. He immediately becomes involved in a tangle of rebellion and intrigue, and many times narrowly escapes with his life.

The book is occasionally marred by a slovenly style, such as a tendency to end sentences with the phrase "and what-not." Apart from this, the story is well constructed, and the author has captured the Oriental atmosphere of mysticism and fatalism.

#### CORRECTION

IN the notice of the Annual Report on H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railways, which appeared on page 407 of the April issue, the total area of the State excluding Berar was incorrectly given. It is 83,000 square miles, and the population 14,000,000. The total mileage of the system is 1,351—691 of 5' 6" and 660 of the metre gauge.

There was a typographical error in the first table, the first three entries of which should read as follows:

Capital at charge	...	...	...	Rs. 1465 lakhs.
Gross earnings	...	...	...	" 216 "
Working expenses	...	...	...	" 107 "

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1938

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA: A KEY PROBLEM

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MEGAW,  
K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S. (RETD.)

You cannot have come here this afternoon with the hope of hearing a cheerful lecture. But even the dark cloud of tuberculosis has its silver lining. A century ago in England 4,500 persons in every million died every year of tuberculosis: the number has now fallen to 650 per million, or about one-seventh of what it used to be.

Tuberculosis is a disease, or rather a group of diseases, all of which have one thing in common: they are caused by a special kind of microbe discovered by Robert Koch in 1882 and called the bacillus of tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis is a cosmopolitan disease; it attacks people all over the world, except for a few isolated places which have remained free from contact with modern civilized conditions. The bacillus can attack any part of the body, but far more deaths are due to tuberculosis of the lungs than to all the other forms of the disease put together. In the great majority of cases the bacillus finds its way into the body by being inhaled into the air passages or by being swallowed with food or drink.

The general public have been thoroughly enlightened in the danger of spread of the infection by spitting: the penalties prescribed for indulgence in this filthy habit are widely advertised and too seldom imposed. But there is another habit which unfortunately does not cause the same feelings of disgust, although it is really far more dangerous—the habit of coughing in rooms



or any kind of enclosed spaces which are occupied by other people.

When a person who has open tuberculosis of the lungs coughs he sends out a regular spray of droplets into the air: these droplets consist of sputum, and most of them are so small that they remain suspended in the air in much the same way as a puff of tobacco smoke. As each droplet may contain a large number of the bacilli you can realize how dangerous it is to breathe the air in the vicinity of an infected person. The inhalation of disease microbes in this way is called "droplet infection," or more realistically "sputum spray infection." In the open air or even in the air of a well-ventilated room these droplets are so quickly carried away by air currents that there is little risk of infection except by inhaling the air within the actual zone of bombardment by the spray.

#### A KEY DISEASE

Many other dangerous diseases are conveyed from man to man by droplet infection—for example, influenza, which in 1918-1919 destroyed nearly ten million people in India; in fact, more people died within a few months from influenza than were killed by plague during the preceding twenty years. Pneumonia, bronchitis and diphtheria are examples of the diseases which are conveyed in this way.

The precautions which are effective in preventing the spread of tuberculosis by droplet infection will be equally successful in controlling a large number of deadly maladies, so that in this respect tuberculosis is a key disease.

The other chief method by which the bacillus enters the body is by swallowing infected food and drink. In this country a certain number of cases of tuberculosis are caused by drinking raw milk from tuberculous cattle, but in India people seldom drink unboiled milk, and, besides, very few cattle are tuberculous, so that this source of infection is negligible. Unfortunately the bacilli of human origin have many opportunities for getting into the food and drink in India, so that alimentary infection can by no means be ignored. Other microbic diseases communicated by alimentary infection are cholera, dysentery and typhoid fever, so

that measures directed against this method of conveyance of tuberculosis will prove equally effective in controlling these maladies. Here then is another way in which tuberculosis is a key disease. In fact, apart from the group of diseases carried by insects every one of the great killing maladies of India will be completely controlled by the measures which are appropriate for the control of tuberculous infection.

#### THE SEED AND THE SOIL

Although tuberculosis is always caused by a special bacillus, and cannot exist in the absence of this microbe, it would be utterly misleading to confine our attention to the bacillus. The bacillus is the seed of the disease, but from the practical point of view the soil on which the seed falls is equally important. The soil is the human body, and there is abundant evidence that unless a heavy dose of infection enters a healthy and well-nourished body the seed will not produce a deadly crop of disease. The great majority of the people in this hall have been infected with tuberculosis at some time or other. What happens is that when the bacilli enter our bodies they begin to multiply, but, if we are well nourished, our defensive mechanism is stirred to activity and wages successful war against the bacilli. It is only when the dose of infection is excessive or when our powers of resistance are feeble that the microbe gains the upper hand. There is reason to believe that when we have overcome an invasion by the bacilli of the disease our powers of resistance against further attacks are increased so that these inapparent forms of tuberculosis are often blessings in disguise. There is ample proof that these mild attacks of disease are of common occurrence. Careful examination of the bodies of adults who have died from accidents reveals the presence of the scars of the disease in the majority of cases. Even during life it is possible to obtain clear evidence of the previous existence of tuberculosis in many persons who have never shown signs of the disease.

In the course of the defensive reaction against the bacilli certain substances are produced in the body and these persist for years. Their presence can be detected quite easily by the tuberculin re-



action which is positive in the majority of adults in many places. Even when the bacilli have gained the mastery to such an extent as to cause obvious signs of disease, it is usually possible to reinforce the defences of the body so as to bring about a cure. Hence the importance of early diagnosis. The true picture of tuberculosis is far different from that of the popular imagination.

The important point about the inapparent attacks of tuberculosis is that they indicate the impossibility of escaping from infection in existing conditions and the great importance of attention to the soil as well as the seed. The ideal is to eliminate the seed, but this is not practicable in the immediate future; we can, however, take comfort from the knowledge that even with partial control of infection there can still be a great degree of success in controlling the disease. For many years it has been a matter of common knowledge that persons who are well nourished and who lead healthy outdoor lives rarely suffer from tuberculosis, but the clearest demonstration of the importance of nutrition was given during and after the Great War. During that period the death-rate from tuberculosis rose sharply in every country in which there was a great shortage of food, and the rise was directly proportional to the degree of shortage. Recent work on nutrition has shown that not only tuberculosis but also many other diseases are greatly influenced by the state of nutrition of the body. Here again tuberculosis is a key disease.

#### INHERITED TUBERCULOSIS

The pessimistic outlook on tuberculosis has been greatly fostered by the belief that the disease is hereditary. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as inherited tuberculosis: the disease is always acquired. Although infection may enter the body before birth such an occurrence is so rare as to be negligible, and for practical purposes we may regard the newborn babe as entering the world with a clean bill of health even when both parents are suffering from tuberculosis. The only part played by heredity is that some people inherit a constitution which offers a low degree of resistance to infection, but all the evidence goes to show that nobody need be doomed to tuberculosis if the nutritional condition of the

body is maintained and heavy doses of infection are avoided. For concrete evidence that tuberculosis is easily controllable we can look at what has been happening in England. In the past twenty years the death-rate from the disease has fallen by nearly 50 per cent. During the same period the expenditure from public funds on anti-tuberculosis measures has risen enormously.

If one were to claim that the fall in the death-rate was due to the rise in expenditure you might be prepared to agree. But if public-health partisanship were to tempt anyone to make such a claim, his public-health conscience ought to step in and insist that the whole truth should be told. The truth is that the death-rate was falling just as rapidly during the pre-war years when little public money was being spent on special anti-tuberculosis schemes.

Tuberculosis experts are the first to admit frankly that the chief cause of the rapid decline of tuberculosis is improvement in the conditions of life of the people. By better housing and better hygienic conditions in general the spread of infection has been greatly diminished; by better food the soil has been rendered less suitable for the development of the seeds of the disease.

Now let us come to grips with the critics of our modern anti-tuberculosis measures. They argue that modern treatment prolongs the lives of the patients and so enables them to continue to spread infection and also to bring into the world more children with an inherited predisposition to the disease. We do not hear such arguments from persons who are suffering from tuberculosis or from persons whose relatives and friends are victims of the disease. If the problem were purely biological, and if the sole consideration were to stamp out the disease in the shortest possible time, the best policy would be to consign every infected person to the lethal chamber. Such is the logical conclusion of the argument that humanitarian measures are a waste of money. On the other hand we can claim that the combination of humanitarian relief measures with scientific prevention is yielding the happiest results. The important matter is that victory over tuberculosis in this country is in sight, and if the present rate of progress is maintained there are people alive today who will be able to tell their children how the scourge of tuberculosis darkened the lives



of the people in the bad old days of the first half of the twentieth century. Statisticians delight in supplying us with figures which show a close relationship between the prevalence of tuberculosis and such things as the average number of rooms occupied by each family, the average food supply, and the average birth-rate. All these factors are important, but the relative influence of each cannot be measured with accuracy: better housing normally goes hand-in-hand with better food, a low birth-rate usually means smaller families, for which better food and more living space can be provided. An increasing population does not necessarily involve a worsening of hygienic conditions—for example, Sir Evelyn Wrench has recently stated that the French settlers in Quebec have increased from 60,000 in 1759 to nearly 5,000,000 at the present time. On the other hand an increase in population which is not accompanied by a proportionate growth in the production of the necessities of life must mean a lowering of economic standards and a corresponding deterioration in bodily health.

#### SPECIAL FEATURES IN INDIA

Perhaps you are beginning to wonder when I am going to get down to the subject of my lecture—tuberculosis in India. The reason for the length of my preamble is that the Indian situation can only be understood in the light of experience gained in other countries where reliable evidence is available about the conditions which govern the increase or diminution in tuberculosis. Unfortunately we have very unsatisfactory information about the prevalence of tuberculosis in India, but as the disease is cosmopolitan and is governed by the same basic principles in every part of the world, all that I have said has a definite bearing on the Indian problem.

The causes of the terrible prevalence of the disease in England during the nineteenth century are just the same as those which operate in India today, and the causes which have brought about so rapid an improvement in England will certainly give the same results if applied in India. In a discussion on the tuberculosis situation in England it has been possible to speak in a definite

manner, but in dealing with the position in India one has often to fall back on speculation and surmise.

Nobody can tell, even approximately, the death-rate from tuberculosis in India as a whole, nobody can describe the geographical distribution of the disease, and nobody can tell to what extent it is increasing. In the absence of authentic data we must make the best use we can of such evidence as is available. In the cities and large towns of India the deaths from tuberculosis of the lungs are recorded. In Cawnpore the latest yearly death-rate was 4,600 per million of population, or much the same as it was in England a hundred years ago. In Calcutta it was 2,500, and in Bombay 2,000. These rates probably err greatly on the side of optimism, as many deaths from tuberculosis are returned under the headings of "Fevers" or "Other Respiratory Diseases."

The death-rate from tuberculosis among girls and young women who live in purdah in the large centres of population is appalling; it is several times higher than that of males belonging to the same age group.

#### AN INCREASING MENACE

Medical men in India are almost unanimous in declaring that the disease is increasing rapidly and that it is extending to rural areas which were formerly free from infection. They also report that when the disease spreads to new localities it assumes a more virulent form than in places previously affected. This is what would be expected, for it is well known that Gurkha soldiers and French colonial troops coming from isolated regions are far more liable to rapidly fatal attacks of tuberculosis than soldiers coming from places where the disease is common. In the case of Gurkhas and other people in unaffected localities the defensive mechanism of their bodies has not been stimulated to activity by previous mild attacks and so they are virgin soil on which the bacillus thrives without restraint. It may be noted that when proper care is taken to prevent infection among Gurkhas they remain perfectly healthy, so that we are not compelled to fall back on the unsatisfactory policy of controlling the disease by permitting mild attacks to occur.



A few years ago I attempted to make a rough-and-ready survey of the number of cases of tuberculosis and other diseases in the rural areas of India. The method adopted was to issue a questionnaire to a large number of doctors, in charge of dispensaries in typical agricultural villages throughout India. The doctors were asked to state how many persons were suffering from tuberculosis in their own village. An estimate based on their replies suggested that there were  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 millions of cases in India. Not even a moderate degree of accuracy is claimed for this estimate; nothing short of a careful personal survey by trained men will give a convincing reply to the question—how many people are suffering from tuberculosis in India?

I have also tried to obtain some evidence on the subject by examining the statistics published every year in the Public Health Commissioner's Report on the health of the prisoners and troops in India. From these it appears that admission-rate for tuberculosis of the lung in prisons was 5.5 *per mille* in 1895, that it rose rapidly during the next ten years to the high figure of over 9 *per mille*, and thereafter declined steadily to 5 *per mille* by 1935, or somewhat less than the figure of forty years previously.

We cannot derive much comfort from these figures, for the reports of the earlier years state that most of the cases resulted from infection contracted in the jails, and recognition of this fact was followed by the introduction of special measures for the isolation and treatment of tuberculous prisoners. These reforms must have caused the great fall which is shown in the admission-rate during the latter part of the forty years' period with which we are dealing. The slight reduction in the admission-rate—namely, from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 *per mille*—during the whole period of forty years is not encouraging, seeing that during the same period the general health of the prisoners improved in a striking manner, as is shown by the fall in the total death-rate from 27.6 to 11 *per mille*. If the present admission-rate for tuberculosis of the lung in Indian prisoners be regarded as a fair index of what is happening in the country as a whole, it would appear that close on 2,000,000 of the people of India and Burma are suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs. This figure corre-

sponds closely with the estimate arrived at in the village survey, but here again it is unsafe to pin great confidence on the figures.

During the same period of forty years the number of cases of tuberculosis of the lung in Indian soldiers fell from 2·3 *per mille* to 1·9, but this small reduction contrasts sharply with a fall in the death-rate from all diseases in Indian troops from 11·6 to 2·15. Another significant fact is that the cases of tuberculosis of the lung in British soldiers in India fell during the same period from 4·8 *per mille* to 1 *per mille*, although the present death-rate in British troops from all diseases is appreciably higher than that of the Indian troops. This reduction in the tuberculosis rate among British troops is what would be expected from the combination of two factors: one being the improved hygienic conditions in which the soldiers are living, and the other the fall in the tuberculosis rate of the population from which the soldiers are recruited.

In the case of the prisoners and Indian troops similar improvements in hygienic conditions have brought about very satisfactory results in the case of all other diseases, but have had little effect on tuberculosis. The suggestion, therefore, is that the incidence of tuberculosis in the places from which the prisoners and soldiers come must be rising.

The number of patients under treatment for tuberculosis in the hospitals in India has greatly increased during the past few years, but here again we cannot be sure that the figures give a true index of the prevalence of the disease. Making the fullest allowances for the fallacies which are inherent in the preceding estimates, all the evidence points so strongly to a serious increase in the disease that an accurate survey of the situation is urgently needed.

### THE NEED FOR SURVEYS

The medical research workers of India at a recent conference expressed their regret that so little work had been done in India on tuberculosis research, and recommended that provincial authorities be urged to carry out accurate tuberculosis surveys in their areas. If we are to conduct a successful campaign we must at the outset find out the numbers and disposition of the opposing



forces. Does this mean that we ought to do nothing till we have completed the survey? Emphatically no! Even though our knowledge of the situation in India is admittedly imperfect, it is quite enough to show not only the crying need for immediate action but also the lines on which action should be taken. India is fortunate in having at her disposal the accumulated experience of other countries in which the tuberculosis problem has already been closely studied with the result that it is being successfully solved.

Anti-tuberculosis measures are of two main types, preventive and remedial. Preventive measures must deal with both the seed and the soil, they must aim at controlling the spread of infection and at raising the bodily resistance of the community. The ideal means of preventing the spread of infection would be to isolate under proper control everyone who is infectious. This measure would involve the construction of sanatoria, with accommodation for at least two million patients and the maintenance of a large and costly army of skilled doctors and attendants. Even the most prosperous Western countries are far from having attained the ideal of providing one bed for every person suffering from infectious tuberculosis, so that any suggestion of this kind must be ruled out as being utterly impracticable in India.

There is no need to be unduly discouraged because of the obvious impossibility of doing for the people all that is necessary. In the case of tuberculosis and all other public health problems a far better way is to teach and persuade the people to do things for themselves. We have seen that the control of tuberculosis in England has been brought about, not by the Government, but by the people. Things done for the people must necessarily be expensive and of temporary benefit, whereas things done by the people themselves are both economical and durable. The spread of infection in India can only be prevented by a process of educative persuasion. The people must be taught how droplet and alimentary infections are conveyed and how they can be avoided. To carry out the educative campaign we have at our disposal the schools, the printing press, public lectures, the cinema and above all wireless broadcasting. In connection with propaganda a word

of warning must be said against laying undue emphasis on the horrific aspects of the disease. The fear of tuberculosis already exists; in some places it amounts to a state of unwarranted panic. It is a case of a little learning being a dangerous thing. Stress must always be laid on the maintenance of health and the means of avoiding infection rather than on the horrors of disease.

There is much to be said for directing propaganda against all infectious diseases of the respiratory and alimentary systems rather than against tuberculosis alone. If it came to be understood that everyone who has a cough ought to be kept in the open air or isolated in a well-ventilated room tuberculosis would lose much of its power to terrorize and demoralize its victims. Fatal delay in seeking treatment is often due to the dread of hearing the diagnosis, which is regarded by many people as a sentence of death. Suitable accommodation in a verandah or open "lean-to" can be provided for the patient at a trifling cost, at any rate in rural areas: a member of the patient's family can be trained to look after him. From ten to twenty persons can be treated in their own homes for the cost of a single patient in a modern sanatorium. A useful piece of research would consist in devising models of suitable shelters made of materials available in the various localities.

Preventive measures which aim at building up bodily resistance against the bacillus are essential parts of the programme; these constitute a complex problem in themselves. The Governments of India would find it just as impossible to provide proper food and housing for everyone as to build and maintain modern sanatoria for all the patients who need treatment. Here again they must fall back on the plan of persuading the people to do things for themselves.

#### EDUCATION IN LIFE PLANNING

The key unit in every State is the family, and the only prosperous States are those in which each family lives a well-planned life. The heads of every family must, therefore, be taught how to plan a satisfactory existence for those who are dependent on them. Here is where the responsibility of Governments comes in; it is their duty to provide sound education in life planning and to



persuade the people to adopt the plans which have been prepared. The most difficult part of the task is to bring about the change in the outlook of the people without which better conditions of life are unattainable. Inefficient methods of agriculture, wasteful customs, early and improvident marriages, are some of the chief handicaps which the people of India have imposed on themselves. Unless these can be thrown off, Nature will continue to maintain the balance between population and food supply by tuberculosis and other cruel methods. In fact, all the world over people must choose between planning their lives as they would have them to be and having them planned by the blind and brutal forces of Nature. Can the outlook on life of 350 millions of people be changed? A few years ago such a question would have been received with derision, but after the recent demonstrations given by Russia, Germany, and Italy everyone must admit that incredible changes in the mentality of great nations can be wrought by persistent propaganda.

Far be it from me to suggest that we ought to copy any of the political systems of these countries, but we might well adopt their methods of mass suggestion in the good cause of promoting the welfare of the people. In doing this we need not interfere with religion or curtail liberty in the slightest degree. There is good reason for believing that if one quarter of the money which is now spent on education in India were allotted to a scheme of instruction in life planning, the problem of tuberculosis and most of the other great problems could be solved.

The first essential is to have a sound plan, and the preparation of such a plan demands the co-operation of men with practical knowledge of agriculture, industry, economics, hygiene, education, and, above all, of men with a sympathetic understanding of the psychology of the Indian peasant. Technical advisers are needed, but the knowledge of the various kinds of experts must be co-ordinated and translated into simple language which will bring home to the people the causes of the ills from which they suffer and the means by which these can be cured. This sounds quite simple, but in reality the scheme will call for a lot of hard thinking by the best brains of India, helped by the best brains of the

countries which have already solved most of the problems which India has to face. When once a plan has been prepared the rest will be easy; it will only be necessary to carry out a system of mass propaganda on the lines that have always proved successful.

There are encouraging signs that those who are responsible for the welfare of India realise the nature and gravity of the problem and the responsibility of Government for initiating action. Let me first quote the following statement from the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. This may fairly be assumed to have emanated from Lord Linlithgow :

"The demand for a better life can in our opinion be stimulated only by deliberate and concerted action to improve the condition of the countryside, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility for initiating the steps necessary to effect this improvement rests with Government."

Everyone will agree that His Excellency is doing everything in his power to discharge a responsibility which ten years ago he little dreamt he was imposing on himself.

Again, we have the statement by the President of the party which has become responsible for the welfare of more than half of the people of British India, that he is greatly concerned at the economic and population situation, and that something will have to be done. It now only remains for public opinion to demand the action which Government will be only too glad to initiate.

#### MEDICAL RELIEF

The campaign against tuberculosis must include humanitarian effort for the relief of the sick.

Prevention and cure are going hand-in-hand in England with the happiest results; in India there are very special reasons for supplying medical aid to the victims of the disease; the chief of these is that before any preventive action can have a hope of success the goodwill of the people must always be enlisted by the cure of disease. Apart from this, sanatoria and dispensaries have great educational value and serve as centres for propaganda work.

There is little need to stress the importance of medical relief in dealing with tuberculosis; the public will insist on having treat-



ment, and it is the business of Governments to see that they get it. I have tried to show you that tuberculosis is a key problem of India and that its solution will mean far more than the conquest of one terrible disease. Even this brief and sketchy survey of tuberculosis in India would be incomplete without reference to the work of the King George Thanksgiving (Anti-Tuberculosis) Fund.

When the Viceroy, then Lord Irwin, was considering the best way of giving tangible expression to the joy of the people at the King's recovery from his dangerous illness, I had an opportunity of suggesting that tuberculosis was a key disease in India, and that a fund for anti-tuberculosis work would be the most suitable manner of commemorating the occasion. Possibly others made the same suggestion, but in any case it was adopted with the approval of His Majesty. The Fund has an income of about £4,000 a year, and with this small sum it has been possible to encourage the formation of a number of local committees to carry out extensive propaganda work, provide for special training of doctors, nurses and others in tuberculosis and give advice to those who are engaged in anti-tuberculosis work.

There need be no fear lest Lady Linlithgow's Fund should lead to a duplication of effort. The field is so vast that £4,000 a year is quite inadequate for its proper cultivation, and the success which has already been achieved by the Thanksgiving Fund with its limited resources shows what could be done if enough money were available.

Let me close by appealing to you for your sympathy and help in the splendid effort which is being made by the Chairman of this meeting, Lady Linlithgow. Her chief aim is doubtless the relief of suffering, but the work cannot fail to give a great stimulus to the campaign for the eradication of the disease.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the Association and the Overseas League was held at Overseas House, St. James's, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 21, 1938, when a paper was read by Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S. (retd.), on "Tuberculosis in India: A Key Problem." Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow, C.I., was in the Chair.

Lady LINLITHGOW said: My chief duty today is to introduce to you Sir John Megaw, whose name means a great deal to you, as it does to the rest of us, for his many years of work in India.

I may say that I did not intend to take part in any meetings while I was home for a holiday, but I felt that I would like to be with you all today and to have the advantage of hearing Sir John Megaw. When one has set one's heart on completing an undertaking, one feels that everything else must be subservient to it, and I certainly have never set my hand to a task with more determination to bring it to a successful conclusion than this task of fighting tuberculosis in India. (Applause.)

But, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot do it alone, and I want all the help that you can give me here, and all the help I can get from those in India. I can, I think, confidently claim that interest in India has been aroused in all classes of the community. Before I left I had very interesting talks with prominent members of all parties. I think I have persuaded them all that tuberculosis, and indeed public health generally, is a question on which we can all work side by side for the public good.

I do not propose to say any more at this stage, having regard for Sir John Megaw's feelings. I would not presume to put myself on the same footing as Sir John in the matter of knowledge of this subject, or of knowledge of India and its conditions, but I think I can put myself on a level with him in my love for the country and in my wish to do all that is possible during my sojourn there. (Applause.)

(Major-General Sir JOHN MEGAW then read his paper on "Tuberculosis in India: A Key Problem.")

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will all agree with me that we have gained much from Sir John Megaw's paper, and I personally have listened with great attention and interest.

You may like to hear briefly of my plans for the campaign after the fund is closed, and although these are necessarily not yet entirely determined on, as this will only be done by a meeting of the full Committee when formed, I would like to take this opportunity of saying that the existing Committee of the King George V. Fund will naturally be a large part of the Committee. In saying this, I mean that the present Committee will be added to and strengthened, but it is my earnest hope—and I do not think there is any doubt of this—that the present members will continue to serve.

As you are probably aware, 95 per cent. of the money collected in each



Province goes back to that Province. It is a larger percentage than has ever been given before, the reason being that we realize that for the work to be of any real value, it must be carried on according to the needs of that particular Province.

We are drawing up a plan of campaign for co-ordination of the Provinces and adapted to their own needs. We are keeping 5 per cent. only at the Centre, and we have many plans for the using of this money. Among them are the payment for the services of an expert. By an expert I mean not only an expert in the disease of tuberculosis, but in every branch of tuberculosis, and who is cognisant with every method that can be brought into use. He would be there to give advice and assistance when wanted by the different Provincial and State organizations. We also hope to have a model clinic, and to enlarge the scope of the existing buildings dealing with tuberculosis. It will naturally depend on the amount of money available as to what we are able to carry out.

Many people have told me that it is of no use carrying out schemes for the prevention and the cure of tuberculosis until the nutrition, the housing and the many other social problems of India have been tackled and improved.

I agree only to this extent: that the other social problems which exist should be tackled at the same time and should go hand in hand with the measures which are adopted to fight tuberculosis. (Applause.) I have every reason to believe that all public bodies connected with health or housing will approve of this scheme—in fact, a great many have already said so—but I do not see any reason why we should not help the one who is suffering from tuberculosis and do our utmost to prevent it in the future.

I would like to stress the preventive side of the campaign, as I feel sure that therein lies the whole problem. As Sir John Megaw has told you, the statistics are very unreliable; but those given to me after investigation by the Bengal Tuberculosis Association were so appalling that I feel they are worth mentioning: although they say they cannot give these figures with any accuracy, they estimate the deaths in Bengal alone to be in the neighbourhood of 100,000 yearly.

One aspect that I am most anxious to impress upon the general public in India is that, if taken in the early stages, tuberculosis is curable. I have asked all those who are carrying out propaganda in the country to make a special point of this. By this means I hope that gradually concealment will cease to be resorted to.

I would like to allude to one or two sentences in Sir John's lecture which are of tremendous interest, one of them being the inherited predisposition of children to the disease. I would like to say at this moment that I think it will be of interest to the company to know that in the twenty-three years of the existence of the Papworth Village Settlement, near Cambridge, there has not been a single case of a tubercular child from tubercular parents. I know that Papworth, as it stands, would not be suitable for India; yet I do think it points to the fact of the necessity of an after-care scheme, as we see that with proper environment and supervision of the parents it is not necessary that the children should contract the disease.

I do not want to take up your time, as there are others who wish to say a

few words, but you may like to know that up to now the amount collected is over Rs. 41 lakhs, and as we have still some time to go I hope we may be, anyhow, within reasonable reach of my objective.

I addressed a large out-of-door meeting of women just before I left Delhi, at the request of the wife of a prominent Congress member. I addressed this meeting in the public gardens, and I am glad to say the women who attended seemed to be very enthusiastic.

I took my courage in both hands, and I told them that the time was past for women in India to sit back and say, "Government must do this: Government must do that." They had now come to the stage when they must do things for themselves and show their fellow-countrymen and fellow-countrywomen that Indian women are as capable of doing social service as any other women in the world. (Applause.)

An encouraging aspect of this is that many school teachers in the colleges and schools that I visit have told me that, for the first time within their experience, girls are discussing among themselves the possibilities of taking up social service. Although one knows that it must take some time to bring this plan to fruition, yet I think that they are all imbued with the right spirit, and that they only require encouragement to do their utmost. (Applause.)

LORD GOSCHEN: I am not going to make a speech because unfortunately I have to leave in a moment for another meeting in this building. But there is just one word I wanted to say today. Very naturally, as one who has had the privilege of working for some time in India, I have listened with the deepest interest to the speeches which have been made by Lady Linlithgow and by Sir John Megaw, because I know well the ravages which this disease has caused and is causing in India, and I am as anxious as anybody to assist in any measures which may ameliorate it.

I am sure today we realize the immense sympathy which Lady Linlithgow has in all the measures which will either prevent, or assist in curing, this disease. Her mere presence here today when she is on a holiday from a most strenuous life, as we all know, shows her deep interest in the matter. (Applause.)

But what I really rose to say was to assure you, as Chairman of the Overseas League, how very glad we are as a League to have been able to have this meeting here on our premises. We shall only be too glad to assist in any way we can to spread any propaganda that it is possible for us to do. I hope that we may be able perhaps to be of some use through our magazine, which we send out to so many thousand members, and I am sure our Indian group will be interested to hear of the lecture which has been given here today.

I feel very hopeful that with our great interest in the Empire and all that concerns the Empire, we may be able to do something to further the schemes for the benefit of India—schemes which the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow have so tremendously at heart. (Applause.)

MAJOR-GENERAL E. W. C. BRADFIELD (Director-General, I.M.S.): I did not expect to speak, but I am very glad to say what I can about what is being done and what we are trying to do in India at the present moment.



Sir John has told us very fully what the tuberculosis problem is, and he has also told us that it is a key problem. Our difficulties in India, as in other countries in the East, are really enormous—colossal. Not only do we have to deal with people, especially the tuberculosis patients, who are often more attracted by a cheap charm bought in the bazaar than by Western medicine, but the financial problem is an enormous one.

If you consider that there are from two to five million people in India who are suffering from tuberculosis, you can realize that even the sum of £500,000—which we hope to reach—cannot possibly go very far. Again, the average income of an Indian is, I believe, only about Rs. 120 a year, and far less in the villages, as against ten times that amount in this country and twenty times that amount in the United States. Then again, we also have to deal with inadequate statistics, and even today inadequate medical and other staffs.

But I should like also to remind you of another thing which Sir John said, and that is, it is not a problem to be gloomy about. It is not a depressing problem if we will only look twenty years ahead. Some of us probably can look back and realize what conditions in India were thirty to thirty-five years ago. In those days Indian women would hardly go to hospital. Nowadays we cannot provide beds in hospitals fast enough for women in India. And the tuberculosis patient is, if I may say so, tuberculous-minded. He is willing to listen, anxious to listen, to propaganda. If we can devote our preventive measures to the tuberculosis family, I myself am convinced that if we devote our efforts in the main to the preventive side of this disease, we shall be successful.

This is not the time to go into the various methods by which the problem can be tackled. I only wish to add my opinion that it is not a problem which we need be at all gloomy about.

Major-General Sir CUTHBERT SPRAWSON: There is so much to be said on this matter of tuberculosis in India, and the difficulties are so many, that it is hard to convey understanding of all these matters in a brief space, but Sir John Megaw has put it all so comprehensively and so lucidly that I think everyone here now, certainly everyone who knows India, must have an understanding of at least the basic points of the situation.

There is one very instructive thing Sir John said. He said that the Indian situation can only be understood in the light of experience gained in other countries. That is very true. Consider our own country of England. As Sir John pointed out, 150 years ago and less the mortality from tuberculosis in England was appalling. It is only during the last 80 years that the mortality has fallen gradually to reach its present level. Admittedly the statistics of 150 years ago were not accurate, but still we have some reason to believe that before that time the disease was not so excessively rife.

What was it then in England that made it so rife about 150 years ago? When we come to look as to what was happening in England about that time, we find that there was a gradual increase in the industrialization of the country, which hitherto had been almost entirely agricultural, and that the country folk were flocking more to the towns, to towns and cities that

were ill-prepared to receive them, with the result that there was not only overcrowding, but doubtless they did not get so well fed when they got to these overcrowded towns as when they were in their country homes.

The history of other countries shows similar occurrences, and when we see what is happening in India today, we find practically the same story. We find during the last forty years at any rate there has been an increasing industrialization in India, and especially with improved means of communication that the country people flock more to the towns, to towns ill-prepared to receive them. There is overcrowding and worse feeding in the towns. Many get infected in the towns, and carry the disease back to their villages. That has been going on for the last forty years certainly.

Sir John Megaw gave you some figures to indicate that the disease might even be now increasing in India, but, as he stated, the statistics are not very trustworthy. The Government of India, realizing that, twenty-one years ago put a special officer on to investigate that point. After long investigation and writing quite a ponderous book about it, this expert reported that tuberculosis had increased. That was twenty-one years ago. Perhaps it is still increasing. It is the general impression of many doctors practising now in India that it is still increasing, and Sir John Megaw gave some convincing figures that it still was.

As Sir John said, it is somewhat gloomy to think that this disease not only may still be increasing: in fact, the state of things may perhaps get worse before it begins to get better. Tuberculosis has got a start on us, and it will take a long time and a lot of hard work before we can get it anything like under control.

One advantage about this position in India is that we have the advantage of a previous experience of those other countries, and therefore we ought to know what is going to happen and ought to be able to anticipate the enemy's movements. In fact, we who are fighting tuberculosis there are in the position of a general in the field who has secured possession of the enemy's operation orders, and we might be able to counteract them.

What was it that other countries did, what did England do, to decrease this high mortality? There again it is very difficult to assess the relative value of all the beneficial measures these other countries did carry out—such measures as the general improvement of the public health, providing good workrooms in factories, limiting hours of work of the workmen in factories, making sure that they had adequate wages when they worked so that they could secure sufficient nourishment for themselves and their families, and, lastly, seeing that they had good homes to go to, when they left the factory.

Those are only some of the things, all of which are not perfected in this country yet, because we still are trying to provide better homes for some of our poorer classes, and that process in India has only just begun. All these measures have to be applied to India. It will take a lot of money and a long time, not only a lot of time but a lot of explaining to the people.

There again I am entirely with Sir John when he says that control of tuberculosis should be brought about not by Government but by the people, and Her Excellency referred to that same point. Naturally the Government



can do a great deal, and so can Local Government bodies and many municipalities by seeing that their laws are obeyed.

Sir John also said: "The spread of infection in India can only be prevented by a process of educative persuasion." I would emphasize that educative persuasion. It is a thing we must aim at in every possible way; education in hygiene in the most elementary schools. That is a thing we have not yet been able to secure in India, that hygiene should be a compulsory subject in the most elementary schools, and especially in girls' schools. The importance of teaching hygiene in girls' schools was emphasized two years ago by His Excellency our present Viceroy, who, when he opened a section for nutrition in the Indian Medical Research Department, drew attention to the importance of teaching hygiene in girls' schools especially, because it is the girls who are going to grow up not only to be the mothers but to be the managers of the home, and on them will depend the carrying out of all the hygiene that is carried out in the homes.

This education in hygiene and propaganda are some of the important weapons in fighting tuberculosis in India. Meetings, lectures like the present one, I consider all these measures are important in England, but still more important in India. (Applause.)

DAME EDITH BROWN: I am very happy that I arrived in England in time to be at this meeting, and I have been extremely interested in hearing the addresses.

Tuberculosis is indeed a dark cloud over India, but I am so glad that General Bradfield and Sir John Megaw have emphasized that the light is beginning to shine. We have very great hopes from the appeal which Her Excellency has started, and the campaign which will be begun, I hope, simultaneously all over India.

For many years we have felt the great cloud which this disease brings over the towns and the villages. It is not only in the towns. Our recent investigations with tests for tuberculosis have shown that 87 per cent. from the towns give the positive reaction and 77 per cent. from the villages; so it is really largely through the villages.

Then another gleam of hope comes because some years ago tuberculosis was considered to be a hopeless disease, and in India people tried to conceal it. In fact, a few years ago, when we were asked to undertake school inspection, a case of tuberculosis was found in one of the senior classes, and immediately the school inspections of the town were stopped, because they said that if it was found that anyone had tuberculosis, it would not be easy to make the marriage arrangements for her. Now I am thankful to say that good sense and persuasion have conquered, and inspections have begun again. But it shows the attitude which used to be held towards tuberculosis. Another point of great encouragement is that with the advanced surgical treatment of artificial pneumothorax and phrenic evulsion one really can say that there is great hope of a cure.

In Ludhiana in the Punjab we have a medical school, and we have some 300 Indian women under training in the various departments—130 training

to be doctors, and the others nurses, compounders and midwives. Six years ago a tuberculosis specialist came on our staff, and this autumn we are expecting a nurse to join us who has had special training in tuberculosis. We are anxious to put all our strength into helping in this campaign.

We feel that what has already been referred to as "educative persuasiveness" is what is really required, and our aim is that every woman who goes out to work from our hospital shall do this wherever she goes. Already 1,600 have passed out through the hospital, and every year some 70 or 80 pass out, so that we ought to be able to do something. Wherever they go, each woman becomes the centre of work among the women and children of that district.

As you will understand, in India the work done among women is almost more important than the work done among men, because however much the men of the towns and villages want to alter things, if the women object it is very difficult to bring alterations in the inside of the family, and it is on those that the good hygiene so largely depends.

We desire that every one of our women who goes out, whether as doctor, nurse, health visitor or midwife, should make it known among the women that tuberculosis is infectious, and therefore care must be taken in contact with tuberculosis patients, but that it is not hopeless, and if they will come for treatment early there is every hope of cure. Then they must emphasize the necessity of good hygiene by hygiene lectures in the schools, by contact with the people, talks in the centres and dispensaries.

Then, as other schemes for social improvement are being carried out, we trust the economic position will also improve, and it will be possible for them to have better food. That is one of the great hindrances. Still, if they have fresh air and sunlight, and if proper care is taken of those already infected, there is very great hope of improvement in India. So I am rejoicing that this work is being begun.

Sir LEONARD ROGERS: I have been interested in this subject for thirty-four years, but at this late hour I will not detain you long. It was in 1904 when for the first time I met my friend Sir John Megaw. I was sent by the Bengal Government to make enquiries in the unhealthy Dinajpur district into the causes of deaths put down to fevers. I found 90 per thousand were due to pulmonary tuberculosis, which was not then suspected.

A most extraordinary statement was made by Dr. Alexander Crombie, I.M.S., in 1891 at the International Congress of Medicine in Berlin. He said that tuberculosis and other lung diseases were very rare among natives of India. In the very hospital in which he had been physician, when I analyzed some 5,000 medical post-mortems, I found 17 per cent. had died of tuberculosis and 8 per cent. more had grave tubercular lesions, and this was the highest cause of death.

In 1909 I started a discussion on tuberculosis at the Asiatic Society of Bengal which lasted for three meetings. Shortly afterwards, on the death of King Edward VII., the Asiatic Society of Bengal at my suggestion recommended that we should have a sanatorium for Bengal and a School of Tropical Medicine as a memorial to King Edward. Unfortunately the



Lieutenant-Governor turned it down for another proposal, which was not popular, and the money was never found for a sanatorium.

There is one other important point I should like to refer to because it may affect the choice of sites for treating tuberculosis in India. Some twenty-five years ago Dr. A. Gordon of Exeter published figures showing that Devonshire rural areas sheltered from the rainy west winds had very low tuberculosis rates, while other areas exposed to these winds had very high rates. In India I found high rates in divisions much exposed to the south-west monsoon rains.

If you place your sanatoria where they are exposed to the winds of the south-west monsoon, you are not likely to get good results. That is a practical point I would like to bring out.

Mr. J. P. BRANDER : I should like to put one question to Sir John. There is one important point which I think he has not touched upon, which is very relevant. The population of India has increased by 32 millions in the last census decade, and this increase is still going on and is keeping the population poor and miserable.

Medical men are generally agreed that diseases and epidemics are the checks imposed by nature on over-population, and some medical men go so far as to think that epidemics and diseases on a large scale would really be the best thing for India for reducing this over-population and misery.

The point is this. Will the attempt to check tuberculosis not be such an interference with this natural check that it will by increasing the population increase the sum total of misery and poverty? In any case, as the attempt and the campaign are to be taken in hand and the population accordingly is bound to increase as the result, is it not necessary, or even more necessary, to have at the same time a parallel scheme which would teach the population to restrict their excessive families?

I would point out that the British Government has given, so to speak, official sanction to a policy of this kind in the case of the colony of Bermuda, where I notice that last year the Governor made a public speech as soon as he arrived there and announced that the Government would establish birth control clinics in that colony, where the population was increasing so fast as to cause a very serious economic and social problem. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN MEGAW : Fortunately there is nothing for me to reply to except the very important question that has been raised by the last speaker. I do not think he quite realized how dangerous it was to put that question to me. It is a subject on which I should like to spend at least one hour in order to try to convey to you the importance which I attach to it.

I am quite sure, as I have said in my paper, that so long as you have a population increasing at a more rapid rate than the increase in the means of subsistence, the inevitable result will be a decline in the economic condition of the people. But I have never regarded that state of affairs as a reason for ceasing to carry out public health reform. I have always emphasized the necessity for taking steps to deal with the population question side by side with steps for the improvement of the conditions of the people. As

Her Excellency has pointed out, we want progress on a wide front. We do not want merely to check the deaths from disease if we are going to replace those deaths from disease by deaths from starvation.

That is why it is necessary for us to be so wide-awake when we are contending against the forces of Nature. If we do it in a blind way, Nature will get the better of us and will assert herself by imposing checks such as have been referred to by the speaker—famine, disease and in some cases checks imposed by man in the shape of warfare.

I am very grateful to the other speakers; all of whom are very good friends of mine in India. Perhaps it is for that reason that they have dealt so kindly with me. I am grateful to them all the same, and I thank you for the manner in which you have patiently listened to my address.

LORD LAMINGTON: I am sure we should not like to separate without expressing our appreciation of the fact that we have listened to a very complete address connected with the incidence of that terrible disease tuberculosis and its ravages, and how it can be combated in Europe and will be combated in India.

There is one point, referred to by Lady Linlithgow, which also surely brings a ray of comfort and joy to many households, not only in India but in this country, where it is still believed that tuberculosis is hereditary. We are told today it is not so. On the other hand, we are told that the disease is spreading in India. There is need then for this great campaign which has been so wisely instituted by the Viceroy and has been carried out by Lady Linlithgow's hearty support and approval.

We are grateful then to Sir John for having shown us so clearly that it is a key disease, and thereby in fighting tuberculosis you are also fighting other forms of illness in India. That is one comforting thought, and we all benefit, I think, by realizing what can be done to mitigate this tuberculosis evil.

We are grateful then to Sir John for having put his knowledge before us, also to Lady Linlithgow for having sacrificed an afternoon of her well-earned holiday. The fact that she has done so is a sign of her sympathy for the work that is being carried on in India, and will be a stimulus to those who are engaged on the work in India.

I beg to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir John for his lecture, and also to Lady Linlithgow for having occupied the chair this afternoon.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation, and was acknowledged by Lady Linlithgow.



## SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY BANNING RICHARDSON

(General Secretary of the All-India Adult Education Conference.)

BEFORE attempting anything in the nature of an analysis of the present condition of adult education in India it seems to me essential that we should clarify the meaning of this expression. From my experience with this work in India I have found that adult education means very different things to different people. Some conceive of it as merely the making of illiterate people literate. Others believe that this aspect of adult education is far less important than would be thought at first sight. I do not think that it is necessary to labour this point, or to give additional examples of differences of opinion. But what seems essential is that we should have clearly in mind the fact that adult education is necessarily a relative term. It does not signify any particular system or programme of education, but rather the recognition of the need for physical, mental and spiritual development among the peoples of the world and the desire to further such education in the best possible ways. From this it follows directly that adult education must adapt its aims and methods according to the type and social background of the people with whom it seeks to deal; thus adult education will necessarily be a very different thing in India from what it is in Europe or America. This is made clear if we refer to the Report on Indian Education issued last year by our Chairman, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Abbott. In this you will find that much emphasis is laid upon the fact that the mistake of Indian education in the past has been to neglect everything but the purely literary forms of education, with the consequence that today there are thousands of semi-educated University graduates who either have not got work, or who are not suited for any work but that of being office clerks.

To sum up, it seems sufficient to point out that the whole sphere of life must be the subject of adult education activity if it is to avoid the danger of emphasizing falsely one or another aspect of human life and thought. Society must be regarded as an integrated whole guided by certain principles and aims, and must therefore be approached with some comprehensive attitude of mind which, without laying down the law, will put forward certain aspirations and objects of achievement which it desires that society to cultivate.

#### PAST EFFORTS

Let us now turn to the history of adult education in India. As a result of the great success of the Adult Education Movement in Great Britain and throughout the West, and with the spreading of liberal ideas through the universities, it was felt many years ago by the social and political leaders of India that if the country were to develop to any great extent along the line of social and economic betterment, it was necessary to educate those members of the community who had already passed the school age and yet remained outside the pale of educated men. The fact which more than any other brought this to the attention of the rulers of the country was the appalling state of illiteracy that prevailed everywhere. Of the 350 million people in India and Burma only a few million could at that time, or can now, read and write, or offer any satisfactory substitute signifying some sort of touch with modern ideas and activities.

In order to combat this evil and the degradation of the masses consequent upon it, the Governments of some provinces, as well as many private institutions and individuals, attempted schemes for the wiping out of this particular evil. In fact, so many were the numbers of students in night-classes, or classes held at other times of the day, that they exceeded in number those who are receiving some form of adult education at the present time. This state of affairs existed about fifteen years ago and continued for some years. It is, however, generally agreed among all concerned that adult education at this time was a distinct failure.



There seem to have been two chief reasons for this failure, which, although they have cost much waste of time and money, have become very useful guides for those attempting future work in this field. The first of these is that the wishes of those to be taught were completely neglected. The ordinary peasant or artisan was not consulted about whether he was desirous of becoming literate or not, nor about the methods to be used to achieve literacy if it were desired. The result of this was that at the beginning many thousands of poor men came to see the new classes and how they were run, but after the novelty had worn off the great majority decided that there was no immediate or special reward for those who became literate, and being practical men they returned to their fields and workshops with the conviction that reading and writing were things to be used only by that small section of the population that already knew them, and were of no use at all to the ordinary citizen. If one thinks for a moment of the dreadful poverty and other physical handicaps of the Indian people, one can readily sympathize with this point of view.

Another and scarcely less important reason for the failure of these attempts was that the majority of teachers were unfitted for the work entrusted to them. In many cases they were ordinary school teachers such as those who even today receive only from seven to fifteen shillings per month for their work, with the result that only a very poor type of partially educated person enters this profession. For such men evening classes were but an additional labour with little or no extra reward. It is easy to see the results of such teaching: subterfuge and failure.

There were, however, in various parts of the country some isolated individual efforts in adult education made by Christian and other missions, as well as by certain manufacturing concerns and other small bodies, which did have some beneficial effect. However, such attempts were few and far between, and though often worthy and successful, yet they were too small and separated to have any visible effect on the problem as a whole.

### AN AWAKENING INDIA

After this very brief and inadequate survey of the past let us turn to the present state of Indian Adult Education and its prospects for the future. What can be said with some certainty is that the educated people of India have suddenly awakened to the fact that most of India's enemies are at home rather than abroad. With the coming of the new Governments in the Provinces and the consequent feeling of greater self-respect and freedom, the educated men and women, specially those who are still in the Universities or who have left them since the war, are filled with the desire to tackle the chief problems of their country. And though some still believe that these will readily be dealt with once British rule is removed, yet the majority of thinking individuals have now come to realize, I think, that freedom can only come in consequence of the solution of these problems and not as a preliminary to them.

Money is a particular difficulty in any kind of social work in India because there is not the same tradition of giving to worthy enterprises by the middle and upper economic classes in India that there is in the Western world. Moreover, during the past eighty years the Government of India has carried out the great majority of social improvements in the country, so that the Indian has come to look on the Government as being responsible for even the smallest services in every part of the country. A humorous illustration of this occurred to me a year or so ago. I was doing some work in a village in Delhi Province and found that the main well of the village was in a serious state of disrepair. I spoke for some time to the head man of the village about it, and suggested that it was his responsibility to see that it was put right. However, I found that his reaction was that such matters were not for private or even community enterprise, because, as he said, "the Government built the well, and therefore it is their responsibility to keep it in condition."

Such a remark shows very vividly how lacking in any sort of local pride or energy is the ordinary Indian villager, and how falsely dependent he is on the Government. To return to my original statement, I wish to point out that because of the two



things mentioned previously, Indian Adult Education has been, and still is to a great extent, dependent on Government assistance. It is clear therefore that whatever is done by private enterprise must be done in close co-operation with the Government, and at the same time seek to arouse private enterprise. Recently the Governments of Bombay and Madras have set up Commissions for the study of adult education conditions, and the proposal of plans to meet the educational needs of the people. Other Provincial Governments are following this lead, and they are to a great extent relying on those private individuals and bodies who have been in the field for some time for the necessary information and guidance.

#### CO-ORDINATION

One sign of the awakening of the people to the necessity for this kind of education is the Bengal Adult Education Association, which was formed some months ago with Rabindranath Tagore as the president. There are already provincial bodies of one kind or another in some of the other provinces, but, generally speaking, it can be said that, although there is a good deal of scattered work being done throughout the country, there is a great need of co-operation and co-ordination on a provincial and national basis.

It was this need for co-ordination which led directly to the holding of the first All-India Adult Education Conference at Delhi in March of this year, under the presidentship of the Hon. Sir Shah Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court. This first conference was necessarily limited in its number of delegates and scope, but it has led to the formation of a provisional committee which is representative of all sections and communities in the country. Its object was to prepare the ground for future development rather than to set up a formal body at the present time. In the autumn another conference, this time for South India only, will be held in Madras; so it is clear that the impetus towards adult education is taking definite shape, and it may be assumed that the work will go forward from now on with greater or less success.

One thing that has become very clear in relation to adult educa-

tion work in India is that the problem cannot possibly be satisfactorily solved by paid workers, for this would require all the resources at present available for the ordinary running expenses of the various Governments, apart from absolute essentials. This means that the work can only be accomplished on a large scale if large numbers of voluntary workers of suitable ability are found. Two things lead one to hope that this is not an impossible state of affairs. One is that the Servants of India Society and others have already established a tradition of service to their country for the young men and women of India, and, secondly, there is the fact that there are at present thousands of graduates of the secondary schools and universities, desirous of doing something to help their country, who are at the present time unemployed or only partially employed. Already some of these have been called on to meet the need, and although they are not always ideal workers, yet there are among them many who with sufficient training can become real leaders in this movement.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

We now come to the central theme of today's address—namely, the effect of adult education on the social conditions of the people of India. Let us for a moment glance at some of the chief problems which beset the country before we discuss the direction which adult education should take in order to help solve them. Most of you here this afternoon know a great deal about India, so it is unnecessary for me to go into any great detail about the economic and social conditions that prevail there at the present time. It has been said time and again that the primary needs of the Indian people are the simple necessities of life: food, clothing and adequate housing. In the last resort the solution of these problems depends upon a new social arrangement which will make a more equitable distribution of the resources of the country, thus allowing the ordinary man and woman to live a tolerable existence. But it is clear that although the Provincial Governments are attempting to solve these problems, and will continue to do so in the future, yet it seems equally clear that until the ordinary man and woman has some conception of the problems



themselves and of what an equitable settlement might be there is very little hope that such a settlement will be reached.

It is therefore on this level that adult education can do its greatest service by opening the eyes of the people, not only to the abuses of those in power over them, but to the much more constructive field of activity wherein they may learn better methods of ordering their social and economic life. It is in this last department that such things as improved methods of agriculture, handicrafts of all sorts, the building up of local *panshayats*, or councils representative of all the people of the community for the solution of local problems, improved methods of building houses, and so forth. In a country as poor as India it is essential that any form of mental and spiritual enlightenment must be accompanied by economic improvement. This does not, however, for a moment preclude the higher forms of education, but rather directs them into those channels where they may be of the greatest practical use to the masses.

The problem which has so long aggravated the urban populations of India and which will very likely spread to the rural populations with the coming of modern methods of transport and communication—namely, the communal problem—has recently come very much to the fore in Indian political life. It is, in fact, possibly the greatest problem that India has to face, because on its solution depends the solution of all the other problems; for unless the peoples of India work together as a united nation, it is obvious that there can be no real or permanent solution of its major problems. The leaders of India are confident that education will remove the communal problem, and with this statement we can have no quarrel, but it must be realized at the same time that the chief actors in communal disturbance are highly educated men who have in many cases been not only through the Universities of India but also those of Europe. It thus becomes apparent that education may be as much an instrument for propagating and continuing communal differences as a means of their solution. Are we to conclude, then, that adult education will accentuate this problem and not help to solve it? The answer to this is of course that if this education is in the hands of men and women

who are really inspired by the search for truth, no matter what or where it may lead them to, then it will be a means of solving this and other problems. But if it is used merely as propaganda for some particular social, economic or religious system, then it will obviously make matters worse.

The other great problem of India—namely, that of the caste system, with its virtual slavery in the form of the class known as Untouchables, or “Children of Heaven” as some now prefer to call them—is another great challenge to the people of India. Again, it can only be solved by so arousing public opinion and ridding the country of many wrong and selfish beliefs that the leaders of the people will not only talk about the abolition of Untouchability but will actually bring it about.

To many of those who know India well the solution of these and other problems seems to be a very distant affair, but if we look for a moment at the England of the early nineteenth century, with the appalling conditions that then existed among the workers, with slavery existing in the colonies and with the great mass of the British people completely illiterate, and if we look at the great change that has come about in the last hundred years and at the same time take into consideration the vast new resources that are now at our disposal for the improvement of man's well-being, we need not, I feel, despair of what may be done in India in a generation or so.

#### INDIA'S FUTURE

All the different sections of the people of India are today agreed that the greatest opportunity India has ever had lies before her. Likewise all are agreed that India must work out her own salvation for herself, asking for help and advice from England and wherever else she may see fit. However, there is a strong divergence of opinion when we come to the question of what kind of India the India of tomorrow is to be. There is of course the political question as to whether or not India shall be a member of the British Empire when she has freedom to choose. Secondly, there is the very burning question as to whether India is to become a modern nation with a variety of industries and perhaps some



share in industrial world trade, together with the necessary social changes which will accompany this state of affairs, or whether she is to remain a land of the simple peasant who lives much as his forefathers have lived for thousands of years. Concomitant with this problem is the question whether or not the people of the country as a whole should be brought into the stream of modern thought or should remain a simple, partially ignorant peasantry. Again, shall Indian culture mingle with Western culture or not? Are the ancient customs and traditions of the people of India in all their varying forms to be preserved intact, or are they to undergo a revolutionary change with a strong blend of modern thought? Also India must decide whether she is to govern herself on a Democratic, Communist or Fascist basis. This may sound like rather a grotesque statement, but anyone who is in close touch with present-day Indian thought knows that this decision is not a remote one, for although British rule is still partly authoritative, yet it is quite possible that either Communism or Fascism may enter the country in a disguised form which may be palatable to an unthinking populace accustomed for centuries to autocracy. These and many other questions have to be decided by the India of tomorrow, and it is in the last resort only the opinions of the ordinary citizen that will decide.

To return for a minute to the methods of improving the country, we find that there is an equally great difference of opinion about these also. I have already suggested that there are those who believe that the abolition of illiteracy is the greatest immediate necessity of the people. However, this is not by any means the only school of thought, nor is it necessarily the most important. For closely associated with the predominant political party of the present day we find the programme being proclaimed that if the majority of citizens can learn to do spinning, weaving and other similar handwork, the major economic problems of the country will be dissipated into thin air. One sign that both these opinions and others are reflectors of a helpless and largely unthinking populace is that they are proclaimed by means of slogans, constantly repeated, until they become habitual and almost instinctive.

## THE INDIAN PEASANT

To anyone who sincerely and honestly thinks about these questions it is clear that there is not, nor can there be, any panacea for the many problems that confront India. What seems equally clear is that the only sound basis for the India of the future is the enlightened life and thought of the ordinary man expressed in constructive activity. I have already referred to the necessity of relieving the present miserable social and economic position of the vast majority of the people. Closely connected with this is the bribery and corruption not only of ordinary citizens but also of officials throughout the length and breadth of the land, and the constant terrorism exercised over the masses by those of higher and richer position because of their ignorance and consequent fear and weakness of the masses. This does not mean, however, that the material with which adult education has to deal is at all hopeless. Even though the Indian peasant is half-starved and in an altogether pitiable condition physically and mentally, yet he has within him rare qualities of generosity and affectionate response to real and unselfish service. Moreover, we know from his past history that he was not only a participant in but the administrator of local self-government, which settled all minor disputes and problems of the community. Nor should we forget in our praise of the peasantry that an outstanding leader of the people like Gandhi comes from the urban middle classes, and that part of them—namely, the moneylenders—which has done as much harm to India as any one group of men could do.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From all this it becomes the more obvious that the rôle of adult education in India is to improve the economic position as well as the cultural and intellectual level of the ordinary citizen. The results of such work, including everything from handicrafts and physical education up to the highest levels of a liberal education, if carried on in the spirit of truth, should have a revolutionary effect upon the people within a comparatively short time. Those who know India today and can compare it with the India of a



generation ago cannot but be amazed at the tremendous changes that have taken place in its political, social and economic life. How much greater the changes might be in another generation if the present efforts were multiplied a hundred or a thousandfold can scarcely be imagined! But those of us who are anxious that India should one day become a free democracy, associated with the other peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations, believe that the training of the mind and body of the ordinary Indian should lead first of all to the revival of those local institutions and crafts which flourished in India at the time of her greatest glory. This does not mean that we would like the clock set back. On the contrary we are anxious that India should assume her place among the comity of nations as an equal in every way. But it is clear to those who have struggled and are struggling for democracy in this country that the basis of any real democracy is local self-government. Aside from the obvious improvements, both physical and cultural, that would derive from a thinking, creative population, perhaps the greatest blessing that would come from the extension of this work would be the creation of an independent, thinking populace that would be responsible for their local government, with a basis of representation related more to service to the community than to wealth of possessions; and a populace capable of criticizing intelligently the activities and motives of its leaders.

This is not the place to embark upon a voyage of praise of India for her great contributions past and present to the cultural heritage of the world. I merely desire to call your attention to the fact that India has the oldest and richest cultural tradition in the world, and that this tradition, although it has been sleeping for some time, is already awakening once more, and will with the proper care and direction enrich the future of the civilized world, even as it has her past. Adult education is no easy high-road to the solution of India's problems, but it is the only possible way that her citizens can be brought to the point whence they may survey the difficulties before them and plan out how to meet them. In this day when dictatorships are the fashion and people are taught not to think for themselves, it would be a

tremendous thing for the social life of the whole world if three hundred million people in India turned their backs against the easy road of dictatorship, and determined to travel up the long and difficult road of real education resulting in democracy; a road long and difficult, but one, the only one, which may lead them to truth and the fulfilment of man's most cherished dreams.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT social meeting with the National India Association was held at the Hotel Rubens, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, on Thursday, June 30, 1938. After tea a paper entitled "Social Implications of Adult Education in India," by Mr. Banning Richardson, General Secretary of the All-India Adult Education Conference, was read. Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of the Department of Intelligence and Public Relations, Board of Education, England, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It gives me very great pleasure to preside at this meeting. The proper function of a Chairman is to offer a few remarks while everyone finds a seat. I find my duty today is to occupy a few minutes to see if the lecturer turns up, as he is not here at the moment! Professor Rushbrook Williams has very kindly consented to read his paper; but in order to give Mr. Richardson the opportunity of arriving in time I am going to make a few remarks.

There are ordinary chairmen, bad chairmen and brilliant chairmen. The bad chairman is the one who attempts to traverse the ground which the lecturer is going to cover. I am not going to be a bad chairman, for the very good reason that I do not know anything about adult education in India. The brilliant chairman is one who, although he is only spinning out time till the late-comers arrive, says something really fundamental or provocative. I cannot hope to do that.

I am an ordinary chairman, who intends to occupy a few minutes by saying something quite platitudinous. My platitude is that if adult education furnishes a difficult problem in this country, its problems are multiplied tenfold in a country like India. I will make one other platitudinous remark; that is, that when we are talking about adult education, we must at all costs get a broad conception and not a narrow conception of what education means. Education is much more than literacy.

(Mr. Banning Richardson's paper on "Social Implications of Adult Education in India" was then read by Professor Rushbrook Williams and, after his arrival, by the author.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you would like me to congratulate Mr. Richardson on the serenity and the skill with which he took up his half-read paper and conveyed to us the other half. (Applause.)

I hope we shall have a very profitable discussion, and I will ask Mr. Littlehailes, who has a long record of educational service in India, to open it.

Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES: I am sure we are very grateful for the address that we have just heard. My experience is practical, having been faced with the hard facts of Indian education for a few years—thirty-four, in fact. I

have found that, more essential than adult education in India at the present time is the compulsory education which India has not yet enforced; and as a corollary to that, facilities for the education of those who have reached the school-leaving age immediately after they have reached that age.

It has been found in other countries as well as in India that persons who have once been so-called literate rapidly lose their power of writing. That was found in England during the time of the war. In 1914-18 many people who had been literate in England were found to have become illiterate, although they quickly regained their literacy afterwards. So it is most essential in my opinion that the greatest energy should be applied, not so much to the grown-up who has already got into ways which it is difficult for him to overcome, lassitude due to age and climate combined, but to concentrate upon youth. If the youth is concentrated upon, there is, in my opinion, much more hope of rapid success in the education of the adult population in India than in any other way.

It has been suggested that this education should take various shapes. Quite true. One of the most successful adult schools that I have come across in my time was in connection with the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras. Those are among the largest and best run mills in India. The employers discovered, what has also been found in England and in other places, that the uneducated workman was not so good as the educated workman—I do not mean by educated merely ability to read and write, but educated in the technique of his workmanship. A great many years ago not only were schools started for the children of the employees in these mills, but night schools were started for the employees themselves, and the education given there was for those who were absolutely illiterate; for those who had reached a certain degree of literacy, classes were offered in technical instruction, similar to the elementary classes that were in vogue in England in the old Board of Education science time, about forty or fifty years ago. At that time there were night classes offered in technical subjects, which were attended by people who wished to better themselves in life. That is practically what it amounted to. That is the best type of night school which I have come across, or one of the best types, in India. There the employers saw what the workmen needed, and they offered that particular form of instruction to them.

Looking at the question generally, it appears to me that there are various methods of approaching the adult. One of the methods is by means of circulating libraries. Circulating libraries have done a great deal. I have come across them in Baroda and in Madras, and in both places they have done an enormous amount of good to the adult population. The majority of the books which are read are of the most elementary character in the vernacular.

Incidentally I might mention that the whole of this adult education must, if it is to reach the people, be delivered in the vernacular. Inasmuch as there are two hundred odd vernaculars in the country and that we are treating an urban as well as a rural population, you will realize that what is suitable for one place is not suitable for another.

Another method is by getting the people attached to social centres of some



kind. In a social centre you have various methods of approach. One of them is the delivery of lectures on general topics of interest, lectures which are suitable to the people likely to attend; those who attend in the country will be very different from those who attend in the town.

Lastly, one of the most important factors is the use of the wireless in disseminating knowledge and giving men an interest in everyday affairs; after the interest is created, they will desire to know more, and we should then need to have schools attached to the various centres.

I have thrown out a few suggestions. There is no need to enter into the reasons why adult education has been a failure in the past. We know, if we read our reports, that teachers and pupils alike have failed. What we have to do in the future is to break down the illiteracy of the country and to make the people an educated democracy.

Professor G. H. LANGLEY: There is one point arising out of Mr. Richardson's interesting address on which I might make a further suggestion. In the course of the address Mr. Richardson pointed out that adult education in India can only be accomplished on a large scale provided large numbers of voluntary workers of suitable ability are found, and he drew attention to the possibility of obtaining help from enthusiastic university graduates. From my experience as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca for eight and a half years I am convinced that if adult education were organized in university centres it would be possible to persuade considerable numbers of students to obtain a certain amount of training and to devote a certain portion of their time to the work of teaching. This assumption is based on my experience of the Social Service Leagues, which were organized and carried on by university students in connection with each of the three halls of residence of the University of Dacca. Adult education did not, at the time of my Vice-Chancellorship, form part of the work of these Leagues, but each of the three Leagues established one or more night schools for poor children who would otherwise have little opportunity for obtaining education, either in the neighbourhood of the Hall concerned or in some village in the vicinity. These schools were started during the Vice-Chancellorship of my predecessor, Sir Philip Hartog, and so far as I know they are being continued till the present time. Throughout the period in which I was in touch with this work groups of university students who had taken it up maintained their enthusiasm and carried out their responsibilities with devotion and a certain efficiency. I therefore see no reason why they should not participate in an organized effort for adult education with similar earnestness.

Further, it was suggested in the address that adult education would contribute towards the solution of the problem of untouchability and the breaking down of caste. Certainly the influence of groups of enthusiastic student workers would make for this end. From 1920 onwards the Hindu students of the University of Dacca showed very great enthusiasm for the removal of caste distinctions, so far as eating and drinking together are concerned. In 1920 separate arrangements for dining were made in each of the Hindu halls of residence for orthodox members of the higher

castes and the caste traditions were strictly observed. But these special arrangements were gradually abandoned by the University and hall authorities owing to a radical change in the attitude towards them which took place among the students themselves—the leaders in this change being for the most part Brahmin students who had themselves accepted the more liberal outlook. By about 1929 both Hindu halls had ceased to make any special provision for the dining of orthodox students, and at the same time no change had been made in the conditions for admission to the halls—that is to say, they continued to admit all applicants who possessed the necessary academic qualifications irrespective of the caste to which they might belong. From that time onwards there were common dining arrangements for all Hindu students in each of these halls. Members of all castes dined together, and their food was prepared under the same conditions in the single hall kitchen. If students of this type therefore were to take part in any scheme for adult education they would presumably be inspired by a similar purpose.

Dr. D. N. MAITRA (Bengal Social Service League): I believe adult education fills the same part in the field of education as friendship fills in the field of human relationships. Beside the relation of husband and wife, father and children, brother and sister, friendship fills a big and great place in the field of human relationships.

I understand by adult education something different from, and more than, ordinary night schools and so on. It is meant for *all* adults, even children. It is not a mere move for removal of illiteracy: it may include it. It fills up the large gap which is not filled by ordinary educational institutions. It seeks to give such a broad and all-round education in a simple form as would tend towards the fuller life and fuller living—economic, sanitary, educational, political, philanthropic. If I were asked to choose immediately only one thing that was most needed for India today—self-government, sanitation, wealth, education—I would say education. For education (knowledge) is the light and the strength that would enable us to acquire and maintain the others.

We must remember that India is not Europe. Its soil is different from that of Europe. The first purpose of adult education would be to furrow the inert soil of the mind, to create an aspiration amongst the people to know more, be more and do more. Without creating such an aspiration, it would be like sowing seeds on a dead soil. Create that aspiration by telling what a fuller life is.

That is why from the Bengal Social Service League we have been delivering an average of a thousand lectures a year on a variety of subjects, with lantern slides, charts, models and cinema, to create interest, arrest attention and stimulate action. Adult education seeks to fill that big gap. Literacy helps to cut a road through the dense jungle of illiteracy that may broaden into a highway.

This is a field where England and India could co-operate, and it would supply a cement of great and lasting friendship between India and England if we could both co-operate. Adult education has not been so far tried sufficiently in India. It is just beginning to be tried.



Therefore I would suggest not to go to the students only. They are much occupied with their examination affairs. One cannot get continuity of action from them.

We should engage a band of intelligent good speakers with a fair amount of general basic knowledge; train them into social workers and need not pay them high salaries. That is my experience of about twenty-four years in this kind of work. Engage them; train them; send them out to the areas and villages with necessary equipment, and they can educate—*i.e.*, open up the windows of the mind of the masses—and just give them a taste of what adult education might be, creating a taste and desire even for literary education.

MISS CASHMORE: I am extraordinarily interested in our speaker's views in two directions. One is in what he said about dictatorships. I feel that there is a vital need in the Indian villages now. Here is education coming. Here are all these ardent young men, hundreds of them, at the universities; girls coming out from the universities determined to serve their country. What is the content of the adult education they are going to give? That Mr. Maitra has indicated to us. If we only have that breadth of friendship between the speakers and the villages, then the thing will begin to grow.

It is perfectly laughable to see all the great guns, as we call them, come down to a group of villages, and talk, and then all go away: then when they have gone, we give it up, and settle in. Of course, success really depends, and it is a supreme issue, on having people—Indians themselves and English wherever you can find them—humble enough to be in the villages, to sit by the well, to spend their evenings there, just to give education as you give to your own friend at your dinner-table in the evening. It must be quite as informal as that.

I want also to speak about the women. I find with my very small experience in Indian villages that the women have a very great influence, and that that influence is entirely conservative. I do not speak of the great associations, such as the All-India Conference of Women, but of the villages. In the villages they have complete control of the children till the age of seven. We all know that if you have complete control of children up to seven, you have grounded them. You men for ever talk about the men and boys, and when I go round the village schools there are few girls there; when they are compulsory for both, there are two little girls sitting there, or three little girls, and the rest boys. It has not yet got into our heads that the women are a profound influence in the village. They are very practical; they have a great authority. They are fundamentally conservative. They make the root difficulties, because they cannot go out in the world to the same extent as the men and pick up education. The educated Indian women know this now, but there are very few compared with the number of educated men.

There is a third point. We have been making very interesting experiments with wireless. Of course, it is a most terrible din. We are out in the jungle, and all over the jungle that wireless from our place sounds out. The radio is a great opportunity, but it can be used, as we know in Europe,



with the most dire effect if it is turned to propaganda or anything against freedom of thought. It is an instrument of great betterment or of great destruction. I feel, when we all gaily say we ought to have wireless sets, we do want to make small experiments in our villages and see what people really make of it. Our people will come from all the villages round and sit listening.

You will have to remember one thing about the wireless. You hear voices, voices, on the air, but there is no visual representation. Indian minds are extraordinarily graphic. You know how they hold us by putting everything into pictures with words. You have to remember you have no demonstration; you simply have those voices on the air. You want to imagine its effect on perfectly uneducated people and learn from experience what they make of it.

MISS MARY SORABJI: I do want to say this, that the women of India have not had their chance, as the men of India have. When the women are educated, then we may look for a very great advance amongst the people of the towns and in the villages.

From my own experience of thirty years, where one had to do pioneer work among women, I had to teach adults, and they were so marvellously responsive, so eager to drink in all that one could teach them. I felt that they could teach me much about life which I, as a young woman, did not know. The way to approach them was in the spirit of friendship and the spirit of love and understanding. I never forgot that throughout all my educational service in India, which was not only in Poona, but in Baroda and in Ahmedabad.

If you educate a man, you simply educate an individual. But when you educate a woman, the wife and mother, you educate the whole family. So I do ask that those who have anything to do with the future of India in this new day will emphasize, foster and forward every step towards the education of women in the right sense, not in a narrow, academic sense, but education in its broadest aspects—in short, the way to live. If you could make that your aim, all of you who have anything to do with education—my own countrymen especially who are going out into the educational service—if you will foster and help forward this, then we shall see a new day dawning in India, when the mother in the home has her children around her, educating them as only a mother can.

When she can create in her family the spirit to go forward, to do the best they can for their country and for their nation, when the woman gets that power, as she has had in the West for so many years, then India will come into her own. The Indian women have marvellous characteristics and wonderful gifts of mind and spirit—for instance, the capacity for endurance, infinite patience and self-sacrifice—which they might teach the world. Emphasize the education of women in India, and then we have a very happy future before us.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are very grateful to those who have taken part in the discussion. Mr. Richardson says that he has no desire to reply, as there has been nothing controversial in the discussion.



I only want to add one thing. It seems almost foolish to emphasize the importance of the education of women after what we have heard in the discussion, but I do want to say this, even if I am emphasizing again something I said when I had the privilege of addressing this Association some months ago. I believe the beginning of adult education for women in an Indian village is to put a really happy infant school in that village and ensure that it does something for the children, which the mothers cannot do themselves, but which they appreciate when it is done. Mothers will then get in touch with the school, and will realize that they are part and parcel of an institution which is helping to bring education and interest into the lives of their children. Out of that will arise some kind of educational centre which meets the real needs of the village; and you will then find, I think, that the women achieve this thing which we call adult education.

I am convinced that the key to the adult education of men is the adult education of women. Indeed, the key to a thousand and one things in India is the education and the emancipation of women. (Applause.)

Sir SELWYN FREMANTLE: I have been asked to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer. When I saw the title of the paper, *Adult Education*, I was rather suspicious, because having been very many years in India I have some experience of the pathetic reliance placed generally in that country on what literary education can do.

I was mentioning, while we were having tea, to my neighbour a little incident that occurred to me when I was Collector of Allahabad. I was discussing the planning of a certain part of the town with a leading politician. In the middle of the academic quarter there was the district jail, which was very objectionable to everybody, and the land which it occupied was very badly required for the extension of various educational institutions. The trouble was, as I observed to my friend, to find a site for the jail somewhere else, because Allahabad is enclosed by rivers, and it was very difficult to find any suitable site. He said, "But with the present extension of education that is going on, we shall soon not require a jail."

I consider quite seriously we might be able to reduce the number of jails, but I am afraid, as our lecturer said, education may lead to good or it may lead to evil. Certainly literary education cannot be relied upon to do nearly as much as it is expected to do in India.

Some of the discussion has been rather academic. We have had learned professors and principals of universities, and they have given their views. I was very glad when the lady speakers got up, because I think it was an omission in the lecture that there was no mention of female education, which we know to be the key to so very much.

But I do feel that we are under a debt of gratitude to our lecturer for putting the case in the very clear and logical way in which he has put it. (Applause.) Though not in the Educational Service myself, I have always been very keenly interested in the subject during a very long service in India, and I do feel that what is necessary is what is now being done—*i.e.*, that the adult education which the peasantry at least require is the initiation into these various schemes of improvement, improvement in agriculture, in

sanitation and health (which is not mentioned in the paper), but it is all an introduction to a new view of life and to a higher standard of living.

In my opinion the building up of the local panchayats, to which he has referred, is something which will create interest and arouse the attention of the people and increase their sense of responsibility and self-respect in a way that no other portion of the rural reconstruction programme is likely to do.

I feel we owe Mr. Richardson a great deal for the way in which he has brought this subject forward, and I hope that if he is Secretary to another Conference of the kind which he has mentioned here, he will be able to induce the members of the Conference to agree to the views which he has put forward so ably.

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



## THE GARDEN PARTY AT FOXWARREN PARK

BY MRS. L. M. SAUNDERS

ON a Saturday afternoon in June Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Ezra were at home to some three or four hundred members of the East India Association and other guests whom they had invited to see the aviaries and zoological specimens at Foxwarren Park, near Cobham.

Many of the visitors went by car, and motor-coaches waited at St. James' Park Station to convey others who made the journey from London. An atmosphere of Saturday afternoon calm and leisureliness had already settled on the streets near the station. As they took their seats in the comfortable coaches, that sense of leisure must have been communicated to everyone except, perhaps, to Mr. King, the indefatigable assistant secretary, who had some busy moments scanning lists and faces to make sure no one was left behind before the coaches moved away through the unwontedly quiet streets of Westminster and then took their places in the flow of traffic moving swiftly outward from town.

They sped through Putney and Kingston and out on to the Portsmouth Road, and there was time only for a passing glance at the old inns and the old houses, and perhaps for a passing thought at the changed character of such estates as Claremont and Esher Place. At the former Prince Louis Philippe of France lived, and there his queen, Amelie, continued to make her home after his death. Princess Charlotte and the Duchess of Albany have lived there in more recent times, and at Esher Place King Edward VII. used to stay to be near Sandown Park, his favourite race-course. The River Mole, in which King Edward used to fish, is close at hand.

Ten miles from Foxwarren Park itself direction posts had been erected to help drivers to find the quiet lanes and the long drive which led finally to this retreat.

There was a sound of music as the guests alighted and moved towards the lawn, where Mr. and Mrs. Ezra stood to receive

them. The hostess was a striking and stately figure, dressed in an oyster-coloured gown and wearing a hat with a wide sweeping brim round which two plumes curled, one of oyster colour, the other of flamingo red. Her two daughters were with her, as was Lady Ezra, and they shared with her the task of hostess. Tea was served in an immense marquee of green and white striped canvas, designedly so large that it could have afforded ample protection in case of rain. On every table stood a bowl of sweet peas, giving a first impression almost of a flower show.

In the gardens beyond other sweet peas grew in lovely profusion, and in their glasshouses the kindly fruits of the earth, peaches and nectarines and vines laden with green grapes, vied with the flowers in their beauty. Nearby the band of The Welsh Guards played throughout the afternoon, and a little group of interested onlookers belonging to the estate and their children sat in the shade of some trees by the bandstand to enjoy the music and to watch the passers-by. Some of the guests had dispersed to more distant parts of the gardens, but a few were strolling across the lawn when the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda arrived from Aldworth House, Haslemere. Soon after a large car from London of unusual colour drove up, and from it stepped the Maharani of Baroda. They were greeted by the host and hostess, and together they moved towards the house, from which there is a view of the country for many miles. The view was clear on that day and yet the outline was softened as if seen through a transparent veil, with a silver streak revealing the Thames in the far distance.

With eyes on that wonderful prospect, it was possible to stray almost inadvertently towards that part of the great park, which is in all more than 300 acres in extent, where the animals live. Banks of rhododendrons, in full flower, and other shrubs masked the railings which enclose the spacious hills and valleys and the pools of water which are the home of the antelopes, the kangaroos and the rare birds which enjoy almost complete freedom under Mr. Ezra's care. Sir David Ezra has a similar collection of animals in Calcutta, and it would seem as if this love of animals were a family trait, combined with a faculty for caring for them with deep understanding, so that kangaroos with their young



watched the guests almost without fear, letting them approach within a foot or so. Herds of antelope bounded up or down the hillsides with superb grace, yet now and then a doe would come and rest its head against a hand stretched out to stroke it, in complete confidence. Mr. Ezra himself conducted a party of his guests to the breeding pens, showing them, among other birds, a parrakeet the colour of which is unique in the whole world. There were crested guinea fowl, white peacocks and peacocks with feathers of many colours; there were jungle cocks scampering through what amounted to real jungle, which served again to render unobtrusive the railings which give the rare creatures their safety and their freedom.

London seemed very far away from the sanctuaries and the smooth lawns where again the guests were gathering, this time to make their farewells to Mr. and Mrs. Ezra. The kindly guiding hands of special police and A.A. men were there to point out where the waiting cars and coaches lay hidden by a belt of trees, and as the motors started up two llamas rose from behind a hedge and gazed in faint surprise at these strange sounds and sights with which for a time their quietude had been invaded.

## SOME ASPECTS OF CHEAP POWER DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM STAMPE, C.I.E.

Chief Engineer (retired) Irrigation Development, United  
Province (1931-1937).

THE objects of this paper are to review briefly the scope and possibilities for the development of cheap power for industrial and agricultural purposes in certain parts of India and to outline the steps which are now being examined in some provinces for the implementation of projects designed with this end in view. It will be admitted that the industrial progress of a country and the rate of improvement in the standard of living depend to a considerable degree on the organized development of those sources of power which can economically be made available.

The present moment seems opportune for such a review, as Provincial Autonomy has now been in actual operation for more than a year and Congress Governments, admittedly highly interested in social and economic problems, have been functioning as practical administrations for about the same period in various Provinces.

To the non-political observer like myself it is very significant that, with war and chaos prevailing in China and Spain and political complications threatening in various other parts of the world, there is presented in India at the present moment the spectacle of a number of autonomous Provinces marching confidently out on their ordered political careers with clearly defined objectives before them. These objectives include, in several instances, the development of important schemes for the production of cheap power and, with it, the reduction of unemployment—that spectre which threatens so ominously the horizon of the educated youth of present-day India.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Apart from its social and economic importance, this problem of unemployment is fraught with special danger in the East



owing to the risk of our educated youths drifting into undesirable political activities when their faculties are not kept constructively employed. The industrial and agricultural development of India has thus a special significance if the talent of the rising educated generation is to be mobilized for the good of their country.

Many of those present today have doubtless read the views of the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who presided over the Unemployment Committee of 1936 in the United Provinces and who studied the local problem in all its aspects. One paragraph of an important lecture on unemployment to the youth of the Punjab I should like to quote *in extenso* as it has an important bearing on my subject.

"While I realize the growing importance of vocational education and industrial training, I also feel that such education and training by themselves cannot solve the problem unless each province assumes responsibility for developing those wealth-producing activities which alone can find employment for our young men. If the Government are prepared to spend more money on the development of the resources of the country a great deal more may be done."

These are the views of one of the great Indian thinkers of today, and one who has spent several years in a close study of this question both in India and abroad. The projection and financing of large public works, especially those for cheap power development, is admittedly highly important, viewed from both the commercial and the social-political angles.

#### DISPLACEMENT OF MANUAL LABOUR

It is desirable to anticipate and to attempt to answer a question that has often been asked by my Indian friends when the subject of cheap power has been under discussion with them: "How can the worker be benefited when his labour is displaced by a mechanical process operating, *ex-hypothesi*, at a cheaper rate?" The stock reply that this question was raised in Western countries more than a century ago and was automatically countered by the absorption of labour into more profitable channels usually cuts little ice with my Indian questioners. Nor is the answer in itself completely sufficient as applied to modern India. A higher stan-

dard of comfort and wealth prevailed in the West even in those distant days. Its cooler climate demanded the manufacture of more clothing and more food. Its evenly distributed rainfall—in normal years—ensured the country against food shortage. These factors, together with its better distribution of coal and the heavy minerals and the higher earning power of its people, tended to absorb usefully the population rendered for the moment surplus by mechanization in the West, more rapidly than can be the case in the less developed social and economic structure of the East. For these and other less obvious reasons, an answer which would apply to the West will not necessarily fully meet the case of the modern East. For the sake of Indian readers I would quote in support of the further mechanization of agricultural industry, certain parallels which are more relevant to our present local conditions.

For instance, prior to the introduction of systematic irrigation in India, water could only be lifted from wells of varying depths by animal or manual power. The advent of the so-called "gravity" canal system, under which water flowed spontaneously into the fields under command, quickly led to the displacement of millions of cattle and men from this service. It is only in tracts which lie outside the command of the canal (or where river supplies for irrigation are occasionally short, due to seasonal variations) that cattle (and sometimes men) are still employed on water lifting. In spite of this if a census were taken it would probably be found that there are now not less but more cattle in these areas. Why is this? One reason is that all the old and many new cattle (and men) have been absorbed into means of utilization more profitable to their employers than the primitive "drawing of water" of former times. Larger areas, ensured of timely protection against drought, are now safely cultivated and more intensive ploughing as well as double cropping is employed. Better crops requiring more animal and manual labour in their cultivation and transport are being laid down and a greater yield both in tons and rupees is secured to farmer and labourer alike. This phenomenon is of such interest to the observer of Indian labour conditions that I should like, with your



permission, to quote an important example which recently occurred in the Meerut district of the United Provinces where, on the advent of cheap electricity, manual power was immediately diverted and absorbed into more profitable agricultural effort.

Prior to the widespread electrification of the rural area served by the Ganges grid scheme which I shall shortly refer to, the water of a certain irrigation canal, flowing some few feet below the level of the surrounding fields at that point had to be raised on to the ground by hand-lifts, which took the form of baskets (or "Bhokas") swinging on a rope held by two men.

Thousands of men were engaged yearly in this particular tract alone on this rather soul-destroying work of swinging a basket of water from a ditch on to a field. When cheap electricity became available—generated on the adjacent canal falls—it was proposed to pump the canal water electrically into a locally raised channel so as to command the fields of this high tract by gravity. The cultivators would, under the irrigation rules, have to pay twice as high a rate as formerly obtained per acre for their water, but on the other hand would save the manual labour hitherto employed. As this would obviously affect their village economy and would constitute an important precedent for the future, we decided, in the irrigation department, to take a referendum of the villagers concerned. More than eighty per cent. of the people voted in favour of the scheme, which was immediately carried out and for some years has increased both the area sown and the yield of the crops in that locality as well as the canal revenue. The labourers released from water-lifting are at present employed more usefully in weeding and tilling the more expensive crops now being grown. The same principle, I submit, applies *cæteris paribus*, to other forms of agricultural mechanization.

The economic position is much the same in the electric-driven tube-well irrigation system recently introduced on a large scale in the western districts of the United Provinces, and to be referred to later in this lecture. Millions of cattle and men, formerly employed in the primitive but then essential task of lifting water from wells and tanks, are now engaged in increasing and improving the cultivated area and producing a higher yield of crops for

the local as well as for distant populations. Similar arguments apply *mutatis mutandis* to the displacement of the bullock by the railways and the motor lorry as a means of more rapid transport.

In quoting these examples it is not my intention to develop *ad nauseam* the case for mechanized production, but to show by a few concrete instances that the old arguments used in defence of mechanization in the economy of the West apply in general to the modern phase of cheap electrification which is now beginning—slowly but surely—to magnetize India. I would express my opinion in passing that the pace of mechanization is not likely to be deterred by the advent of the Congress Party in some Provinces.

#### OBJECTS OF A GRID SCHEME

Turning now to the general question, the importance of generating and distributing cheap electric power for industrial and domestic purposes was realized in Britain, as you all know, in the early post-war years, and was implemented in the Electricity Act of 1926 which was passed by universal consent as a measure necessary to the installation of the great British grid system. Other nations took similar steps, either before or after Britain, with the result that in most Western countries—as well as in Japan—power has now been cheapened and its availability extended by the inter-connection of the efficient generating stations and the elimination of the more antiquated plants. As an appreciation of certain basic principles of cheap power production is essential to a clear understanding of the Indian problem before us I would ask your indulgence whilst I summarize briefly the principal factors underlying the economics of a so-called “grid,” or connected, electricity system.

The general idea in initiating a grid for serving a series of towns from a central station (or stations) is twofold:

Firstly, by substituting a large generating plant located approximately at the electrical load centre of the area of supply, for a series of small and therefore comparatively uneconomical plants sited in the various towns, the cost of the bulk supply of power in these towns can usually be considerably reduced.



Various factors contribute to this reduction. For instance, the initial cost per kilowatt of large generating machines is much lower than that of small ones. The capital provision for standbys or spare machines can be proportionately lowered as, being interconnected, the towns can help each other in the event of local trouble. Again the recurring overhead, operating and maintenance costs of large central stations are lower than those incurred on a series of smaller separated stations. The initial cost of expensive fuel-saving devices can be justified on large plants whereas it would be disproportionately high on small ones. Finally, advantage can be taken of the important element known as the "diversity of load" which usually prevails in the case of a series of connected towns. Briefly put, this phenomenon results from the fact that the "peak" or maximum daily load in each town does not usually occur at the same hour of the day. The "peak" load on the central station is thus substantially less (usually by thirty to forty per cent.) than the sum of the peaks in the various towns. The capacity and cost of a central plant can therefore be considerably less than the aggregate capacity necessary to serve a series of detached places. Against these various factors which make for economy on a central generating station, there must of course be balanced the cost of the inter-connecting transmission system with its transformers and sub-stations. The capital cost of the latter will in many cases exceed any saving that may be effected in the cost of the generating plant.

The economics of every such case, which depend on a number of local factors, must of course be separately examined and the savings realized on generation carefully weighed against the increased cost of transmission into outlying districts. In the generality of cases, however, the net cost per unit of electricity delivered over the system is likely to be lower on a grid than in a series of small local generating stations.

Secondly, the grid system by traversing the tracts between the large towns can be made to benefit those smaller towns, large villages and agricultural zones, which, owing to their individually lower demands, could not in many cases justify the local generation of electricity at a price cheap enough to bring it within the grasp of the local consumer.

In England, were it not for the grid, a large proportion of the population now enjoying electricity would have to forego it, and on the Ganges Grid in the United Provinces the demand in no less than fifty out of eighty-eight towns connected to the system could not have justified the installation of local plants for many years to come—if ever. Large agricultural areas would never have known the advantage of cheap electricity, nor would the vast tube-well irrigation system have been possible.

#### MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Turning to the field of minor industrial development, I would quote the instance of the expansion of the brass turning and polishing industry in Moradabad and other towns in the United Provinces as a result of the availability of cheap grid power. Scores of small factories have been electrified and are producing brassware at cheaper rates than were possible under the old manual system, thereby ensuring a larger field of demand and greater scope for employment. In the flour-milling industry—especially in the vicinity of large towns—flour which was formerly ground by the cottage hand-mill is now being electrically treated and the labour thus released—largely that of women—is being profitably employed in cutting grass, weeding and other relatively more useful directions.

In the Punjab and Madras, where electric grid systems are now in successful operation, cotton spinning and weaving mills, both large and small, as well as cottage hosiery plants, are rapidly being connected. In the United Provinces, two cardboard factories have recently been electrified which absorb large quantities of wheat and rice straw and give direct employment to large numbers of men and cattle both in transport and in actual operation.

It is perhaps unnecessary at this stage to emphasize further the importance of cheap power in developing the industries, expanding and improving the agriculture and benefiting the social economy of the Provinces and States of India. The fact that a number of Governments have completed large schemes and that others have discussed the development of power grids with the



author during the last few months indicates that the local Governments are fully alive to its immense importance.

The precise manner of power development must of course vary locally according to the different resources of the various Provinces such as minerals, degree of industrial development, water for irrigation, types of crops grown, means of transport, accessibility to large markets, and the degree of social development reached as a measure of economic demand. The essential point I wish to make is that cheap power is one of the important solutions of most of the economic problems common to all Provinces.

The next point to make is that for the reasons I have quoted in justification of the grid system few Provinces can have an effectively cheap power system by means of local generation in the various towns. On the other hand, it is equally essential to secure a sufficient number of concentrated loads on a grid system—especially in the early stages of development—to justify the comparatively heavy outlay on the transmission lines. For instance, in the United Provinces, as we shall see, a number of large pumping installations helped to justify financially a large proportion of the initial network, and the gradual expansion of the tube-well system later justified the extension of the network into the villages and the countryside.

#### PROVINCIAL POWER DEVELOPMENT

Turning now to the specific form which power development, as undertaken by Government agencies, has already assumed in various Provinces, I propose to quote three instances in the Punjab, Madras and the United Provinces respectively. The activities of the latter Province, which are better known to me, will be described in rather more detail as an example of what can be done to cheapen the cost of power and increase its field of utilization, especially over the rural areas.

In the Punjab, during the period 1924-1933, the waters of the Uhl river, a tributary of the Sutlej, were ingeniously harnessed at Jagindra Nagar in Mandi State by constructing a tunnel, on a short circuit, through a spur dividing a loop of the river in the Himalayas. In the first so-called "stage" of the project

36,000 kilowatts can be usefully developed out of 48,000 kilowatts of high-pressure turbine plant installed. The power is carried on a double circuit line some 250 miles at 130,000 volts pressure to a large distributing sub-station at Lahore, and thence distributed by a series of lines to some fifteen towns, large and small, including Amritsar and Lyallpur. The load at present mainly comprises the energizing of urban industries such as the vast workshops of the N.W. Railway at Lahore, large weaving and spinning mills at Lyallpur, and the operation of smaller factories such as hosiery and weaving plants as well as local flour mills. The use of electricity is also spreading into the smaller towns and villages, and experiments are being conducted as to the suitability of the local subsoil for the construction of tube-wells both for supplementing the existing canal systems and thus releasing water for the expansion of irrigation elsewhere and for direct local irrigation on the lines successfully adopted in the United Provinces away to the east of the Jumna river. The question of giving a bulk supply to Delhi Province from the Uhl river scheme is, I believe, now under consideration. The construction of a main feeder line from the power station to Delhi would confer a double advantage on the Punjab. Whilst enabling surplus power to be sold off to a ready-made market it would also open up the intervening country *en route* for pumped irrigation and agricultural power development.

In Madras, general electrification of the large and small towns, as well as of the larger intermediate villages and coffee and tea plantations, is proceeding apace under the Pykara project with its associated schemes of steam and hydro development. The important waters of the Cauvery river, which also provide power for Mysore State, are being further harnessed for supplementing the Pykara system.

#### THE UNITED PROVINCES GRID

In the United Provinces we now have in actual operation the final stages of the so-called Ganges Canal Grid. This scheme was outlined to this Association in a paper by Sir Edward Blunt, late Finance Member, United Provinces, in May, 1936, at the



time when the final stage of the grid was just being initiated. Without wishing to burden you with further details of the enterprise, I propose to describe briefly what has since been accomplished on its development, because the Ganges power system embraces two important points which differentiate it from other projects of a similar character. Firstly, the Ganges scheme was developed in a series of stages in each of which one or two of the seven canal waterfalls was developed, thus enabling the capital cost to be increased gradually as the load and earning power expanded. This procedure was fortunate in freeing the finance from the incubus of heavy initial capital outlay which usually cramps the early development of hydro-electric undertakings. This is especially the case with Indian schemes where the rivers are liable to heavy seasonal variations, thus involving large capital expenditure on storage reservoirs to cover the dry periods obtaining from April to June. Secondly, the source of power on the Ganges canal system, developed as it is on a series of canal falls, is located nearer to the field of utilization than is generally the case, thereby avoiding the incurrence of heavy capital charges on long transmission lines from the distant mountains to the sphere of utility.

#### AN AIR VIEW OF THE GANGES VALLEY

Perhaps the easiest way for me to describe what has been recently accomplished is to ask you to accompany me in imagination on an aeroplane trip over the electrified area. Imagine yourself landing first near one of the few still undeveloped waterfalls on the Upper Ganges Canal. There you will see 100 tons of water crashing to waste every second from a height of ten or twelve feet—equivalent to the loss of 4,000 horse-power or sufficient energy to energize some 300 of our tube-well irrigation pumps.

A few miles further down the canal at a similar waterfall, the situation has been changed. Gone is the iridescent spray of falling water. The hum of powerful machines revolving three times a second has replaced the thunder of picturesque cascades. There is hardly a sign of wasted power as the water emerges from the mouth of the draft tunnels and flows evenly down the canal

towards yet another fall which has been similarly raised and harnessed. The current so generated at seven falls is transformed to the line voltage of 66,000 and carried over thousands of miles of wire to 80 towns and some 2,000 village substations now connected to the system.

A large steam station at Chandansi brings the total power available to 29,000 kilowatts or some 40,000 horse-power. Half this, roughly, is utilized for irrigation pumping from rivers and tube-wells, and for agriculture generally, whilst of the remaining half, about a fifth is being allotted for domestic purposes and four-fifths for urban industries large and small.

#### THE TUBE-WELL SCHEME

Let us now fly at a low level over the western grid area to see the effect of this cheap power on the villages already electrified. Spread roughly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles apart, over the brown plain a thousand feet below us, each in the middle of its oasis of some 250 acres of green crops, there are the State tube-wells with their substations connected to the 11,000-volt feeder lines. On the white roof of the kiosks you see a number for identifying from the air each well in the various groups. From each well there radiate, as faint blue lines, the water-courses to the irrigated area. Near the local transformer there is sometimes a sugar-crushing and boiling plant or a flour or spinning mill, and you can see the cultivators bringing their produce in carts to be treated. Outside the State tube-well commands, what open wells there are left are still being worked by bullocks except at the three hundred or so "zamindari" wells which have already been electrified. Contrast this drier zone with the tube-well tract, where little white rings indicate the deserted wells of an obsolete régime and where the released cattle are ploughing up new ground in adjacent fields for the expanding crops. Gradually, too, bullocks are being released from the "kholus" where cane is beginning to be crushed for gur by electricity. This release of bullock-power for ploughing, carting—and also for longer periods of rest—is an important economic feature of the development, apart from the obvious value of cheaper irrigation for three-quarters of a million acres yearly. The



way is noticeable in which high sandy wastes known as "bhur" lands have been brought under cultivation by irrigation and by the supply of cheap fertilizers through the Agriculture Department. One area is noticeable where several square miles of such waste have been brought under intensive cane cultivation for a sugar factory by means of eighteen country-made tube-wells and the liberal use of fertilizers. This recent demonstration of co-operative enterprise indicates the scope that exists for private development throughout the 12,000 square miles of electrified agricultural area.

In fact there is to my mind little limit to the economic effect which the introduction of cheap power into a tract can produce, if boldly and wisely handled. Within the villages the oil engine is being rapidly displaced by electric motors, and the acrid smoke of oil lamps, with the sadness it typifies, is giving way to the brighter light of electricity—symbolizing the dawn of a better economic day.

At several tube-wells near villages, drinking and bathing amenities for both men and cattle, as well as loud-speakers announcing market prices and Indian music, are being installed. The non-canalized portions of the Saharanpur Muzaffanagar, Meerut, Bulandshar, Budaun, Bijnore and Moradabad districts have now been protected by the 1,490 tube-wells comprised by the Ganges scheme. A possible form of agricultural development which I recommended to my successors in the tube-well zone was the substitution of firewood produced in small, quick-growing plantations located near each well, for the dried cow-dung which is at present burnt as domestic fuel in all the villages. An acre plot of a few hundred "shishum" saplings near each well will soon produce enough wood to replace all the cow-dung and thus leave the latter as a humus carrier for the chemical fertilizers which the soil demands if full economic use is to be obtained from the tube-wells as an irrigation asset. The utilization of cheap power at "off-peak" periods as, for instance, during the non-pumping hours of the day and the non-irrigation seasons of the year, will enable agricultural processes to be mechanized at cheap rates, thus lowering the total costs of production and increasing the profit to

the cultivator as well as saving wear and tear on the village animals. For instance, in the winter season our irrigation pumps, which consume some 12,000 kilowatts in the daylight hours, are not usually working all night. If cultivators can be induced by the offer of cheap rates to work cane crushers and other seasonal machines at night the average cost per unit can be lowered for all purposes throughout the year and an economic advantage rendered to the consumer of power as a whole. Again, if part-time chemical industries can be organized for the extraction of nitrogen from the air for the manufacture of ammonium sulphates as fertilizers, the cost of the average unit can be lowered throughout the system. It is partly by co-operative efforts such as these that the benefit of cheap power can be extended to a wider range of needy cultivators.

#### EASTERN ASPECTS

Let us now change the course of our plane and fly along the Sarda canal towards the eastern districts. Prior to 1928, when the Sarda system was opened, this vast green tract extending from Bareilly to Unao was largely "khaki." It owes its agricultural salvation to the builders of this great canal. At the tail of the Sarda canal, on the right or south bank of the Ghogra river, a steam power station can be seen which supplies power to a pumping station which raises 180 cusecs for irrigation on the high bank of the river. The town of Fyzabad and some smaller villages are also electrified. A conspicuous feature of the eastern landscape is the contrast between the blue of the lower rivers and the amber of the intervening land. If one asks, "Need this contrast continue?" we will turn south to the lower hills of Mirzapur and Rewa to find a possible solution.

Below us, in Mirzapur and Rewa State, the rivers available for power development are almost dry at the season of maximum demand. We must therefore resort in such projects to the construction of storage reservoirs for conserving the monsoon waters in order to secure a perennial flow for the turbines. Preliminary investigations indicate that some 8,000 kilowatts can be generated in the Mirzapur district at a moderate outlay on reservoirs and works, and a larger quantity in the Rewa hills. A Committee of



irrigation and electrical engineers recently examined the power position in these regions with a view to the presentation of a detailed estimate to the Government. The project which is under consideration will provide for pumping considerable volumes of water from our lower rivers for irrigation on the high ground at present uncommanded by gravity canals. In effecting this, the supply lines must cross large tracts of country with small towns and villages all in need of power for agriculture, minor industries and domestic amenities.

It is clear that the abstraction of power from the Vindhyan range can afford only a partial solution of the problem in the eastern districts if loads develop here on similar lines to the west.

Two further solutions present themselves. The first is the interlinking of steam-driven stations to be located at suitable points and operated in parallel with the connected hydro-systems. Such stations would be partly "base load" and partly "peak load" plants depending on the rate of development of power demand within the area. Later on, as load develops, the period of working of these stations and with it the annual coal bill would gradually rise to an extent sufficient to justify the additional capital outlay required for the substitution of some cheaper means of operation. There is, however, an economic objection to the installation of the steam stations as a perennial means of power generation. The present price of steam coal delivered in our eastern districts averages Rs. 13 per ton, of which about Rs. 3/8/0 represents the cost at the pit's mouth and the balance the railway freight to the various sites. It is probable that the introduction of more modern equipment will react in the near future on the price of coal at the pit's mouth. Then again there is the possibility of an increase in railway freights or of a shortage of steam coal. From whatever standpoint we examine the question, it cannot be pretended that the fuel position of large up-country power stations is a really stable one. We must remember that for every unit generated a certain minimum cost in coal must be incurred. If, then, we are to develop on the broad lines which I visualize, we must turn to some other source of power for a final solution.

Before landing finally from this imaginary trip let us throw

back the "joystick," raising our plane over the Himalayas to the north, and fly along the southerly slope of the main ridge. One after the other, as we proceed north-westwards, the great rivers emerge from their hill gorges and enter the plain of the Ganges. Within the mountains far below lie the alternate bands of still black water in the ravines and the white cascades of the intervening rapids. Great loops occur in these streams, and it is to these that our surveyors must eventually turn to find sites for the hydraulic tunnels which must be cut through the ridges to enable the power latent in these torrents to be exploited for the service of man. Before our surveyors enter the Himalayas to prepare for the greatest power adventure that has yet been contemplated in the East, an intensive air survey must be made of these loops, followed by a hydraulic and geological examination of the local streams and rocks. The technical difficulties, first of locating and then of building suitable works for harnessing this power must not be discounted. It is yet by no means certain that they can be overcome. This may seem to us here today a fantastic and unwarranted dream, but I cannot emphasize too strongly to the irrigation administrators of northern India the necessity of studying beforehand the economics of these great problems, upon the successful solution of which the ultimate prosperity of the people so largely depends.

#### UNDERGROUND RESOURCES

There is one more aspect of the power position in the United Provinces on which I must touch this evening. I refer to the exploitation of those underground resources in regard to the stability of which so much discussion and thought have been devoted of late years. Whereas the surface water of most of the rivers has already been abstracted for irrigation, there flows a vast "river" 20 feet or so below the ground through the subsoil sands towards the Bay of Bengal. This "river," which supplies the tube-well system in the west, is to my mind one of our finest provincial assets. Just as in the case of minerals, a survey is conducted to determine their extent, so the underground water supplies were examined three years ago at the instance of the Government



by a geological committee. The question for examination was the degree of abstraction that could be safely contemplated. The project envisaged pumping one cusec of water from each square mile of country to be irrigated for an average period of 3,000 hours in the year. It had been asserted by critics that the tube-wells would gradually lower the subsoil water level to the detriment of the general cultivator. The report of this Committee, which was widely published, indicated that, provided the abstraction is confined to the stated figure, there is no danger of a permanent drop in the spring level as a result of tube-well pumping. The Committee in arriving at this conclusion admittedly took into account only the local rainfall as a source of replenishment of the subsoil supply. They did refer, however, to other possible sources of recuperation for which they took no credit.

Personally, in spite of the cautious attitude of the expert Committee, I have always held the view that, in addition to the rainfall actually falling on the tracts concerned, the local subsoil supplies are substantially reinforced by underground flow from the saturated submontane tract to the north, where not only is the rainfall more intense, but the percolation is heavier. A further investigation is now in progress to ascertain by borings the rate and intensity of this subsoil flow.

Finally, if I were asked when the programme of new electrical development will be embarked upon, I would answer by quoting a simple analogy. Road traffic is now controlled by what are known as "traffic lights" with their red, green and amber signals. Applying this parallel to the development situation in the United Provinces, for some years the signal for electrical advancement had stood at "Red." Neither the Government nor the Legislature were convinced of the ultimate soundness of the various schemes then being projected. Since the successful completion of the first stage of the Ganges Grid in 1934, the lights have been turned to amber whilst further investigation has been in progress. This reconnaissance has recently shown that there are no serious technical or financial objections to the greater projects now under review. I believe that very soon the progress lights will turn from amber to green and we shall proceed confidently with enterprises

capable of transforming large tracts of the Provinces from amber to the promising green of new crops.

Perhaps I am an idealist, but I see in these activities more than the mere combination of overhead electricity with underground water, important as such a union is. I visualize in these measures the steady development of cottage industries on a wide scale, the gradual electrification of the farmyard and, with it all, that lowering of the cost of production which alone can really benefit both grower and consumer alike.

#### FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

The criticism has been raised that not only is the capital cost of the Ganges Grid unduly high, but the running expenses, as measured in "pies" per unit, are excessive. Without wishing to burden you today with figures, I must point out that the cost of 1,204 rupees per kilowatt includes the construction of 4,140 miles of high-tension lines, as well as 1,600 sub-stations. This figure cannot usefully be contrasted with the cost of concentrated power systems such as Cawnpore and Calcutta. Again, the average all-in cost of eight pies (or two-thirds of a penny) per unit delivered at scattered points over thousands of miles of agricultural country (where the principal demand for irrigation pumping operates for a period of only one-third of the year) cannot fairly be compared with the figure of a quarter of an anna per unit which is commercially possible in concentrated industrial areas. One might as well compare the cost of coal at the pit's mouth with coal delivered in house kitchens! On the other hand, in financial justification of the project it can be stated that the capital cost of Rs.348 lakhs, or roughly three million sterling, has already ceased to be a dead charge on the Province as a nett return of some four lakhs was forthcoming last year after meeting interest, depreciation and working expenses—a figure which is increasing yearly as the load develops.

Turning for a moment to the separate finance of the less mature tube-well scheme, the return has naturally not yet proved so favourable. The capital cost of some 1,500 tube-wells, with their equipments, buildings and approach roads, is roughly Rs.135



lakhs, or, say, £700 each tube-well having a yield of 30,000 gallons of water per hour. The gross return depends on the local yearly demand for water, because this commodity is sold by the *quantity actually consumed*, not by the acre irrigated, as on our Gravity Canals. So far the return has not come up to our expectations. The main reason for this delay is inherent in any system of volumetric sale. We happened to strike a wet cycle of years in which to launch the project which, by temporarily reducing the demand for water, has delayed for a period the full financial yield on the capital.

But let us look beyond at another side of the picture. The cultivator can raise his crops at less cost on such a system in a wet year and thus save money for a dry year, when the tube-wells will serve as a vast insurance scheme against crop failure. In fact, the volumetric system of sale is a desideratum long sought after by irrigation engineers throughout the world. It has been attained after much thought and research on the United Provinces tube-wells, and I would like, as one of the founders of the enterprise, to take this opportunity of respectfully recommending the local Government to consider seriously before they change the procedure to one of "acre-rate" sale. Why not defer the decision until the present cycle of wet years has given place to a period of more normal rainfall?

In assessing the utility and gauging the financial return of these great projects, I would venture to suggest to the Governments concerned that the "long view" should invariably be taken. If I may use a simple parallel, I will quote the words of one of our great air pilots from whom I was fortunate enough to take flying lessons recently. "Straight and level, sir," his voice came through the headphones; "keep your eyes on the horizon and not so much on the instruments." I thought then, as our 'plane droned its way over the green fields of Kent, how truly this remark applied to the political navigation of modern India.

#### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The direct contribution which the existing hydro-electric and tube-well schemes have so far rendered towards the relief of

educated unemployment is Rs. 12 lakhs annually as the salaries of engineers, subordinates, clerks and operators in the service of Government alone. In addition there is the large number of engineers, mechanics and labourers employed by distributing licensees and contractors.

Should the new projects materialize this sum will rise to a higher figure. But this is not all. Imagine the scope for indirect employment which such schemes offer. The transport and marketing of the produce grown, the increasing industrial activity in the towns, the litigation and conveyancing—all these must mean more work for our educated youth. Let them not, however, overlook the other side, but recall what was written years ago: "He who causes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before deserves well of his country." The projects I have outlined today are capable of raising many million tons of crops, often, too, in places where at present even grass dare not raise its head. By placing these beneficial activities outside the range of party politics I appeal to all concerned to unite the Provinces in objective and deed as well as in name in order to bring the great natural resources of power and water to the early relief of an expectant countryside.

#### THE TRAINING OF INDIAN ENGINEERS

I have dwelt at some length on the possibilities for employment of our Indian youth which the State holds out through these great electrical irrigation projects. We should, however, bear in mind the reciprocal obligation which devolves on parents in the matter of efficient technical training, to fit our young engineers to hold these responsible posts in the future. The Western engineering world, realizing by long experience the necessity of practical training, has always insisted on a prolonged workshop course. The Indian engineer is rather apt to think he can slip into a job after taking a college diploma and serving for a year or even less in, say, a sugar factory! Is the West wrong, and is young India really right? The answer to this question may be furnished sooner than we think by the operation of the thousands of machines and scattered irrigation pumps on which millions of cultivators now depend for their livelihood in the United Provinces. The culti-



vators of the vast electrified area whose tiny capital, often borrowed at that, has been invested, on our advice, in plant, seed and manure will themselves be the judges of the operating efficiency of the staff. Irrigation energized by a widespread electrical network will not be slow in reflecting any falling off in the standard of maintenance now exhibited. In a gravity canal with its slow-moving water there is a time lag between an accident on the main system and its effect on the villager. In electrical operation the effect of a power breakdown, in the stations or on the lines, is instantaneous, universal and calamitous. There is thus the possibility of latent disaster lurking in the hot winds of June in the system of "better living" now being offered to the people of the Ganges grid area.

In other words, the promoters of these schemes will not be judged so much by the plant they have installed and the prospects of greater prosperity that have been held out as by the future operating standard which the engineers maintain on these far-flung power systems. The importance of good service is so essential that I shall quote, if I may, a warning once recorded by Lord Tennyson against the danger of neglect of British naval maintenance by the Administration of the day.

"Should you who have the ordering of the Fleet  
At any time encompass her disgrace  
Whilst all men starve, the wild mob's million feet  
Will kick you from your place,  
But then too late, too late!"

The comparison is clear. The hydro-electric "fleet" of more than 2,000 pumps ensures the wheat supplies of millions of people in the west United Provinces just as the ships of England safeguard the nation's food. A most creditable standard has been maintained hitherto, let us hope the engineers of the future will continue to see to it that the trust imposed in them is not betrayed.

#### BIHAR AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

Certain projects are under examination in Bihar and the Central Provinces, where both Governments are desirous of extending the benefits of cheap power to as wide an area as is economically feasible.

In Behar there is not the same intensity of irrigation demand as prevails in the west of the United Provinces, owing to the more humid climatic conditions. Demand for electric irrigation does, however, exist in certain localities, and this, combined with industrial demands in various large towns, constitutes the basic load for a steam-operated grid scheme embracing Patna, Jamalpur, Monghyr, Gaya and portions of the intervening country.

In the Central Provinces, due to the almost entire absence of any flow of underground spring water and the intermittent nature of the surface rivers, there is little scope for electric irrigation as a basic load justifying the construction of a rural network. A project is, however, under close scrutiny which, if found feasible, would provide a source of cheaper power for the towns of Nagpur, Wardha, Hinganghat and intermediate larger villages.

In both Behar and the Central Provinces, a preliminary investigation of power production costs indicates that, in the first instance, until a matured demand has been created by the evolution of larger industries, the cheapest source of power is a series of connected steam-driven stations suitably located in relation to the coalfields and the zones of demand.

The Central Provinces, as well as Behar, have important mineral—especially bauxite—areas which are capable of wider exploitation if a cheaper source of power can be made available either from the coalfields in the south or the Vindhya hills in the north (and east), or from a well-planned combination of both sources. Both Provinces, like much of the rest of India, have also a latent means of utilization in cottage industries, on Japanese lines, provided always that power is forthcoming at an economic rate.

The subject of cheap power has so far been examined mainly from the point of view of the people of India. The presence of a number of my soldier friends and some industrial organizers here today suggests a reference to the strategic viewpoint. India, to my mind, offers an important field for the manufacture of munitions, especially aeroplanes. Certain essential requisites for this industry are all forthcoming in Central India: huge bauxite areas for aluminium, cheap power for continuous processes, cheap labour and land, as well as immunity from air



attack. I would like to bring this aspect of the subject to the notice of the British Government departments concerned.

There is one important factor common to the power situation in all three Provinces—Behar, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces—namely, the water resources of the neighbouring State of Rewa. If demands from the south-east corner of the United Provinces, the north of the Central Provinces and the south-west of Behar can be adequately co-ordinated, a case can indubitably be made out for power development on a highly economical scale from the Vindhya hills for the benefit of all. It is estimated that, provided suitable markets exist, a total output of 75,000 kilowatts can be developed in the Tons river valley alone by the construction of storage reservoirs to impound the monsoon run-off from these hills. It seems probable that the most economical treatment for these areas will be firstly to build up a suitable load and load factor by means of steam stations at low capital cost and, later, when the load factor reaches a value sufficient to justify the additional outlay, to construct reservoirs, impound water and eventually replace steam by hydro power. Recent experience on the Ganges grid has shown that a judicious combination of steam and hydro generation is economical in reducing the capital charges involved in the construction of long transmission lines to distant areas. The attention of all those Governments is earnestly invited to the necessity for a co-ordinated review of these possibilities in the true interests of the adjacent populations whose needs are great.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 19, 1938, when a paper entitled "Some Aspects of Cheap Power Development under the New Constitution in India" was read by Sir William Stampe, C.I.E. Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Muirhead, M.C., M.P. (Under-Secretary of State for India), was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first duty of a Chairman is to introduce the lecturer; but on this occasion I am in a rather anomalous position, because whilst the lecturer must surely need very little introduction to you, I feel that I need a great deal. Although during two months at the India Office I have been fortunate enough to make a large number of very pleasant contacts, I am afraid my practical acquaintance with India and its problems must be held to be very slight indeed; whereas your lecturer has spent a lifetime in the service of India, more particularly in the service of the United Provinces, and both he himself and his exploits must need a very small introduction, if indeed any introduction at all, to an Indian audience.

I have noticed that the last few lectures you have had have been on the whole on abstract subjects—education, literature, and political associations both internal and external. Therefore, to preserve the balance, it is fortunate today that we are going to have a lecture on definitely material problems, those material problems which are at the present moment of such tremendous importance to India. We are doubly fortunate in having as our lecturer today somebody who in the realm of engineering has done great practical things himself. His ambitions are, I believe, unbounded, for having spent most of his life in delving into the bowels of the earth, he is now, I understand, exploring the realms of the upper air, and if he has not got a pilot's A license already, I believe that is a matter only of days. He is indeed going to be master of all the elements.

With those few words I will introduce him.

(Sir WILLIAM STAMPE then read his paper.)

Lord LAMINGTON: I am speaking now as I am going to another meeting. First of all, I wish to thank Sir William Stampe on behalf of the Association for his most interesting paper. He has added greatly to my stock of information as to the development of industries by mechanical means, and especially how agriculture is being assisted by electricity in India. Then I think it is especially important at the present time, as many people believe that adjustments of that character cause unemployment, that this paper shows the reverse to be the case. In these days, when migration and overseas questions are discussed, one generally is told that any influx of a fresh population will cause unemployment, and I think this lecture ought to help to get rid of that false idea.

After all, as he mentioned about this country, in the last hundred years or



so extraordinary developments and changes have taken place. The spinning jenny displaced labour temporarily, but in the end nobody could suggest for a moment that such inventions have not added to the number of the population and to their better employment in life and the general prosperity of the country. There is no denying it. This paper seems to me extraordinarily valuable in proving this fact. Sir William mentions one particular instance where men, formerly occupied in water-lifting, have now been absorbed into more profitable forms of employment, and so too the cattle that were worked. That is a concrete illustration of the way in which these changes do not impair the welfare of the people, but add to their comfort and prosperity.

Even in the case of the educated youths, they have been encouraged in the past to go in for university education regardless of how they were to utilize it afterwards. They have thus become discontented and often seditious. Sir William mentions that they can now find employment as overseers, clerks and engineers. All this knowledge tends to the welfare of the country, despite temporary dislocation brought about by changes in method.

I should like again to thank Sir William Stampe for his very instructive and informing paper, and also Colonel Muirhead for his kindness in leaving the House of Commons for a short time to preside on this occasion. (Applause.)

Sir EDWARD BLUNT (late Member of the Executive Council of the Governor, United Provinces) said: During the three years before I left India in 1935, irrigation was one of the departments under my charge, and one of my most important duties was to listen to Sir William Stampe discoursing on the hydro-electric system of the United Provinces, or "hydel," as we called it for short. This is by no means the first time that I have had to speak in support of him, and as I sat listening I began, like Sir Bedivere, to revolve many memories, mostly pleasant ones. There are many things which I should like to say; but as my time allotted is short, I shall deal with only two or three points.

The first of them is water. Of all the Indian peasant's needs, water is the greatest. In some tracts, it is true, the rainfall gives him all, or nearly all, that he wants—for instance, in Southern Madras and in Southern Bombay, which get the north-east as well as the north-west monsoon, and in the black cotton country, where the soil holds water like a sponge. But in most parts the rainfall must be supplemented by artificial irrigation, and it is almost impossible to have too much of it. I want you now to consider how much additional water has been made available in the hydel area by the new electric power. There are some 1,800 tube-wells, including those which belong to private owners. We may take the average discharge of these wells at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cusecs, which is, in fact, the size of most of them. One and a half cusecs means  $9\frac{1}{2}$  gallons per second. They run, as Sir William has told you, for some 3,000 hours a year. Accordingly, the additional water supplied to the hydel area by these tube-wells is no less than 189,000 million gallons per year. Nor is that all. The engineers have managed to increase the amount of water available in their canals to the extent of another 600 cusecs, partly

either replacing distributaries by tube-wells, or by building tube-wells along the canal bank, which discharge into them, and also by three pumping schemes from streams which flow at too low a level to be tapped for gravity canals. The pumps in these schemes are also driven by electricity. These schemes give another 41,000 million gallons. In other words, hydel has increased the water supply of ten districts, an area, I suppose, of some 17,500 square miles, by over 230,000 million gallons.

My next point is the great benefit done to the cultivator by substituting cheap mechanical power for the man and bullock power which he at present uses. The Indian peasant has been using all the principal sources of irrigation for centuries. There are inundation canals on the Indus which go back to the early Muhammadan period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. There are channels now forming part of the present Western Jumna Canal system, which were originally built by a Tughlaq king of Delhi in the fourteenth century. In the Chingleput district of Madras a couple of huge reservoirs are still in use which were originally built by a Chola king in the eleventh century. As for the village tanks and wells, they have been used from time immemorial. But the Indian cultivator's methods of extracting water from these various sources are all laborious, and expensive, and slow. I need say nothing about the laboriousness, for most of this audience must have seen at work both the water basket or *bhonka*, by which water is lifted out of one pool into another some ten or twelve feet higher; and also the bullock run. For the expense I need only quote an estimate by an agricultural expert which I recently saw, to the effect that irrigation which would cost Rs. 10 per acre from a canal, and Rs. 15 per acre from a tube-well, would cost Rs. 25 per acre from an open well worked by bullock-power. For the slowness the same expert said that the maximum discharge of water from an open well by the use of two bullocks would not exceed 1,500 gallons per hour. But the discharge of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cusec tube-well amounts to 35,100 gallons per hour. This electric power, moreover, can be used for cutting chaff, which in the ordinary way the peasant does by hand, or for crushing cane, which in the ordinary way the peasant does by driving two bullocks in a small circle round the *kolhu*, a crusher made of stone. In short, Sir William and his men have substituted a cheap and imperishable power for the expensive and perishable power which the peasant at present uses, and which incidentally he requires in other directions.

The existence of this cheap power is also of immense advantage in its connection with industry. At the present moment the Indian population is growing with great rapidity. The increase during the ten years 1921-1931 was 10 per cent., and looks like being larger still during the ten years 1931-1941. The result is that in many parts of India the pressure of the population on the soil has become unbearable, and already agriculture is becoming unable to find employment for all the multitude which naturally depend on it. One of the means of curing this evil is emigration from agriculture to other industries. But the Indian peasant loves his home and his fields, and it is only under the greatest economic stress that he is willing to leave them. On the other hand, industry has a habit of becoming concentrated in the neighbourhood either of cheap power or of its raw materials.



Of these the first is always available in the hydel area, and in the case of some factories, notably sugar factories, also the raw materials. The result is that the hydel area is attracting, and will certainly continue to attract, industry to its own neighbourhood, and that will greatly reduce the peasant's reluctance to make the change from agriculture to industry, since the latter in the hydel area will be within reach of his own home—all the more so that the motor-bus and the bicycle serve to reduce the distance between the village and the factory.

Sir William claims that hydel is an important factor in rural development. I think he is justified in his claim. By bringing cheap water to the peasant, he is enabling him to grow more and better crops, and putting more money in his pocket. He is supplying him with cheap power for cultivating and processing his crops, and thereby reducing his expenses. At the tube-wells he is giving him pure drinking water and sanitary arrangements for bathing, and thereby improving his health. And there are other by-paths of rural development too numerous to mention, which Sir William has also explored.

Another point on which I should like to make a few remarks is this. Sir William has emphasized the necessity of maintaining present operative standards in hydel, and pointed out by an apt quotation the probable results of allowing them to deteriorate. May I remind him that if such a situation should arise, there is one voice which will make itself heard which he has not mentioned—namely, the voice of the cultivator himself. He knows the value both of water and of *bijli*. He has got them now; and if in future he is deprived of them—whether from neglect or from any other cause—he is not going to take the loss quietly. He is no longer apathetic, and unsophisticated and submissive as he was before the War. The War itself and the reforms have taught him a great deal. He now knows what he wants, and he means to get it—as he has already shown in other directions. Personally, I can think of no better method of losing his confidence—and with it his vote—than failure to keep hydel up to its present standard.

I should like to end with a few words of a more personal kind, and to tell you something about Sir William and his men. They are a wonderful lot. They are ready to take on any job of work whatever it may be, and to carry it through. If they do not know how, then one of them, often Sir William himself, goes to California, or Sweden, or England, or wherever that particular job is done by experts. There he learns how to do it, goes back, and shows the rest of them; and then they get on with the job. When hydel was first started in 1928, not one of them knew anything about electricity. Most of them, if not all, know about it now. On one occasion they built a large bridge over the Hindan for a district board, and on another occasion they built a steam tramway for themselves. Why? To make it easier to move the crops grown by the help of their own tube-wells. And they did these jobs in their spare time. As for Sir William himself, let me describe his ordinary working day. He gets up about five, and some unhappy stenographer has to get up too. From breakfast till dinner-time he is out on whatever works there may be in the neighbourhood, and thinks nothing of travelling 100 miles in this time. About ten o'clock he goes back to his desk with another stenographer till midnight. Incidentally, I have seen him

fall asleep at dinner with his head in his plate. He was, and I imagine still is, as full of energy as one of his own high-tension wires. There is nothing in my service that I remember with greater pleasure than that for a time, whilst I was in charge of irrigation, I was practically one of them.

Sir JOSEPH CLAY (late Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of the United Provinces): I should like to add a few words of appreciation to Sir William Stampe for the very illuminating and imaginative paper which he has read to us this afternoon. I use the word imaginative with reference to his own remark about his future projects which he described as, in the opinion of some, "fantastic and perhaps unwarranted." And yet what could have seemed twenty years ago more fantastic to many officials in India, even to experts in irrigation, than the scheme of the Ganges hydro-electric project which has recently been brought into full operation? Had anyone been told then that water sufficient to equal in volume nearly one-half of the cold-weather flow of the Ganges Canal could be extracted from the subsoil, he would have replied that such a result was impossible: and yet we see this an accomplished fact today.

Sir William, with characteristic modesty, has said nothing about his own personal share in bringing about this very remarkable result. He would not, I know, claim to be the originator of the idea of harnessing the falls on the Upper Ganges Canal. But the conversion of the latent power there developed by falling water into a gigantic scheme for benefiting a large part of the western half of the United Provinces is almost entirely his own work; and in developing this scheme he had to meet a great deal of opposition at the start.

First of all, the technical critics were inclined, first to pooh-pooh, and secondly to oppose the scheme. They said, "If you sink all these tube-wells and they really work, you will dry up the sources of the Lower Ganges Canal." Then he had to contend with the local Legislature, which said, "We are not prepared to vote you these hundreds of lakhs of rupees unless we are certain you will succeed." Thirdly, and perhaps most formidable of all, he had to meet the scepticism and at first the opposition of the Governor, Lord Hailey, who distrusted the financial calculations and feared that so much delicate electrical machinery would be very difficult to maintain in proper condition. All these three obstacles were met and overcome by Sir William.

He satisfied his technical critics in various ways, though I am not sure that all of them are fully convinced even now that his scheme would work without doing more harm than good. He converted the members of the Legislature by giving them joy-rides through the first developed tube-well tracts, by his eloquence in the Council and by other methods, into becoming, instead of embittered critics, his enthusiastic supporters. Finally, and most important, he converted Lord Hailey himself from being a sceptical opponent to a convinced adherent of his scheme. I am not at all sure whether that achievement was not really a greater one than the evolution, planning and construction of the Ganges hydro-electric grid itself.

I have no doubt that the Governors, the local Councils and the Finance



Members who assisted in carrying this scheme to completion were well-advised to take advantage of Sir William Stampe's burning enthusiasm, unbounded energy and technical skill and to assist him to apply his powers and resourceful energy to increasing the electrical amenities of so large a part of the United Provinces. A man of his calibre is not thrown up in every generation of engineers, least of all in a Government Department; and we may account ourselves fortunate in Northern India to have had him with us for the full period of his service.

Sir William hopes after no long interval to see these schemes of his extended and progressing over a larger area than they have hitherto been restricted to. He has alluded this afternoon to a promising scheme in which the Mirzapur district and the State of Rewa are involved. But he has stressed, and rightly stressed, one of the great difficulties which confronts the originators of all large electrical schemes—namely, the building up at an early stage of an electrical load sufficient to produce enough revenue to meet, first, the cost of maintenance and running charges, and, secondly, to defray the capital charges which have to be incurred by all such schemes from their commencement.

The very real difficulty which this problem presents is well illustrated by the Mandi scheme in the Punjab, which is still unable, I believe, to dispose of by any means the whole of those 36,000 kilowatts of energy generated miles away in the heart of the Himalayas, although fourteen years have passed since the scheme was set on foot and five since it was completed. During most of this time interest charges have been piling up to the inconvenience, I fear, of the Punjab finances. This is the reason why they are now trying to sell a considerable part of that energy to the Province of Delhi.

Sir William had recourse to two methods for surmounting these difficulties. First he came to the conclusion that in the greater part of Northern India, the one really big electrical load which can be confidently reckoned on is the provision of power for pumping water for irrigation purposes. As Sir Edward Blunt has remarked, the Indian cultivator's first demand is for water, his second for more water, and his third for still more water. One can therefore generally hope to sell power for pumping water, provided it be cheap enough. His other method of getting over the difficulty of meeting capital charges was to proceed on the instalment system, a system which is not always possible. But where it is possible, it is an exceedingly valuable method.

I am afraid that, despite his ingenuity, it is not likely that any of these big schemes will be taken up in the near future, and this for two reasons. First, Sir William is no longer the Chief Engineer on the spot to press forward his projects and to "energize" his Minister. Secondly, all the Ministries in the Provinces of India today are so deeply committed to expensive projects of more universal application and appeal than the provision of irrigation and industrial conveniences to some only of the districts of their Provinces, to be ready to take up his new electrical schemes for some time to come.

Nor is a delay of some years to be seriously objected to. It may even be of value. A pause of this kind will give an opportunity for Sir William's great



project to be "run in" and thoroughly developed before other similar projects are embarked upon.

Sir William had some wise words of warning to give us today on the very important matter of maintenance. It needs no words of mine to stress the risks that will be run if through inexperience, carelessness or slack maintenance or—a more subtle form of decline—weakness in supervising the operating staff, inefficiency is allowed to creep into the structure of the hydro-electric grid.

We have had in the recent past instances which have fully justified Lord Hailey's apprehensions, and it is not yet possible to say—I wish it were—that such possibilities can be relegated to the limbo of forgotten things. On a number of occasions municipal water-works have either completely broken down, or have only been saved from such a fate at the last moment, owing to the slackness of the administration or its failure to provide an adequate supply of essential spare parts. If anything of that kind occurred in the hydro-electric grid in the United Provinces, very serious results would undoubtedly occur. And though, as Sir Edward Blunt remarked, the Ministry responsible would no doubt feel the displeasure of the electorate at the next election, that would not give them their electric energy or the water it ought to have pumped during the weeks or months for which they had been deprived of it. It is for this reason I suggest that a short pause in which experience may be gained of the working of the scheme may not be altogether unbeneficial at this stage. One cannot but view with some apprehension the act of his own Government when Sir William Stampe retired last October. They seized the occasion to abolish the post of third Chief Irrigation Engineer. This officer was in charge of the whole hydro-electric scheme and all electrical development in the Province. The Ministry was sufficiently optimistic to impose this additional burden on one of the other two Chief Engineers, who was already fully occupied with the charge of the immense and complicated system of the Ganges and Jamna Canals. It was to actions of this kind that Sir William no doubt referred when he made that quotation from a late Poet Laureate.

But whether or not we have early progress made in further electrical development, I have little doubt that the day will come when the minds of engineers searching for fresh power will turn towards the resources available in the rivers flowing down from the northern barrier of Hindustan. As one who has spent at one time the greater part of seven years wandering up and down the Upper Valley of the Ganges in his Himalayan home, I cordially endorse everything Sir William has said about the great difficulties—constructional, mechanical, political, and of other kinds—which will beset the development of any great power scheme in the Himalayas. But if those difficulties can be overcome, then I am sure that some day there will be set free a very much larger supply of cheap power for the development of industry and irrigation in Northern India than is available today, though I believe that the greater part of that power will be devoted to the provision of water for irrigation, the great need of the Indian cultivator.

If that day comes, then indeed will be fulfilled the words of the prophet, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; the desert



shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. For in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert."

Mr. A. YUSUF ALI: I would express my deep appreciation of the admirable paper that has been read to us by Sir William Stampe, and also of the two important speeches that followed from Sir Edward Blunt and Sir Joseph Clay.

I wish to devote the few minutes I have to one single point, and that is the possible danger that was suggested for the future by, I think, all the three speakers. The remedy against the occurrence of such a danger relates itself to education.

Latterly there has been some but not sufficient attention devoted to practical education. In the Punjab University and in the Aligarh University, two universities with which I am intimately acquainted, there has been, I think, a slight movement of students away from the purely literary paths to the paths of scientific research. What I should like to see, however, is the diversion of the lower branches of students to these practical subjects.

It is perfectly clear that if the higher university examinations stimulated practical scientific research, we should ultimately reach the goal of a better organized economic and irrigation system. But research and practical application are two different things. Nor can a few university students affect the mass of practical workers. Until we get the students in the middle schools, in the high schools and in the intermediate colleges to turn to practical subjects, to engineering, to chemistry, to hydraulics, and to all the different practical sciences which feed, as it were, the economic life of the nation—until we do that, we shall be in real and constant danger of letting down the splendid development schemes, such as have been described to us today.

I am therefore for linking both these questions and the political questions with the need for the very best practical education that we can get. In this matter I have always urged, and I should like to urge again, that the Governments, the Legislative Councils, the Department of Education, and also the Engineering and Public Works Departments should give that push which alone can help in saving India from a somewhat barren future, such as we might have if political controversy alone rules the atmosphere.

Sir ARNOLD MUSTO: May I add my meed of thanks and congratulation to Sir William Stampe for his very thoughtful and interesting paper, which I am sure we have all enjoyed very much. There are just one or two points I should like to mention.

I was very interested to hear that there is a high-level pumped canal already in existence, and that others are proposed—that is to say, a canal supplied by pumping from a lower-level canal. I was not aware that there were any in India at present. They are, of course, common in Egypt. I proposed one myself in 1920 as a part of the right bank canal system of the Sukkur barrage canals. It was not carried out. I notice also that that particular plant is supplied by a steam power plant, and all the references in the paper to power plants are to steam plants (other than hydro-electric). I wonder why the Diesel is never considered for smaller units? If the units are for 2,000 kilowatts or over, steam is probably the cheapest. There



may possibly be local reasons that indicate steam. It may be near coal-fields. I do not know.

Another point that interested me was the remark about the necessity for maintaining these works thoroughly. I think Sir William touched on the vitals of the question when he contrasted the Western system of training engineers in commercial workshops with the academic training given at colleges in India. As long ago as 1910 I had the honour to write a note for the Governor of Bombay, afterwards Lord Sydenham, on this question of training. The solution of it then, and I believe still, is the establishment by legislation of a legal system of apprenticeship, a binding system of apprenticeship.

In my time, when I was dealing with mechanical matters in India, I was constantly up against the difficulty of finding good mechanics, and I appealed to the people I considered most likely to offer me mechanics, not the Government colleges, but the workshops that exist in Bombay and various places. The reply I got from them all was the same, "We cannot train engineers for the simple reason that we cannot hold the boys." What happened was that a boy came to them to learn his trade, stayed for six months or so, receiving a very small stipend, as apprentices do in this country. I myself started at five shillings a week, having paid for it beforehand in a premium. But having got their small stipend, they stayed for six months or so, then they went round the corner to a small Indian firm or the village blacksmith, who would give them three or four rupees a month more. They then called themselves qualified engineers. During the six months or so they stopped with their original employer they did more harm than good. They damaged the machinery and wasted materials—all apprentices do. An apprentice is no use to his employer until he has been there a year or two. That is the great difficulty, or was the great difficulty, in India in training engineers.

I am afraid I was heretic enough never to be in favour of college training of engineers. By college training I mean college workshops. The essence of mechanical training is the commercial sense, the value of time and material. In a college workshop, however well-equipped it may be, it does not matter how long a lad takes to do a particular task as long as he does it nicely in the end. If he is told to cut a screw, it does not matter how long he takes over it, so long as he turns out a nice screw. He can spoil twenty pieces of steel in doing it, but as long as it is a nice screw when it is presented to the examiners, it is accepted.

In practice, of course, he cannot do that. When he goes out in the world, he cannot take all this time over a job. If he has not learnt to do it *well* in reasonable time at his college, or wherever he has trained, then on the spot he does it badly. He cannot spend unlimited time on the job or his employer will dismiss him for dilatoriness. Before his bad work is discovered much damage may be done to the plant.

May I give two extreme examples that illustrate the position? When I was Mechanical Engineer to Government, I had a letter from a wealthy zemindar who owned a pumping plant, and whose son had taken an engineering degree at one of the colleges in Bombay. He had been advised as to the purchase of a plant, which, as a matter of fact, was not too bad, and he had



very sensibly had it set up by the engineers who supplied it. It worked very well for six months or so. At the end of that time it began to give trouble. The son, who had learnt "all about" oil engines in the college workshops, immediately began to adjust it. After a little of his adjustment it ceased to function finally. However, he continued for two months or so, during which time his father's sugar-cane crop died. Then his father thought it was time he came to me. I went down to the place to see it. The son explained all about it. I told him I would like to have a look at the engine. After an hour of my readjustment it would still not work. I suspected the possible cause of trouble, examined the oil fuel pump, and found it was clogged up with dirt. We took it off and cleaned it, and the engine worked properly. They had never taught him at the college workshop that the machinery must be kept clean.

Another example was a young man who had had a smattering of college education, and advised another cultivator about the pumping plant he required. He bought a pump. The local village blacksmith erected this pump and the piping quite well on the river-bank. After it had been there a few weeks, the cultivator was disappointed to find he got no water from it. A few weeks after, I passed through the village and had a look at it, and was surprised to find there was no engine to work it! (Laughter.)

These, I admit, were extreme cases, but it shows what is possible. I think the solution of many of these difficulties is a proper system of apprenticeship for training lads in commercial workshops, not in colleges. You have the right atmosphere there and the right experience.

There is one other reform not mentioned in the paper which I would like to suggest. I believe it would be a very great advantage if technical evening classes were opened in India for the technical education of mechanics. There are thousands of mechanics in India who are quite good men with their hands and can do a job very well, but their usefulness is very much limited by the fact that they cannot even read a plan. If they could go to evening classes when their work is finished, where they could be taught a smattering of machine drawing and some elementary theory of mechanics so that they could understand plans, I believe it would be a very great help. All instruction could be given in the vernacular.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** For my part I should like to say how very enjoyable and instructive I thought both the admirable lecture of Sir William Stampe and also the discussion which has followed. I have got, as a matter of fact, a certain family interest in water and its uses, because my great-great-grandfather, Matthew Boulton, who was a very celebrated Birmingham industrialist in the eighteenth century, used to have his then very up-to-date factory worked by the direct application of water power; and it is rather interesting that even after the steam engine was introduced and he had installed one at his works, it was not used for the direct working of the machinery, but in order to pump up the rather exiguous supply of water which had gone over the wheel, in order to go over the wheel again. The motion of the steam engine in those days was rather rough and jerky, and he preferred the smoother working which the water-wheel gave him. Of



course, the extension of water power to hydro-electric schemes is a great advance in convenience and efficiency. I hope Sir William Stampe will realize that he touched in me a personal family chord.

There were two things which struck me about his lecture in particular. One was the point emphasized by Lord Lamington: the necessity of constantly instilling into people's minds the fact that this development of power does not in the long run mean the displacement of human labour and the causing of unemployment, but very much the reverse. That indeed is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that at the present time in this country we have, after a century or more of tremendous scientific and technical development, more people in actual employment than ever before in the history of the country. But still I think it wants stating and re-stating because people are apt to think that, although it may have worked in one country or for one section of industry, in some sort of way it is not going to apply to their country or to their section of industry. Therefore I think it wants re-stating that as far as human experience has so far gone, the extension of power with all that it brings does in the end mean more employment and more happiness and a better standard of life for the human race.

The second point which struck me about the lecture was this, the way in which Sir William Stampe kept impressing upon us that water power and all that it means is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. I cannot help thinking that it must be a temptation for anybody like Sir William, with his great engineering knowledge and capacity, to be obsessed with the technical problems and to feel that when he has done something in the way of harnessing water-power, when he has, so to speak, conducted a great engineering achievement, that that in itself is something. It must be a temptation to all engineers to feel that. But Sir William kept telling us in his lecture the numerous uses to which that water-power was being put and would be put in years to come. He talked, for instance, not merely about the rather obvious adaptation of water-power to factories, but also indicated the strategic aspect of the question of manufacturing for defence purposes. He led us into the realms of village amenities and cottage industries. He talked about the possibility of utilizing it indirectly for the growing of fuel. By that means we were led on to the replacement of cow-dung as domestic fuel and also extensions into the field of fertilizers. I am sure that the vision of the uses to which water-power, properly adapted, may be put must have sustained Sir William on many occasions in the difficulties which these enormous engineering projects inevitably bring.

A general, under whom I once served, put in my report, "Always learning." I must say since then I have tried to live up to what I considered to be a compliment. I can only thank Sir William Stampe and indeed the speakers who have taken part in the discussion for helping me very much in that process of learning about a most interesting development of Indian life.

Sir WILLIAM STAMPE: I am afraid there is little time left now to reply at length, nor do I think the various comments call for a detailed technical reply from me.



I would like to say, however, how much I personally appreciate the kind remarks, I am afraid the over-generous remarks, which have been made about me; but I can accept them more readily when I know they are meant to include the very loyal and efficient staff, both British and Indian, which I have had the honour to command during my term of office during the conception and construction of these projects.

In reply to Sir Edward Blunt and Sir Joseph Clay, I would say that the appreciative remarks they made about me are apt to recoil on the givers of such praise. It was largely due to the support given us by Sir George Lambert, and later by Sir Edward Blunt and Sir Joseph Clay, their constant help in piloting these schemes through, and their willingness to accept the financial responsibility for these projects, that we were able to complete them. So what they have said about me is really reflected on themselves. I would also like to acknowledge the help and advice given to me by Sir Harry Haig, the present Governor, and Lord Hailey, his predecessor, who took the keenest interest in these enterprises. The Legislative Council also gave us their support.

I do not think that any detailed technical replies to the discussion are called for. I should, however, perhaps explain that the high-level canal in the Meerut district, to which I referred in the early part of the lecture, is operated by electrically driven pumps fed by the Ganges grid, not worked by Diesel engines. Various projects are still being examined for converting "lift" irrigation into "flow" irrigation by means of such pumps, and there is considerable scope for these beneficial operations.

The eastern electrical projects at Fyzabad and Chandausi are operated by steam because hydro power is too remote and Diesel engines are too expensive in maintenance for the type of load being served. We considered Diesel engines—and, indeed, installed them as "stand-by" plants—in the early days of the Ganges grid, but their operating expenses are too high to enable them to compete with either steam or hydro power for continuous operations such as irrigation pumping.

In conclusion, I would again respectfully draw the attention of the various Indian Governments, who administer these and other schemes, to the necessity of maintaining an adequate and competent technical staff.

I thank you all for the patient way you have listened to my lecture, and you, sir, for taking the Chair.

Sir FRANK NOYCE writes:

It was a matter of great regret to me that a long-standing engagement prevented my being present at Sir William Stampe's deeply interesting lecture. My regret is all the keener for two reasons. It was I who suggested to the Honorary Secretary that Sir William might be prevailed upon to give the Association an account of his great work in the United Provinces. And one of my last acts as Industries Member of the Government of India was, in Sir William's pleasant company, to take—in fact, not in imagination—the aeroplane journey over the electrified area which he describes in his paper. That journey enabled me very vividly to realize the beneficial changes he had wrought in the western districts of the United Provinces since I had

last made an extended tour through them with the Indian Sugar Committee in 1919. Incidentally I might mention that the Report of the Sugar Committee furnishes another illustration of the dangers of prophecy, for it regarded the prospects of utilizing electric power generated by the falls on the Upper Ganges Canal as of very minor importance compared with those of the scheme then under consideration for generating power from the falls on the Jumna near Kalsi.

There is general agreement that an increase in the prosperity of India can only be secured by a concerted, strenuous and sustained effort to raise the standard of living throughout the Indian countryside. Sir William's paper brings out in striking fashion the part that hydro-electric development is going to play in fulfilling that desideratum in both its agricultural and industrial aspects. It has already brought to the agriculturist over large tracts of country a security he has never yet known together with a greatly increased income. The fringe of its potentialities from the industrial point of view has hardly yet been touched. Rapid industrialization, as I have stressed on many other occasions, is not a panacea for all India's economic ills, but it would undoubtedly bring about a better balance of her economic life. I warmly endorse Sir William's view that the projecting and financing of large public works of cheap power development is of the first importance in ensuring that progress in industrialization is on sound lines. India has in its old-established industrial centres copied all too faithfully the evils of the West, but it is not too late to call a halt in that respect by directing the drift to the towns, which the rapid growth of her population makes inevitable, to new centres in healthy surroundings. And I am glad that Sir William has emphasized the extent to which hydro-electric development can help in mitigating the severity of the terrible problem of middle-class unemployment by keeping in the villages at least some of the army of educated young men who could do so much to make them happier and healthier places than they are now.



## THE SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1938

THE Association entered upon the eighth decade of its existence a few days before the Coronation of their Majesties the King and Queen, and a month after the "appointed day" for the Provincial Autonomy provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, to come into effect. Much uncertainty prevailed at the time whether the system would be fully established. In the six Provinces where they had been victorious at the general election the Congress leaders refused to take office without certain assurances from the Governors, which were held by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to be incompatible with the obligations imposed upon the Governors by statute. After much discussion the impasse was overcome and in July the six Provinces followed the example of the five in which non-Congress coalitions existed in the establishment of Cabinets possessing the confidence of the respective Legislatures. The year was one of remarkable internal tranquillity, though the clouds of communal differences gathered here and there. Your Council took steps to keep the Association informed of the political situation, and valuable light was thrown thereon at many of our meetings. The general verdict was that the Constitution was working with a far greater measure of success than could have been anticipated from the troubled political history of India in recent years. The Association availed itself of every opportunity to promote both by exchange of views and by social contacts good general relations between Great Britain and India and received much encouragement in this effort.

### THE CORONATION

In the memorable Coronation summer your Council linked its programme with Imperial events. On May 4 the High Commissioner for India kindly entertained the Association at India

House to hear an instructive paper on "India and Queen Victoria" by Dr. Collin C. Davies, Reader in Indian History, University of Oxford. The occasion was made the more memorable by the presence in the chair of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, whose personal contacts with Her Majesty began on his first visit to Europe in 1887, and who in boyhood was in the assembly at Bombay which, in the winter of 1875, welcomed the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., at the outset of his Indian tour. Miss Cornelia Sorabji also spoke from personal recollection of Queen Victoria.

The Association was the senior of the eight Empire Societies sharing the arrangements for the Empire Day and Coronation Banquet at Grosvenor House under the chairmanship of the Earl of Athlone. The guests numbered over 1,200 and the occasion was marked by the last public speeches of Earl Baldwin and Mr. Chamberlain before respectively vacating and filling the office of Prime Minister. In the replies to the toast of the British Commonwealth, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda spoke as representing the Indian Empire, and described the new Constitution in India as a welcome step toward the attainment of her goal as a free and autonomous unit within the British Commonwealth.

A further social function of the Coronation summer was the Garden Party to meet the Prince and Princess of Berar given at "Great Fosters," Egham, on May 29 by Mr. C. G. Hancock, proprietor of *Great Britain and the East*. The occasion was favoured by brilliant weather, and at the tea tables, under the chairmanship of Lord Hailey, the Right Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, who accompanied their Highnesses, briefly conveyed their thanks and his own. He spoke of the readiness which Hyderabad would always continue to show in playing the part of the friend and ally of the British Government. The Coronation was followed by the Imperial Conference, and the Council, in combination with the National Indian Association, gave a reception at Grosvenor House on June 11 to meet the representatives of India at the Conference. Sir Malcolm Seton presided, and the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, the two representatives from India, addressed a large assembly of guests.



## THE POLITICAL SCENE

To the political situation in India in the first full year of Provincial Autonomy close attention was paid. Sir Phiroze Sethna, one of the leaders of the Indian Liberal Party, undertook to give a survey of the first three months of the new system, and to discuss the constitutional crisis arising from the refusal of office in the Provinces where the National Congress commanded legislative majorities. Sir Phiroze was recalled to Bombay on urgent business grounds, and on June 28 his paper was read by a kinsman, Mr. A. Shroff. Lord Dufferin, who presided over an animated discussion, shared the anticipation of Sir Phiroze Sethna, happily fulfilled, that the impasse would soon be overcome.

In the cold weather season Lord Lothian had a long tour in India after an absence from that country of six years. On March 8, within a few days of his return, he gave an encouraging account of his impressions of the working of Provincial Autonomy after it had been in full operation for some eight months. Certain constructive proposals of his Lordship on the subject of further stages of reform attracted widespread attention in the Press both here and in India. The presence in the chair of Lord Lamington was typical of the close and constant interest of the President in all aspects of the work of the Association.

## HONOURING PUBLIC SERVANTS

The hearty goodwill of the Council to those on whom the responsibilities of administration rest was reflected in two farewell luncheons at the rooms of the Royal Empire Society. The first of these, given on July 21 to Sir Roger Lumley, then Governor-Designate of Bombay, had the co-operation of the Society of Yorkshiremen in London as well as of the Royal Empire Society. It was appropriately presided over by Lord Halifax, who spoke of India being in a state of transition, under which the point of view of those of British race connected with the administration was changing from that of power to that of influence.

The second luncheon was on November 4, when the Royal Empire Society and the Association entertained Lord and Lady

Brabourne, then on a brief visit to this country between leaving the Bombay and going out to the Bengal Governorship. The Secretary of State for India, speaking from the chair, alluded to his own abiding affection for the people of Bengal, and expressed his confidence that Lord and Lady Brabourne would identify themselves with the people of the Presidency in their political, economic and æsthetic interests. Lord Brabourne was able in his reply to give an encouraging account of the early months of the working of Provincial Autonomy in Bombay under a Congress Ministry.

While honour was done to those going out to take up heavy responsibilities, due regard was paid to the completion of successful labours. On January 10 Lady Bennett was the hostess at a reception to welcome Sir John Anderson on his return home after five and a half years' tenure of the uneasy throne of Bengal. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, who recommended Sir John's appointment in 1932, voiced the general feelings of appreciation of the great work he had achieved both in overcoming terrorism, largely by ameliorative measures, and in guiding the Presidency into what had so far been the smooth waters of Ministerial responsibility. This social occasion was made the more attractive by a coloured film display picturing a visit of Sir John to the closed and remote Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan. The film was made and described by Mr. John Davie, who was at the time A.D.C. to the Governor of Bengal.

#### LECTURES

The links the Association has always maintained with Burma have not been severed by the political separation of the country from British India. On February 8 Sir Arthur Page, late Chief Justice of Burma, gave a friendly and picturesque account of "Burma in Transition." Lord Zetland was in the chair, and thus made his first public appearance in his separate office as Secretary of State for Burma. The Council was also indebted to Lord Zetland for presiding at a meeting on November 16, when the veteran prince of explorers, Sir Aurel Stein, gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern views, on "Early Relations between India



and Iran." With due politeness, he turned a deaf ear to the kindly suggestion of his old friend Sir Michael O'Dwyer that at 75 he should call a halt and not go back again to the wilderness to endure the solitude and hardships of archæological exploration.

A number of serious problems not directly political came under consideration. Educational matters, for instance, were twice discussed. On May 31 Mr. and Mrs. H. S. L. Polak entertained members to tea at the Rubens Hotel. Lord Lothian was in the chair, and the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru spoke on a subject to which he has devoted close and fruitful attention for several years past—that of the large and growing extent of unemployment among the educated classes in India.

In essence the same problem, though with wider sweep, was discussed on December 8, when the lecturer was Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of Intelligence and Public Relations, Board of Education, London. In association with another expert from the Board, Mr. A. Abbott, he had been in India in the previous cold weather to report on vocational education in Delhi, the Punjab and the United Provinces. He now gave his general impressions of the Indian educational field, and the chair was appropriately taken by Sir Firozkhan Noon, the High Commissioner for India, who for some years was Education Member of the Punjab Government.

The great social problem of the rapid increase of India's population was presented in a paper prepared by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, of Lucknow University, and read on his behalf on July 13 by Mr. Alexander Farquharson, General Secretary of the Institute of Sociology, with Lord Goschen in the chair.

An external matter on which India feels strongly was submitted for consideration on April 11 by Mr. Edwin Haward, lately returned from some eight years' editorship of the *North China Daily News* at Shanghai, and having behind him many years of journalistic experience in India. With Sir John Anderson in the chair, he spoke comprehensively on "India and the Far Eastern Conflict," and a valuable discussion ensued.

The cultural side of Indian life and influence was not disregarded. His Excellency the Nepalese Minister was At Home to the Association and the India Society at the Legation on

October 6. Mr. Percy Brown, Secretary and Curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, illustrated with lantern views his address on "The Arts of Nepal." Once again Lord Zetland, whose interest in the cultural life of the East has been lifelong, was in the chair. On October 19 Lady Willingdon kindly presided at an entertaining lecture by Mr. Hilton Brown—one of the few novelists the Indian Civil Service has produced, and well known as "H.B." of *Punch*—on "South India in Present-day Fiction." His views were supplemented by those of a well-known literary critic and I.C.S. colleague in South India, Mr. Chartres Molony, and of a prolific Service author, Mr. C. A. Kincaid.

#### FINANCE

At the reception to meet representatives of India at the Imperial Conference, already mentioned, Sir Malcolm Seton had the gratification of announcing that the grant of £50 per annum made to the Association for hospitality purposes by the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda had been generously renewed for a further term of five years. Subsequently His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, whose illustrious father was a staunch friend of the Association for many years, kindly made a grant of £50 per annum for a period of ten years for the same purpose. The Council recorded its gratitude for this valuable assistance in the effort to maintain and extend the important social side of our work.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Association continued to make progress, and the number of elections was 89. Reductions by death, resignation and revision of the roll leave the net gain 33. The losses by death, 25, were exceptionally severe, and included two of our Vice-Presidents—the Maharaja of Patiala, for some years Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, who had not only given generous support to the Association but had lectured before it in 1928; and Sir Harcourt Butler, the versatile administrator who only a few weeks before his passing took the chair at the reception to meet Sir John Anderson. The deaths of the Nawab of Radhan-



pur and the Raja of Sawantwadi, as also that of the veteran statesman and maker of modern Bhavnagar, Sir Prabashankar Pattani, further brought home to us a reminder of the close connection of the Association with the Indian States. The roll of eminent Indians who passed away included names so familiar as those of Sir Jagadis Bose, the great scientist; Sir Sorabji N. Pochkhanawala, the successful pioneer of Indian-managed banking on modern lines; Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, first Premier of the North-West Frontier Province and for more than a generation one of its outstanding figures; and Nawab Sir M. Faiyaz Ali Khan of Pahasu. The distinguished Civilians in the long list included Sir Hyde Gowan, Governor of the Central Provinces until ill-health compelled his resignation; and Sir Michael Keane, late Governor of Assam. Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, who lectured to the Association on "Prison Administration" after retiring from the Director-Generalship of Prisons, Bengal, and was regular in his attendance at our meetings when living near London, was killed in the railway accident between Glasgow and Edinburgh in December.

The accessions to our rolls have included, as usual, many bearers of honoured names among Indian Princes and public men, and British and Indian administrators. His Excellency the Nepalese Minister was elected an honorary member for the period of his residence in this country. The other additions included H.H. the Prince of Berar, H.H. Raja Lakshman Singh of Chamba, the Raja of Keonjhar, Sir Robert Bell, Sir Joseph Clay, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Lieut.-Col. Sir Ralph Griffith, Sir Idwal Lloyd, Sir William Lewis, Sir Lionel Leach, Sir Hormasji Mody, Lieut.-Col. Sir George Ogilvie, Sir Arthur Page, H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala (life member), Sir Ganen P. Roy, Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson and Mr. F. W. (now Sir Francis) Wylie, Governor-Designate of the Central Provinces.

#### THE COUNCIL

In May Sir Malcolm Seton was re-elected Chairman of Council for a further term of three years. There were no changes in the personnel of the Council. H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior

and Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes were elected Vice-Presidents.

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 James MacKenna, C.I.E.

Mr. P. K. Dutt.

Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

Sir Abdul Qadir.

Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E.

The Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal.

#### THE INDIA MUSEUM

The question of the future of the India Museum was brought to the notice of the Council by Sir Francis Younghusband, in his capacity as chairman of the India Society. In connection with the rebuilding and general rearrangement of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, there was reason to fear that the India Museum might not be maintained in its full integrity, and still more that there might be little, if any, scope for its expansion and development. Your Council joined in the protest of the India Society against any step which might have such untoward results, and addressed the India Office separately on the subject. The co-operation of the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Asiatic Society and the School of Oriental Studies, London University, was obtained. Fortified by these expressions, the Secretary of State for India raised the matter with the Board of Education and an inter-departmental Committee was formed. The organizations mentioned had the satisfaction of being notified by the Under-Secretary for India at the beginning of 1938 that the Office of Works had planned the development of the Victoria and Albert Museum Quadrilateral in such a way as to give more museum space than they had originally thought possible, and had been able to find room for housing suitably the whole of the Indian collections in the Quadrilateral. While gratified with this decision,



your Council concurred in a proposal to set up a Joint Committee on Indian Art and Culture to examine the facilities existing in this country for its study, with special reference to public collections of Indian objects, and to make suggestions and recommendations thereon in the proper quarters. The Committee meets at the Royal Society of Arts and our representatives thereon are Sir James McKenna and Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

In another matter co-operative action was taken. Your Council readily concurred in a suggestion made by the High Commissioner for India that members should be circularized in support of the appeal by Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund to combat tuberculosis in India. The High Commissioner formed a Tuberculosis in India Appeal Committee, on which the Council is represented by the honorary secretary, and a substantial amount had been raised at the end of the year.

The Report would not be complete were reference not made to the fact that the successful course of our activities is mainly due to the indefatigable energy of the Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown. His devotion to the interests of the Association and his tact in the conduct of its affairs are unfailing. The Association has every reason to value his services highly. His colleagues on the Council feel that the members share their gratification at the fact that his long record of service for India in so many directions has been recognized by the knighthood which His Majesty was graciously pleased to confer upon him in the Birthday Honours List.

LAMINGTON,  
*President.*

FRANK H. BROWN,  
*Hon. Secretary.*

May 9, 1938.

## SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

THE Seventy-First Annual General Meeting was held at the Hotel Rubens, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, 1938. The President, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I must first make allusion to the fact that we have one official connected with our Association absent today, that is Sir Frank Brown. He has been suffering from a painful illness and wrote to me yesterday that he hoped to attend, and that he had an unbroken record for eleven years of having been at every single meeting of the Association. (Applause.) I wrote at once and said I hoped he would do nothing of the sort, unless he could do it without any injury to his health. I have had a similar illness and know how trying it is. Now Mr. Richter tells me Sir Frank has very wisely decided not to be here. We greatly regret his absence, and feel great sympathy with him, and we hope for his speedy recovery. (Applause.)

Once again, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to present to the meeting the Report of the year. Corporate bodies, unlike individuals, have no "allotted span of life," and there flourish amongst us today some excellent societies which were established in the eighteenth century. This Association dates from the mid-Victorian period, and we are now well in our eighth decade, without—I venture to assert—any signs of the decrepitude of old age, except, of course, in the President!

The Report for the year ending April 30 last has been duly circulated and is a record of varied activities. I think it may be said that the Association has never played a more useful and distinctive part than it does today in the elucidation from many points of view of Indian questions, or done more to fulfil its function of promoting by all means in its power the welfare of the people of India.

In this connection I would note the close attention we paid to the inauguration of the first part of the programme of constitutional reforms laid down in the 1935 Act, and to reports upon the results and prospects of the coming of Provincial Autonomy. We have also surveyed the prospects of the further stages of reform provided for in the Act.

We were especially indebted both to Lord Lothian and Lord Samuel for making under our auspices their first public utterances in this country on their impressions of their respective Indian tours. Both speakers were somewhat pessimistic whether Federation would be inaugurated, owing to British Indian representative and Congress bodies being opposed to unelected State representation in the Federal administration. I believe that it will be possible to reconcile the autocratic procedure and habits of the many generations of the past with what is a very modern outlook of political life, if only the new system is given a fair trial at the start and is properly inaugurated.



Having been thus honoured by Lords Lothian and Samuel, we shall look forward to their example in this respect being followed by other distinguished visitors to India as well as by authorities, both British and Indian, from India. There can be no more suitable medium for such surveys, for we exist not in the interests of any party, whether in this country or in India, but to provide an open forum for the discussion of matters affecting India's progress and welfare.

Members will have noted from the Report that to an increasing degree we have found means of co-operating with other Empire societies, to all of which we are senior in date of establishment. The latest instance of such co-operation was the successful combined meeting with the Overseas League last week, when Sir John Megaw lectured on the tuberculosis problem in India and Lady Linlithgow kindly took the chair. We have all followed with a sympathy which has found expression in practical support from some of us the well-planned appeal issued by Her Excellency in December of last year to provide funds to fight this scourge, which is today an increasing menace to the health of India.

The Report has little to say upon finance, but that little is of a gratifying kind. It records both the renewal for a further term of five years of the grant of £50 per annum made for hospitality purposes by H.H. the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda, and the making of a similar grant by H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior for a period of ten years. It is difficult to over-estimate the value of this assistance in promoting the social side of our work, and our warm thanks are due to Their Highnesses.

The report of the auditors was received too late for incorporation in the printed records. It is a very satisfactory document. They once again express their admiration for the excellent way in which the accounts have been kept. They note that the net membership has again increased, and that the whole of the annual expenditure of the Association is more than covered by its ordinary annual income. They mention that the expenditure on the generous hospitality of the Association has been met from special contributions, except for a small margin of some £10. They also note that "once again there has been an increase in the valuation of the Association's Indian stocks."

I take this opportunity to thank members of the Council for their constant and close attention to the affairs of the Association and regular attendance at the meetings of the Council. It is a great support to a President to feel he has such an enthusiastic Council at his back.

Sir Ernest Hotson has kindly consented to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts, and Mr. Anant Pattani, the son and successor of our old and lamented friend, Sir Prabashankar Pattani, will second the motion.

Sir ERNEST HOTSON : I deem it an honour to have been asked to move the adoption of this Report. This last year has been one of very great importance and interest to the whole Empire, and I think we can say with confidence that the East India Association has fully maintained its tradition by taking a large share in the hospitality given to all our overseas

visitors and officials. Last summer the eyes of all the world were turned towards London. Visitors from every part of the world, and especially from every part of the Empire, flocked to London for the soul-stirring occasion of the Coronation.

Most appropriately the East India Association combined with the other Empire societies in getting up the great Empire Dinner at Grosvenor House, at which twelve hundred persons and more were present, and at which we had the very great pleasure of listening to the last address made by Lord Baldwin before he resigned the Premiership, an address which was in every way worthy of the great occasion. Besides that we have enjoyed two very pleasant parties at India House and at "Great Fosters" owing to the generosity of the High Commissioner for India and of Mr. Hancock.

We also joined hands with the Royal Empire Society in getting up farewell luncheons to Sir Roger and Lady Lumley and to Lord and Lady Brabourne on their departure for Bombay and Calcutta respectively. Those of us who were lucky enough to be at the party to Sir Roger Lumley will remember for a long time the delightful verses which Lord Halifax quoted to us about the way in which they eat peas in Yorkshire. But there was much else of more serious import also. Then again the policy of co-operation with the other Empire societies had a decisive and, I hope, lasting effect when all combined to save the Indian Museum at a moment when it was in serious jeopardy.

While these stirring events were going on in London, India was passing through one of the most critical and formative years in her long history. The Association has always been very fortunate in getting lecturers who have first-hand and authoritative knowledge of these developments, and it has also done its part, as our President has reminded us, in giving a platform for full and free and often very frank discussions. Papers which I should mention are those by Lord Lothian, by Sir Arthur Page on Burma, two very interesting ones on different aspects of the education problem in India by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Wood, and a paper on Provincial Autonomy by Sir Phiroze Sethna, which was read in his absence by Mr. A. D. Shroff.

An Association such as ours cannot fail year by year to suffer grievous losses among its best known and most dearly loved members. When I prepared the remarks I am making to you today, I did not know that Mr. Anant Pattani was going to second this proposal of mine, but that must not deter me from making a special mention of Sir Prabashankar Pattani. He was not only a most devoted servant of the Bhavnagar State and, as the Report says, the "maker of modern Bhavnagar," but was also successively a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay and of the Secretary of State for India, and for many long years he was one of the most trusted counsellors of the whole body of the Indian Princes. In his family life he was happy, until the death of his wife less than a year before his own death. His personal habits were of the simplest. He had more influence on recent history in India than almost any other of his contemporaries, if we except Mr. Gandhi, and he embodied in the fullest degree the old traditions of Indian statesmanship. (Applause.)



You will have opportunities later on, which I know you will take, of expressing the gratitude of this Association to its President and to all its officers, but I should be failing in my duty if I did not express on behalf of the private members of the Association our very deep appreciation of the successful, kindly and tactful manner in which the affairs of the Association have been conducted throughout the year as throughout many past years. And again I should make special reference to our pleasure in the knighthood which was graciously conferred upon Sir Frank Brown, whom we are very sorry not to see with us today. (Applause.)

With those words I formally move the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Mr. A. P. PATTANI : I feel deeply honoured at being asked to second the adoption of the Report. I had come here, after having read the Report very carefully, with the intention of saying a few words about it, beginning with the very kind reference that has been made therein to my revered father who passed away a few months ago. But after what your Lordship said about him, and especially the kind words of Sir Ernest Hotson, with whom I know that my father considered it a privilege to work for His Excellency the Governor of Bombay many years ago, I hope your Lordship will excuse me if I find myself unable to say very much. My father always held that the general aim of the Association, which is to promote the welfare of the people of India and to encourage in every possible way the cordial relations between the two countries and between individuals both in India and in England, was one to which any man may proudly give his life. I think he worked to that end; and he also considered it his happy lot that both in India and in England, amongst the people and amongst those who really make a Government of India possible, the Services, he himself had been in the closest association and co-operation. I hope, sir, as a humble member of this Association to continue to follow in his footsteps as best I can.

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution to the meeting and it was carried unanimously.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Dewan Bahadur Sir T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA : The resolution I have to propose gives me great pleasure, and I am sure very few words of mine are required to commend to you the acceptance of that resolution. It is that Lord Lamington be re-elected as President of this Association. (Applause.) Lord Lamington described himself a little while ago as the only decrepit feature of the Association. If I must to a certain extent admit the truth of whatever he says, I am sure we violently dissent on the major portion of it, and I can only say that if he is old, he is eternally young, as his conduct in the Chair shows today. I feel certain that the great success that this Association has attained in recent years has been very largely owing to him.

As regards the Association itself, perhaps you might like to listen to a few words from me, because I speak with almost a disinterested feeling, as

I rarely have the opportunity of sharing in the hospitality of the Association. Whenever I get a chance, I grasp at it, but I get the chance very seldom. Throughout last year I am sorry that I missed that hospitality altogether, because I heard great accounts of it both here and in India. I was sorry that I was kept by my work from all the tamasha that was going on here and in which this Association took so large a part.

The Association not only dispenses hospitality, but its more important function is to afford a platform, on which Indians who come to England can express their opinions, whatever variety of political or other school they may belong to. I think it is well that we have in London, at the centre of the Empire, a place where we can express our views with that freedom which is being gradually circumscribed in Europe till it almost seems to come to the narrow bounds of this island. I think it is in conformity with the traditions of the Empire and of England that there should be an institution here in which we can express our opinions without fear or favour.

India is supposed to be a dull subject, but judging from the meetings at which I have been present, all I can say is that the Chairman and our excellent Honorary Secretary, my old friend Sir Frank Brown, seem to manage to put a great deal of life into the proceedings, and to get very large audiences. So you see some very good reasons why you should accept my proposition that Lord Lamington be elected President, and I have no doubt you will accept it.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: I have very great pleasure in seconding that resolution. My old friend Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya has expressed more eloquently than I could much that I would wish to say. We all owe a great debt of gratitude to Lord Lamington for what he has done for the Association, and I feel sure that, if he will consent to serve for another year, it will give us great pleasure. As he cannot put that motion himself, I put it to the meeting.

The motion was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I am very proud indeed that you wish me to continue in the office of President of this Association. I have very often expressed my willingness to retire if you want me to. Though I should personally regret it, I could not dispute your judgment. But I will not say more on that point now. I want to say how gratified I am that my re-election has been proposed and seconded by two gentlemen such as those who have just done me this very good turn. I appreciate indeed that Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya should have alluded to the fact that I do not get older. I do get older, but I am glad he does not think so. I also am glad to think that all the doings of this Association are held in such respect and studied in India. It is very gratifying to all of us to feel that what we do here is appreciated in India, and I therefore stress the good and pleasant feeling between this country and India, which adds testimony to the value of the work of the Association.

I might just mention that we have here this afternoon Sir Selwyn



Fremantle, who is Chairman of the National Indian Association, a body with which we have had close relations for many years. I am glad to think that we have its representative here today.

I must express my heartfelt thanks for the honour you have conferred on me in again electing me President of your Association. (Applause.)

#### THE COUNCIL

Dr. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS: The motion which falls to my lot this afternoon, although a formal one, is none the less pleasant. Those of you who have listened to the speech of the President will realize the responsibility which falls on the Members of Council who are elected annually, and will also realize the debt of gratitude which we Members of the Association owe to them.

This year the names for re-election are: Sir James MacKenna, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Sir Reginald Glancy, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Sir Abdul Qadir, the Right Hon. Sir Shadi Lal.

We regret to learn of the retirement of Sir Hugh McPherson, who finds that his possible change of residence from London to the country will not enable him to discharge those functions and that responsibility for which I am sure we have all been very grateful to him in the past. As new Members of Council this year, I have great pleasure in proposing the names of Sir Ernest Hotson and Sir Hopetoun Stokes. In regard to the names and records of both of them I need not take up your time. I am sure that their achievements in India and the reputation which they enjoy in this country as well suffice to commend them amply to your suffrages. I beg to move.

Sir SELWYN FREMANTLE: I have been asked to second this motion, and I do so with great pleasure.

You referred, sir, in your speech just now to the National Indian Association. I am here not only in the capacity of Chairman of that Association, but also as one of the oldest members of this Association, and one who very many years ago showed his confidence in the future of the Association by becoming a life member.

I do think that what our President said was correct, that last year has been, if not the most successful, at least one of the most successful and interesting in the history of the Association. I know I have much enjoyed several social gatherings to which we of this Association had the privilege of being invited, and we have also had the advantage of hearing some most excellent papers. For all this we are indebted to you, sir, and to the members of the Council. There are two new nominations—names well known in India—who will strengthen an already very strong body. I beg to second the motion.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS

Sir HUGH MCPHERSON: I have a small but pleasant task to perform. Before doing so, as I am present at this meeting, I should like to take the

opportunity of making the personal explanation that if I have retired from the membership of the Council it is not through any lack of interest in the proceedings of the Council or in India, but purely because I have been absent from the Council for nearly a year, having been out in India, and there is so much uncertainty about whether I shall remain in London or not, that I thought I had better make way for someone who could more certainly and more successfully serve the Council.

I now beg to propose the election of the ten new members, whose names are given in the list. I am sure that these are all fit and proper people to be Members of the Association, and I ask you to elect them.

Dr. DAMRY seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: That concludes the business on the agenda, but before we separate I should like to allude to our very excellent friend here, Mr. King, who is quite invaluable to the successful working of the Association, always ready and always on the spot, full of information, and always willing to do everybody a good turn. (Applause.)



## SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA

BY A. E. WATSON

INDIA's many educational problems find a prominent place in the report of the Bureau of Education, India, for the year 1935-36. It is, of course, a weakness of such reports that they deal with history which is apt to be ancient, but the problems besetting the Indian educational authorities in the period immediately prior to the introduction of provincial autonomy are largely those which obtain today, and all the observations in the report are pertinent.

The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, in his general summary, gives emphasis to the increasing amount of attention given to education by the Provinces, educational bodies, and individuals. This emphasis is made following a comment made by his predecessor in the report of the previous year where the inefficiency of the control and administration of primary education of local bodies and the inability or disinclination of provincial ministries to reorganize both primary and secondary education was made abundantly clear.

The present Educational Commissioner is constrained to proceed:

"Few are the voices raised in support of the present system. The prevailing discontent is finding wide expression, and action must be taken sooner or later."

Then comes a prophecy which has, to a degree, been belied by events. Mr. J. E. Parkinson observes that "the political turmoil due to the elections will force education, for the time being, into a less prominent position."

We know that the problems attaching to Indian education have been given the most serious consideration since the inception of provincial autonomy, and that the movement to deflect the student from the purely academic and the blind alley, with which this is unfortunately associated in India, to a more just appreciation of realities has received a tremendous impetus, and very largely from Congress sources which are in a majority in so many of the Provinces.

The Central Advisory Board of Education which was abolished in 1923 as a measure of economy was revived by the Government of India in 1935. This body, which consists of all provincial Ministers of Education or their Directors of Public Instruction, representatives of the Inter-University Board, the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State and nominees of the Government of India, at its first meeting since its reconstitution, centred its

discussion round the question of unemployment among the educated classes. This, as is well known, is one of the primary problems associated with education in India, and indeed in any country where economic circumstances militate against an adequate absorption. Here it may be mentioned in passing that one of the most striking effects of the depression in the United States of America has been the terrific and abnormal rise in the unemployment of graduates.

The Board arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the present system of education in schools required such radical readjustment as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses but also to enable them, at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions.

The writer recently heard this put in somewhat simpler fashion by a well-known Congress orator. Addressing students, many of them graduates of Indian Universities, he said that a farmer's son, educated up to the M.A. standard, automatically achieved that elevation where he would rather starve than soil his hands; yet the same lad, more carefully yet perhaps not so "highly" educated, would automatically become a better farmer.

Also, the heart-searing difficulties of the attainment of employment by graduates of Indian Universities was forcibly brought home to the writer by a Punjab Superintendent of Police but a few weeks ago. This officer stated that he had occasion to advertise as vacant the posts of a handful of village constables—men earning the equivalent of one pound sterling a month. In all he had eighty replies, and a remarkable proportion of these were from young men who had taken their degrees. Perhaps the example of many British public schoolboys in entering the army and the police with the hope of rapid advancement had some bearing upon the inclination of these young men, but the principal and all-absorbing reason was undoubtedly the desire to possess the few rupees which go with a village constable's not always pleasant duties.

The urgency of the problem of readjusting the educational perspective is becoming more and more realized in India, and a demand that action should no longer be delayed was the unanimous verdict of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Universities Conference, the Punjab University Enquiry Committee, and the Burma Reorganization Committee when these bodies met in the year under review.

Commenting upon this the Educational Commissioner pointed out that there is no intention to deny to children facilities for education, but such facilities should be adjusted to their aptitudes. For such pupils as have little or no bent for a literary form of



education other forms of education should be made available, otherwise pupils will naturally be tempted to pursue a University course of study for which they are not fitted.

How extravagant a University education can be for so many from the rural areas was exemplified in striking manner in the Punjab Legislature at the beginning of the present year. Then a respected member from a purely agricultural district insisted upon speaking in Urdu. When chided by the fellow-members, who reminded him that he was a graduate of their own University, he confessed, amidst understanding laughter, that he had been so concerned with his work as a zemindar since he had achieved academic distinction that he had almost entirely forgotten the English in which he had once taken honours.

Yet, apart from the waste of money on "unprofitable students," misguided and extravagant competition between the eighteen Universities in India continues, and especially in higher studies and research. It is stated in the report that the Universities tend to become lifeless replicas of each other; that standards of examinations have not improved, and that "specialization" should not be sacrificed on the altar of "expansion."

Provision for the education of girls was again ludicrously inadequate, although the total expenditure on all institutions for females, inclusive of indirect expenditure, showed a small increase. All the Provinces, with the exception of the North-West Frontier Province, spent more money on the education of girls, but the educational authorities of the Province mentioned, while realizing the need for extending female education, could not find the money for its development. It was remarked here that "there exists a genuine and increasing demand for the education of girls, but unfortunately funds are not forthcoming to meet it." Assam too reported that "if more funds were available the rate of advancement of female education could be greatly accelerated, and the present disparity in education between males and females appreciably reduced."

It will perhaps be recalled that in 1929 the Hartog Committee gave prominent attention to the great disproportion between the amount of Government expenditure for boys and that on institutions for girls, and since then the situation has considerably improved, although the disparity is still very great.

For instance, tables included in the Educational Commissioner's report show that among the major Provinces Madras spent the greatest percentage of its Government expenditure on education for females. The figure given is 18.2, but this is illusory, as in Madras co-education exists to a very marked degree.

On the other hand, Bombay spent 14.4 per cent., Bengal 12.5 per cent., the Central Provinces 13.4 per cent., and others less. It



is significant that Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, and Orissa are spending more on University education of males than on female education as a whole. Generally it can be said, therefore, that throughout British India the education of females has been neglected in favour of the education of males.

It is apparent, however, that co-education in boys' schools is already doing much to solve some of the problems in the way of primary education for girls. Almost everywhere the prejudice against co-education is now dying out, and it is observed that parents gladly send girls to boys' schools, especially when a teacher from the locality and belonging to the predominant local community is employed on the staff. It is now becoming increasingly recognized that the education of girls is necessary for happiness and progress in town and village, and many of the old forces of conservatism have weakened. Nevertheless, the statistical tables in the report demonstrate that the local bodies, who are mainly responsible for primary education, are more vocal than generous in their support of female education.

In primary education, as in University education, there is an appalling wastage. Calculations show that only about 27 per cent. of the children who are admitted into the lowest class of a primary school complete the four years' course, when children may be assumed to have become literate. Thus about 73 per cent. of the money now spent on primary education may be regarded as sheer waste. If this waste could be prevented, it is obvious that the funds at present available would suffice for a great expansion, and perhaps it would be more advantageous until popular opinion on the need of education is more strongly developed in certain areas and among certain classes, that the compulsory education for which so many reformers hanker should aim not so much in forcing children to attend school, but in compelling children who have joined a school to remain there until they have completed their course.

The Indian States are also appreciating the need of a review of their educational systems. Another educational report recently issued is that on public instruction in Hyderabad, which is amongst the most progressive States in India. Here committees were appointed some time ago to consider a whole reorganization of the educational system. During the year under review the Hyderabad report shows that primary schools for boys increased by 72, while the number of schools for girls fell by four. The total expenditure on education from all sources also decreased slightly, but that was because of financial stringency. The Nizam's Government gives an assurance to its Education Department that all its demands for the expansion of education will receive due attention at the beginning of the next triennium.



## THE NETHERLANDS AS A COLONIAL POWER

BY PROFESSOR DR. A. NEIJTZELL DE WILDE

### INTRODUCTION

THE overseas territories of the Kingdom of the Netherlands consist of the West and the Netherlands Indies.

The *West Indies* contain some Lesser Antilles—viz., three Leeward Islands: St. Maarten, the northern part of which, St. Martin, is French, St. Eustatius and Saba; and the Windward Islands, Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, these islands all being ruled by a Governor. Moreover, Suriname, situated on the South American Continent between French Guiana (Cayenne), British Guiana and Brazil, is also governed by a Governor.

The *Netherlands Indies* are an archipelago, forming the south-west boundary line of the Pacific, situated between Further India and Australia and governed by the Governor-General.

This Governor-General and these Governors rule in the name of and as delegates of the Queen of the Netherlands. The extent and the importance of these territories are very divergent, as the Antilles, mentioned above, cover some 1,200 square kilometres and between them have a population of 87,000 souls. Suriname covers an area of 173,840 square kilometres with a population of only 147,000 souls. The Netherlands Indies, on the other hand, cover 1,900,000 square kilometres with a population of more than 60,700,000 souls.

### THE WEST INDIES

#### I. HISTORICAL SKETCH

Historically for the Mother-Country the West Indies were of great importance *before*, and the East Indies, on the contrary, far more *after* the nineteenth century. The obstructions Philip II. had put in the way of the Dutch carrying trade, the fall of Antwerp and in consequence the removal of much capital to Holland (soon Amsterdam was to become the first port of Europe)—capital that for the greater part was invested in the carrying trade, led to the extension of the shipping trade in those tropical regions where the Spaniards and Portuguese obtained their products, which were so much needed in Western Europe.

So the salt-deposits discovered in the Leeward Islands in the West Indies led to a lively shipping trade from Holland, which at the same time was made lucrative by a very profitable smuggling

trade in connection with the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in America. In 1621 the first West Indies Company was granted a patent; and since its principal object was, firstly, to inflict injury on the enemy, later, to expel the Portuguese from Brazil—which was a success only to a small degree—and lastly, to conquer land, this again made it necessary to import cheap labour—viz., slaves—and for this object the Gold Coast was conquered in 1637.

From Spain the West Indies Company conquered Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, all favourably situated for the smuggling trade on the Spanish colonies on the opposite coast (1634). About 1631 the Dutch settled in St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten, further in St. Thomas, St. Jan and St. Croix, which three islands were evacuated some years after and then were occupied by the Danes. The French occupied the northern part of St. Maarten in 1640.

After Nieuw Nederland—a colonists' settlement on the Hudson River in North America—had been given up, the profits for the West Indies Company stopped, and in the end payments were suspended.

Through the intermediary of the States-General a second West Indies Company was founded, which took over the possessions of the former Company for 30 per cent.

Whereas the first West Indies Company for the greater part was a carrying trade company for smuggling and privateering, its successor was able to work some commercial stations and managed to run some tropical plantations.

This second West Indies Company subsisted on the recognition payments of the shipping trade and again of the smuggling trade in the Spanish colonies in America, especially of the trade in slaves, for which Curaçao was indeed *the* centre.

For smuggling to North America, St. Eustatius was the proper island, from where arms and munitions were delivered during the American insurrection in 1774. In 1781 it was conquered by the English and ransacked.

In consequence trade was transferred to other islands—viz., to Danish St. Thomas and Swedish St. Bartholomeus.

When the Fourth English War (1784) was over the West Indies Company had continually to struggle with deficits with a burden of debts of £.4 millions. In 1791 the States took over the West Indies Company.

*Suriname*, where the English sugar planters had their plantations on the Suriname River and the Commewijne, was conquered in 1666 by the Dutch and in 1682 became a possession of the West Indies Company, afterwards of "the Society of Suriname," in which the West Indies Company could exercise an option for one-third. Dutch shippers were granted trade on Suriname at recognition. Colonization was encouraged. The West Indies



Company, however, retained the monopoly of the importation of slaves.

The number of plantations increased from 50 to 200 (1688)—sugar and indigo—and to 400 in 1733. The number of slaves amounted to 12,000 in 1712 and as many as 25,000 in 1749. Many of them fled into the interior and from there repeatedly invaded the cultivated area. Only in 1775 did the troops succeed in checking those raids.

In the meantime, besides sugar and coffee plantations, cocoa and cotton plantations prospered in Suriname, especially between 1750 and 1770. The value of the goods imported into Holland from Suriname was estimated at f.8 millions in 1785. But the colonists wanted many slaves, which forced them to take up money on mortgages with Amsterdam moneylenders, which gradually made them the latter's tenants.

In 1791 Suriname passed into the hands of the States. Then there were there 3,000 whites, half of them Jews, and 53,000 slaves.

During the Napoleonic wars all those colonies came into the possession of the English. Not before the Convention of 1814 were Suriname and the six islands—Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, St. Maarten and Saba—returned to us; in 1816 the transfer took place.

In the British colonies, as also in our above-mentioned colonies, slavery was prohibited in 1808. In 1833 it was abolished by England in all her colonies. France followed in 1840, Denmark later on. In the West Indies slavery was abolished in 1863, which procured f.12 millions as an indemnification for the former proprietors. In Suriname and in the islands 33,621 and 11,654 slaves respectively were liberated. They were in a hurry to leave the plantations, a blow from which Suriname, which as a plantation colony before all needed cheap labour, has never recovered. The fact that owing to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 the colonial products from Java, with its prosperous agriculture and numerous and cheap native labour, after 1870 appeared in ever-increasing quantities in the European market, was also decisive for West Indian trade.

After the fall of the Spanish authority in America and the new-born States there had opened their ports to trade, Curaçao also lost its importance as a centre for smuggling, which then had become useless. Thus Suriname as well as Curaçao has been a great disappointment for the Mother-Country since 1816.

After slavery had been abolished in 1863 Suriname had to solve the problem of the immigration of labour. A treaty concluded with England in 1870 allowed us to enlist and ship British Indian coolies. Also Javanese coolies were imported, especially after 1893.

Between 1873 and 1913, 32,000 British Indians and 11,000 Javanese respectively were imported. But agriculture was not a success, paid labour weighed heavy upon the plantations. Moreover, there was much competition from abroad and disease in the plants.

The number of sugar plantations, which in 1833 amounted to 105, was reduced to five in 1914, though with a much wider area than before. The export of coffee (*arabica*) amounted to 15 million pounds in 1790, to five millions in 1816, whereas it quite stopped later on. Since 1881 *Liberia* coffee has taken its place with a very unstable market—in 1935 an exportation of over 8½ million pounds, but afterwards again there was a great decline. Many sugar plantations were transformed into cocoa plantations in the middle of the nineteenth century, which between them exported 500,000 kilogrammes in 1870, in 1895 as much as 4½ million kilogrammes, but after the *krulote* disease broke out there was a turn for the worse and exportation decreased again.

Cotton realized an export of 1,165,000 kilogrammes in 1825, 309,000 kilogrammes in 1860, but since 1885 cotton has no longer been exported. The cultivation of bananas, started in 1906, was also stopped in 1913, on account of the disease that broke out in 1909; of late years, however, efforts have been made to revive this cultivation. Important recent cultivations are those of citrus and rice especially, which is now the principal Suriname agricultural product.

## II. PRESENT CONDITIONS

At present there is in Suriname a population of 148,971, apart from the 17,000 forest negroes and 3,500 Indians. Of these, 35.5 per cent. live in the capital, Paramaribo. The population includes 41,353 British Indians, 33,776 Javanese, 1,962 Europeans, 977 of whom were born in the Netherlands.

Suriname receives a subsidy of some f.3 millions annually from the Mother-Country in order to balance the budget (assets over 1936, f.3.9 millions, liabilities f.6.7 millions).

The American Bauxite Company at Moengo exported 234,845 tons of bauxite in 1936.

The production of gold amounted to 443,487 grammes, of balata to 121,044 kilogrammes, of coffee to 3,321 tons, to the value of f.687,000, of rice to 34,154 tons, of oranges, 6,622 cases were shipped, sugar export amounted to 16,115 tons, to the value of f.427,000—everything together in no way sufficient to raise Suriname from this condition of distress.

For this reason Suriname suffers today from financial impotence. The Mother-Country helped Suriname with f.80 millions from 1867 to 1936, but without any result. Financially matters



remained the same and a solution for the better has not yet been found.

The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 gave new prospects to Curaçao. The capital, Willemstad, has an ideal harbour for ocean traffic. Another advantageous feature is the fact that the Batavian Oil Company and the Standard have made Curaçao and Aruba into important places for their raw oils from Venezuela, which are there worked up for further distribution.

Thus the economic condition of Curaçao is rapidly improving, and soon the subsidy from the Mother-Country can be dispensed with; 4,579 steamers, with a capacity of 24 million metric tons, called at the harbour at Willemstad in 1928, and 5,241 steamers with a capacity of 31 million metric tons in 1936.

Aruba harbour is nearly as large as that of Willemstad. In 1936, 8.2 million tons of raw oil were imported into Curaçao and 10.5 into Aruba.

In 1936 the total value of the imports from abroad amounted to f.197 millions, f.179 millions of which represented oils; of the rest, the share from Holland came to f.5.2 millions. Exports to foreign countries amounted to f.201 millions, f.23 millions of which went to Holland.

Since 1932 the revenues, as compared with the expenses, of the colonies have shown a credit balance respectively of f.604,000, f.495,000, f.869,000, f.1,253,000 and f.1,389,000 (in 1936). Liabilities to Holland through cash loans, totalling from 1928 to 1931 7.1 million guilders, were redeemed in full. The account with Holland showed a credit balance of f.1,202,000 for Curaçao towards the end of 1936.

## THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

### I. HISTORIC EXPOSITION

The policy of Spain, which had compelled the Dutch to extend their profitable shipping trade to the Levant, the West Indies, etc., induced them, following in the path of the Portuguese, to try and find for themselves a way to the Far East, to the Indies (the Moluccas), the rich, marvellous spice islands. To prevent mutually unfavourable commercial competition the East India Company was founded in 1602—in which the statesman Van Oldenbarneveldt took the initiative.

In accordance with the mercantile standards of those early days the Portuguese, who a century ago had already gained authority in the Indies, carried on a policy of monopoly there, rigorously excluding all foreign traders and keeping the internal trade in their own hands.

The East India Company, succeeding the Portuguese, did not lose time in carrying on the same policy of isolation.

Indeed, in those early days it was considered the usual thing for a country to get from the colonies anything that might be of use or yield some profit to the Homeland, and in any case to further her trade. Thus the East India Company strictly adhered to its monopoly, which realized great profits, according to the ideas of those days, the policy being: "The colonies exist only for the profit of the Mother-Country."

The system and organization of the East India Company formed the pattern for most privileged commercial companies founded in other countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the course of time great loans were granted to the East India Company by the Amsterdam Bank, founded in 1608, residing at the Amsterdam Town Hall; its principal object was to take the place of the private moneylenders, whose actions were considered obnoxious.

This bank, which in the latter part of the seventeenth, and almost during the whole of the eighteenth century had a cash balance of more than twenty million guilders, played an important part in the world trade of those days. In fact, in the seventeenth century Amsterdam was the money market of the world and remained so during the greater part of the eighteenth century. In those days there was a close relationship between this money market, overseas trade and the companies with shares, one of which was the East India Company.

#### WHAT WAS THE INFLUENCE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY UPON HOLLAND?

The staple of the Indian products was transferred from Lisbon to Amsterdam, and so great support was given to the commercial position of the Netherlands. Not only the carrying trade, but also the staple trade was a national branch of business. For the rest, the fight the East India Company, on their own account, carried on with the national enemy was a great help to the Republic. A tax was raised on the shares and bonds of the Company, which from 1680 to 1698 annually brought four hundred thousand guilders into the Dutch treasury.

The Company procured employment for a part of the Dutch nation. From 1640 to 1649, 3,650 hands were annually taken on, and this increased to more than 8,000 after 1750, among whom, however, there was an increasing number of foreigners. In the eighteenth century the number of sailors in the service of the Company was 4,000 on an average, half of them being Dutch.



From 1602 to 1622 the Company paid a dividend of 200 per cent.—viz., 10 per cent. per year. The last year in which a dividend was paid was in 1782. During the whole period of its existence the Company paid out 18 per cent. on an average. Through the Company the national wealth increased considerably. Between 1602 and 1782 its capital was paid out 36 times. In addition there were the remittances of the civil officers, the fortunes taken home and the legacies bequeathed. In the latter part of the seventeenth century f.800,000 on an average were annually remitted per mandate, and from 1770 to 1780 f.4 millions annually. The grand total may perhaps be estimated at f.370 millions.

During the first 100 years of the two-centuries-long government of the Company in the Indies, it was first and foremost a profitable trading concern. Gradually, however, the East India Company was forced to intervene in the quarrels of the native princes and tribes, however much they disliked doing so, and in this way they attained great territorial authority. From a trading concern the Company became a State. But in consequence they incurred the onerous obligation of maintaining an army and a navy, the cost of which constantly increased.

It has been rightly said of the East India Company that "it had no history." Often contrary to the advice of their best Governors-General, the directors in Holland always adhered to their system of getting as much profit as possible for the Mother-Country and adhered to their monopoly even in face of the increasing rivalry of the French and English navigators and traders. Together with bad dividend policy, faulty bookkeeping and the insufficient pay of the officials, with consequent corruption, were prominent causes of the Company's fall at the end of the eighteenth century, when the waves of the French revolution began to spread and finally washed away the East India Company. The colonies then became the property of the Government.

In 1794 the liabilities of the Company amounted to f.85 millions, in 1792 to f.112 millions and in 1796 to f.120 millions. The inheritance of the Company, burdened with debts, passed into the hands of the Bataafsche Republiek, which also had to struggle with great financial difficulties. More liberal ways than the Company had followed were first suggested by Dirk van Hogendorp (1799), whose ideas were far ahead of his times.

In 1807, King Louis Napoleon sent "iron-fisted" Daendels to Java to defend it against the English, and Daendels in some way prepared the way for Raffles, who came to Java in 1811 to establish English authority there, but then broke with the past and began to reform the government in a more liberal way.

After the fall of Napoleon the Netherlands recovered their independence, but the Great Powers of Europe required a strong



State that would be prepared to check the French on their northern frontier, and so Belgium and Holland were united and our colonies were returned to us. Thus the young Kingdom of the Netherlands again became a "Colonial Empire."

The new system started by Raffles was maintained by the "Commissarissen-Generaal" (delegates), whom King William I. sent to the Indies to take over the colonies from the English. The repression of corruption was continued, the administration of justice improved, the system of "land rent" of Raffles took the place of compulsory cultivation and the contingent system of the United East India Company and gave back to the native farmer the right to dispose of the fruit of his labour. Trade became free and European private enterprise was allowed to participate in non-native agriculture. Liberalism, as contrasted with the system of the East India Company, revealed the importance of well-regulated internal administration as a means of giving prosperity to the population. The system was not to last long. What the Government had omitted to consider was the fact that the simple native farmers were unable to help themselves without guidance and instruction.

When the pressure under which they had worked so long was taken away it was found that the new policy was of no use to them. The Government in Holland had expected that agriculture would flourish and that increase of the products wanted for the European market would favourably influence trade and navigation with the Mother-Country, so that the colonies, instead of being an encumbrance, would become a source of prosperity and wealth to her. But the new system became a great disappointment in this respect.

The Commissaris-Generaal Du Bus, who wanted to attract Western capital and Western agriculture to the Indies, in his well-known report of 1827 put forward suggestions which would prepare the Indian State for fruitful European enterprise, but that only "very slowly." The condition of colonial as well as home finances, however, was very bad, so that a "quick action" remedy was required. For this reason only King William I. accepted the compulsory "cultivation system" developed by the Governor-General Van den Bosch, which provided a remedy almost at once. Theoretically it looked very fine, but in fact the native farmer was not left any freedom; he was compelled to cultivate those products that the State wanted in order to improve the desperate finances of the Motherland and colonies.

In the result there were no more deficits in the Indian household. On the contrary there was much profit to the Mother-Country. In 1833 the credit balance amounted to f.3 millions, in 1834 to f.10 millions, and about 1845 the proceeds were the



highest and amounted to f.13 millions. This system lasted some 50 years longer and realized about f.900 millions in that period.

In those years the *Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij*, founded by King William I., was of great importance. Originally its object was to revive the languishing trade, navigation and industry in the Motherland.

At the beginning the results were somewhat disappointing, but the Van den Bosch system promised great profits to the *Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij*.

This concern received in consignment for sale the products of which the Government could dispose, thanks to this cultivation system, and which consequently did not appear in the Indian markets any longer.

Dutch boats chartered by the *Maatschappij* took the goods to Amsterdam, and thus this port was again made the staple place of colonial products, and national shipbuilding and navigation revived.

In the Indies the position of the British trader, however, was much more favourable than that of the Dutch trader, because the British merchant also imported English textiles, whereas his Dutch competitor did not dispose of similar imports. William I. now wanted to make all possible efforts to start a Dutch cotton industry for which the Indies were to be the market. At the so-called secret "linen contracts" the *Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij* undertook to spend yearly a certain sum on the purchase of textile products. The duties paid on them in the Indies were returned to the *Maatschappij* and our cotton industry was put on its feet.

But from the increasing quantities of exports, produced under the cultivation system, free trade did not reap any profits, but only the *Handelsmaatschappij*, which to a certain degree was looked upon as a revived East India Company.

It was not so much the system itself, as its faulty application, which proved very oppressive for the population. But the straitened finances of the Motherland needed the proceeds to be forced up and gradually the home finances, which had lacked support, began to depend on the Indian market.

But this system, that became more and more oppressive to the population, deteriorated into a continuation of the contingent system of the East India Company, and in the end there was a primitive form of monopolized State exploitation, the risks for which were for the greater part shifted on to the native farmer himself.

The Dutch people were at first slow to notice the deterioration of the cultivation system, but the new liberal ideas, still weak at the beginning of the nineteenth century, gradually became stronger. Since about the middle of the nineteenth century a revolutionary

reaction had again come over Europe, the Netherlands Parliament had also secured greater authority and influence in Indian affairs, authoritative eye-witnesses and liberal speakers were heard, and consequently the system of Van den Bosch was abrogated.

Whereas the less important compulsory cultivations—often yielding no profit at all—had already been abrogated previously, in 1870 the compulsory cultivation of sugar was also stopped. Only the profitable coffee cultivation was continued, but without its many abuses. The proceeds of this last compulsory State enterprise, however, gradually diminished the credit balances, and remittances to the Motherland grew less and less and then stopped altogether when the Atjeh War broke out in 1873, which was to last twenty years, and cost tremendous sums of money.

## II. EVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT POSITION

The abrogation of the compulsory cultivation system in Java was a decisive turning-point in our colonial policy, and the more humane policy of liberalism for the colonies was definitely established. Henceforth the natives were allowed to dispose of their toil and the fruits of their labour. The new agrarian legislation of 1870 scrupulously guarded against dispossession of the land rights of native farmers. Moreover, it created the possibility—the importance of which for economic expansion of the Indies had already become evident—of reclaiming waste lands on a large scale for non-State agricultural enterprise.

Before the abolition of State agriculture by forced labour the Exchequer had been dependent on the compulsory cultivations, but now this financial basis had to be changed. Henceforth the Exchequer depended on the European agricultural concerns founded there, as primitive native farming would not be of any avail in this respect. Western enterprise for agriculture was very much furthered by the policy of "open door" and "free trade."

"Free trade" and "open door" were the policies pursued from that time onwards, and thus the way was prepared for the European industrialist to grow tropical produce for international commerce. The economic expansion, owing to this quite new policy, was accompanied by a considerable investment, first especially of Dutch capital in agricultural estates in Java, afterwards also of foreign capital especially on the Outer Islands. It was utilized to found large plantations for mountain cultivations for the production of coffee, tea, Peru bark, etc. In the valleys of Java sugar estates and tobacco plantations were started on the grounds rented for this purpose from the natives, everything being done with native labour and deliveries by a free contract.

As to the Outer possessions, the costly Atjeh war dragged on for



twenty years, and was only ended by complete subjection through the vigorous intervention of the military commander of that time, the General Van Heutsz. This success led to Dutch authority being recognized *de facto* everywhere on the Outer Islands, and thus an era of peace and safety was inaugurated, creating the possibility of further economic development. The demand all over the world for rubber, which began in the first years of this century, led to the investment of much foreign capital, besides Dutch money, in order to cultivate waste lands, especially in the Outer Islands, previously reclaimed, and grow rubber, later also tea, coffee in the newly founded plantations, and enterprises in oil-palm, filament, etc.

Thus it came about that in 1929 about 1½ milliard guilders were invested, more than 1 milliard of which was Dutch capital. If we add to this the sums invested in oil and other mining industries, in shipping and railways, banking, etc., the total investment of capital in the Indies before the crisis may be estimated at about 4 milliard guilders, one-third of which was non-Dutch.

Undoubtedly the open door policy, the plantations on the Outer Islands, the economic expansion of the Pacific countries and the late world demand especially for rubber, led the way to this unprecedented investment of capital, which became the powerful lever which, in the last years before the crisis, raised the Netherlands Indies from a purely national domain into an international centre of tropical produce for the world market. For towards the end of 1929 the investment in Java estates was f.1,332 millions, f.1,118 millions of which were Dutch, f.142 millions British, f.36 millions Franco-Belgian, and f.5.9 millions Japanese capital. For Sumatra Eastern Coastlands, f.642 millions, f.360 millions of which were Dutch, f.124 millions British, f.53 millions American, f.72 millions Franco-Belgian, and f.13.7 millions Japanese capital.

For Sumatra Southern Coastlands f.90 millions, f.57 millions of which were Dutch, f.11 millions British, f.3.2 millions Franco-Belgian.

In Java, the principal investments were made in sugar, f.793 millions, f.779 millions of which were Dutch; further in rubber f.270 millions, in coffee f.105 millions, tea f.143 millions, and Peru bark f.20 millions.

For Sumatra Eastern Coastlands, rubber f.351 millions (f.129 millions of which were Dutch), tobacco f.120 millions, oil-palm f.83 millions, tea f.41 millions, filament f.40 millions.

For South Sumatra Coastlands, rubber f.39 millions, coffee f.25 millions, tea f.14 millions, Peru-bark f.5 millions, and oil-palm f.5 millions.

In 1929 the exports from the Netherlands Indies amounted to f.1,443 millions.



In 1929 the East Indies' share in world exports was in the case of agave 22 per cent., Peru bark 94 per cent., coffee 6 per cent., copra 29 per cent., kapok 75 per cent., oil-palm 14 per cent., pepper 69 per cent., rubber 30 per cent., sugar 10 per cent., and tea 17 per cent.

In 1929 the imports to the Netherlands Indies amounted to f.1,088 millions. Of this total f.519 millions came from Europe (f.213 millions of which were from the Netherlands), f.139 millions from America, f.395 millions from Asia (f.114 millions of which were from Japan).

There arose in consequence an enormous trade between the Indies and the Netherlands, and in a lesser degree with several other countries, specially those on the Pacific, thanks to our policy of "free trade" and "open door."

In the Indies the seaports began to prosper, as also navigation, money markets, banking; and directly and indirectly the influence of this general prosperity was felt in the Netherlands Indies and in Holland as well as abroad.

The number of Dutchmen who went to the Indies increased rapidly at that time; 40,000 Dutchmen at least were occupied in the Indies and gained their livelihood there. Of the total exports from Holland, the proceeds of which in 1927 amounted to f.1,900 millions, 7 per cent. went to the Indies. Thanks to the Indies some 150,000 people—viz., one-tenth of all the Dutch workers—found regular employment in the Netherlands.

But in 1929 the present world crisis began. In the Indies it made itself felt by a tremendous fall in the prices, for the time being more in export than in import prices. This deterioration in price levels made stringent economy a necessity, and consequently there has been reduction in wages and unemployment. Besides, there has been the serious fact that the exports, during and after the World War more and more directed to the Pacific countries, did not find a regular market there any longer, owing to agitation and decreased purchasing power there. So exportation to European markets began to take place. There followed an export trade in the opposite direction—from east to west. The imports into the Netherlands Indies began to come more and more from Asia, for the greater part very cheap goods from Japan, instead of from Europe. Thus there came about an import trade from west to east. The system of barter has been revived, and barter and reciprocity are the order of the day.

So in 1928 25.6 per cent. of the textile imports came from the Netherlands, 27.1 per cent. from England, 30.8 per cent. from Japan. But in 1934 those figures were respectively 7.2 per cent., 2.8 per cent., and 83.1 per cent.!

Owing to the world crisis the proceeds of the total imports



amounted only to f.272 millions in 1935, f.99 millions of which came from Europe (of which f.99 millions, f.36 millions again came from Holland), and f.140 millions from Asia (f.81 millions of which came from Japan)—viz., f.69 millions for victuals and luxuries, f.24 millions for chemical products, f.81 millions for yarns and dry goods, f.25 millions for metals, f.11 millions for vehicles, and f.23 millions for engines.

In 1935 the proceeds of the total exports amounted to f.446 millions; f.70 millions of which were for rubber, f.26 millions for spices, f.18 millions for coffee, f.45 millions for seeds and fruit containing oil, f.36 millions for sugar, f.29 millions for tobacco, f.36 millions for tea, f.14 millions for filaments, f.87 millions for petroleum, and f.38 millions for cement and minerals.

It stands to reason that the world crisis strongly influenced the Budget of the State, as the Exchequer for the greater part depends on the cultivation of some products for exportation and on mining products. In 1928 the State's revenues (on the common service) of the Indies amounted to f.551 millions and the expenses to f.510 millions, with a credit balance of f.41 millions on the common service.

In 1929 this credit balance amounted to only f.8 millions. In 1930 the deficits began—viz., f.85 millions, then f.102 millions, f.141 millions, f.121 millions, and in 1934 f.82 millions.

In 1928 the Netherlands Indies national debt amounted to f.1,000 millions.

Owing to circumstances over which there was no control it became impossible for the Netherlands Indies any longer to maintain the policy of "free trade" and "open door," which had been adhered to since 1870.

At present, through international co-operation we have arrived at the restriction of tea, Peru bark, rubber, sugar, and tin.

To prevent the interior market from getting dislocated, the import of foreign rice, kedele, cement, etc., was prohibited altogether or controlled in every detail.

A general emergency import ordinance created the possibility of quotas and licenses, which have been applied for many products. So Dutch industry has a considerable share in the Netherlands Indies imports and could employ many thousands of labourers in our country.

In fact, the Netherlands have shares in some eleven Netherlands Indies quotas to a total amount of f.17 millions; the one in textile industry is of great importance. In that branch of industry labour was assured for 7,000 hands in Holland. At present a considerable part of the Dutch cotton industry is supported by the Netherlands Indies quota.

A general emergency adjustment has also been made for the

exports, so that objects for exchange with mother-countries have been created according to the policy "*Do ut des.*"

Thus economically and financially a series of measures have been taken, with the concurrence of the Motherland, which for the time being deviate from the liberal policy of "free trade" and "open door." This is done only from a defensive point of view, but with the strong intention to return, as soon as circumstances will allow, to the former liberal policy so necessary for the welfare of the Netherlands Indies, an export state *par excellence*.

There have been several signs pointing to an economic revival. Since 1936 a more prosperous future may be looked forward to, though again there may be trouble in the exportation to the markets in the agitated Far East, also extra expenditure may be necessary for defence because of the conditions in the Pacific. Symptoms of all this may be stated in the Netherlands Indies Budget.

In 1935 there was a deficit of f.33.5 millions on the common service, in 1936 of f.21.5 millions, in 1937 a balance of f.8.8 millions. For 1938 the expenses of the common service are estimated at f.377 millions and revenues at f.372 millions, the extra expenses at respectively f.83 millions and extra revenues at f.50 millions; so a total deficit of f.38 millions, f.33 millions of which are for extra expenses, especially defence.

In 1935 the Netherlands Indies national debt had risen to f.1,500 millions, with an obligatory payment of rent of f.59 millions, and redeeming f.22 millions, which is a heavy burden on the Budget. At the end of 1937 the Netherlands Indies national debt amounted to f.1,367 millions.

Even a short time ago the Netherlands Indies could defray all the expenses of government as well as of the army; for the navy the Motherland has always defrayed part of the cost. During the crisis that item has been considerably increased. Of great importance for economic revival has been the recent rise in the price of exports, because the economic depression did not so much influence the export weight as the value of those products. Moreover, the emergency measures taken by the Government have undoubtedly contributed towards the cost of the reconquest of the Netherlands Indies market by the West. This is also the case with the Netherlands, and at the same time a withdrawal by Japan has become noticeable.

## FUTURE PROSPECTS

### COLONIZATION

First of all there is to be considered the question whether the Netherlands Indies, or perhaps Suriname, would not be the



appropriate outlet for colonization and provide a solution for the difficult and grave problem of Dutch unemployment. It seems natural enough that the thinly populated districts of the Outer Islands should be the appropriate territory for colonization from the Netherlands. But here the facts have proved that there are many difficulties.

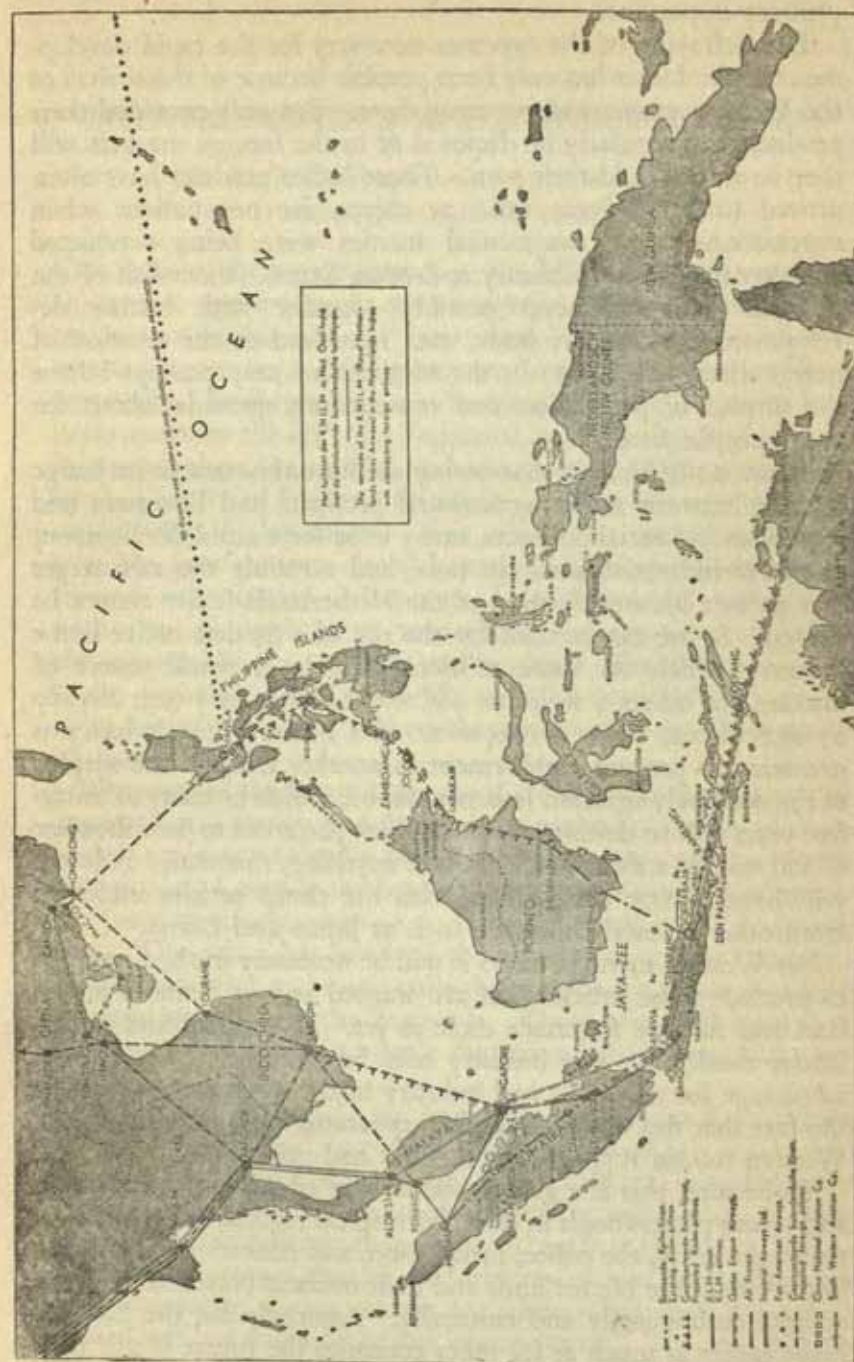
In Java, in spite of her over-population, there is still an increase of half a million per year. Attention has been repeatedly drawn to the benefit that would result from the emigration of Javanese and of the Eurasian population in Java to the Outer Islands. In Java only a very limited area is available for the extension of native agriculture, and within a short time this will be completely exhausted. The attempts at colonization of the natives with their simple standard of life have at last become more successful, but the Eurasians have another, a higher standard, and the results in regard to their colonization have not been very successful. The districts that would be appropriate for them are few; the Daïri Islands in Sumatra and especially New Guinea have been considered, but advertising for immigrants in that territory seems premature and not yet justified, as only little is as yet known of that large land, and that little is not promising, so that the Government has repeatedly issued warnings against expectations aroused by advertisements for colonization from the Netherlands.

Far more exploration needs to be made before it can be ascertained whether immigration and colonization are likely to succeed in New Guinea to any large extent. What is known about New Guinea at present is not very encouraging, but still there are many as yet unknown factors and circumstances that may turn out to be favourable in the future.

#### WHAT OTHER PROSPECTS MAY THE FUTURE HOLD IN STORE?

Owing to the depression the international free markets disappeared for the greater part, also for the Netherlands. Many countries with which the Netherlands had entertained commercial relations before tried to keep or redress their balance at home, excluding all foreign competition also with a view to procuring employment for the ever-increasing number of idle hands. So, more than ever before, the oversea markets, also for Holland, have attained great importance as outlets for their agricultural and industrial products; but for that reason low prices and continual adjustment to those markets will be necessary.

For the time being the Netherlands Indies will remain an export country, especially for the surrounding Pacific countries, sending out agrarian and mining products (sugar, rubber, tea, coffee, filament, copra, Peru bark, tobacco, palm-oil, tin, and oil).



The members of the R. M. I. are: Royal Mothers - Gold Medals Awarded in the Mother with Infants with outstanding foreign affairs.

[illegible]



In this respect Dutch capital and Dutch enterprise will remain of primary importance.

The defraying of the expenses necessary for the rapid development of the Indies has only been possible because of the revival of the Western estates and concerns there. But only provided their products can regularly be disposed of in the foreign markets will they be able to hold their own. Those Indies products have often proved to be of great value as objects for negotiations when negotiations about commercial treaties were being conducted between the Mother-Country and other States. Extension of the overseas trade—whenever possible—together with further development in transport trade, etc., may lead to the creation of new outlets, which also in the Motherland may perhaps relieve the surplus of population and consequently provide labour for many people there.

It can easily be seen that owing to the unfavourable exchange relation between native agricultural products and European and American industrial products, many hope for a rapid development of native industrialization in Java, and certainly the advantages of a greater industrialization of the Netherlands Indies cannot be denied. So we can account for the rise of a modest native home industry which for some millions provides a small source of income, for others a welcome addition to what they earn already by agriculture. The development of a native home industry is necessary to procure employment in another line for the surplus of the decisively agrarian Java population, which in thirty to thirty-five years will be doubled, whereas there threatens to be a shortage of soil within a short time. Before anything, this native industry will have to face competition with the cheap articles imported from other oriental countries, such as Japan and China.

For Western manufacturers it will be necessary in the first place to produce those articles that are wanted and in demand in the East and that are not made there as yet. The capital and skilled labour needed for this industry may be Dutch again. A great advantage for our trade and industry in the overseas territories is the fact that the whole governing apparatus is in our hands, and Western tuition supports Dutch ideas and principles.

To be sure, this is a grand task for our educated young people and young professionals in those far tropical regions in the Government, the army, the police, jurisdiction, and education. Thus also in the future the Netherlands and their overseas possessions can co-operate economically and culturally. Assuredly for the Netherlands Indies as much as for other countries the future is still very unsettled and there are great anxieties and difficulties to be faced, but there are also many new prospects for the Netherlands Indies as well as for the Mother-Country.

## MALAYAN FORESTS AND THEIR UTILIZATION

BY H. E. DESCH, F.A.S.I., B.SC., M.A. (OXON.)

(Wood Technologist, S.S. and F.M.S.)

THE British sphere of influence in the Malay Peninsula embraces an area of approximately 50,000 square miles, of which nearly 77 per cent. is classified as "forest land," about 20 per cent. being reserved forests set aside to guarantee timber and water supplies in perpetuity. In theory this area is administered by separate forest departments in the different Federated and Unfederated States, but in practice there is a unified Malayan Forest Service, administered by the Director of Forestry, Straits Settlements, who is also Adviser on Forestry, Malay States. This officer has executive authority over the headquarters establishment at Kuala Lumpur and the research organization at Kepong. In addition, after consultation with the administrations concerned, the transfers of officers throughout Malaya are made on his advice. Finally, the Director makes periodical visits to the Malay States outside the Federation in an advisory capacity, and on the invitation of the Governments of those States.

The aims of the forest department are to make the country self-supporting in timber and firewood, to protect water supplies and guard against wholesale erosion, and to prevent the wanton destruction of timber on land earmarked for ultimate alienation for some specific purpose—*e.g.*, farming, mining, rubber production. The policy has involved the creation of reserved forests in various localities, and forest rules that govern the removal of forest produce anywhere in the Peninsula. These rules have legal status by reason of forest enactments that have been passed from time to time.

At present Malaya is an importing country as far as forest produce is concerned, but at the same time there is a considerable export trade, mainly of inferior-quality timber. It is probable that imports will continue to exceed exports for many years to come, but there are indications that the export trade is growing. It is not envisaged, however, that all the forest reserves, as now constituted, will necessarily always remain so, while other areas not yet explored will no doubt be added in due course. The area reserved may appear large, if judged solely by its ability to supply local requirements, but not if the protective value of forests and their influence on the climate are taken into consideration. Excisions



and adjustments of area to keep pace with industrial and other developments will doubtless be necessary, but until an overwhelming case is made out their continuance as forest must be guaranteed.

The forests of the Peninsula lie within the tropical rain-forest belt, the tree species being of the evergreen type. The climate is equitable throughout the year, without any marked seasonal changes, except on the east coast, which comes under the influence of the north-east monsoon. Rainfall varies in different parts of the Peninsula from as low as 70 to more than 150 inches per annum, and over large areas is in the region of 100 inches.

The precipitation is spread over the whole year, although maximum periods tend to occur bi-annually, centred around the months of November and April: it is unusual to experience more than three to five consecutive days without rain. Temperatures exhibit similar moderation, the daily range on the plains being between 70° and 90° F. These conditions result in luxuriant vegetation that more nearly conforms to the traveller's "impenetrable jungle" than do most tropical forests. Moreover, in their natural state the forests were uninhabited, except for primitive tribes in the hills and fisher-folk along the rivers, and before the advent of European development in the Peninsula the forests were not cut up by well-worn trade routes as, for example, are those of the west coast of Africa.

Five well-developed types of forest may be recognized in the Peninsula: (1) Littoral forests, including the mangrove swamps and beach forests; (2) fresh-water swamp forests; (3) low-land dipterocarp forests (up to 2,000 feet); (4) high-hill dipterocarp forests (2,000 to 4,000 feet); and (5) mountain forests.

(1) *Mangrove swamp forests.* These cover an area of more than 460 square miles, chiefly on the west coast. They are worked intensively on short rotations for firewood, charcoal, and poles. Normally the canopy is closed, the area being covered with a pole crop up to 80 feet in height, with girths up to 5 feet, and a few large trees left over from previous rotations. The species are few, typically with stilt roots and other adaptations for growing in a soil unsuited to most plants, and an undergrowth is practically non-existent. Large areas are inundated twice daily at high tide, but the higher ground may be inundated only by spring tides. The soil varies from almost liquid mud to relatively stiff mud.

*Beach forests.* These occur wherever there are no mangroves or rocky headlands that bring the inland flora down to the sea. The forests consist of a narrow belt on the sea coast, rarely more than a few chains wide: casuarina trees dominate long stretches of this belt, particularly on the east coast, but elsewhere this species may be mixed with or replaced by some half-dozen littoral tree species. The beach forests have no economic value.



(2) *Fresh-water swamp forests.* These cover extensive tracts of alluvial flats near the coast. Until recently, when sawmills fed by light tramways have opened up considerable areas of these swamps, they were of little economic value. The tree species are few in number compared with the inland-dipterocarp forests, and frequently characteristic of this type of jungle. The individual trees do not attain the dimensions of the dominants of the inland forests proper, and palms and screw pines often constitute a considerable proportion of the forest cover. The commercially important trees include two species of *Shorea* of the red meranti class, punah (*Tetramerista glabra* Miq.), geronggang (*Cratoxylon arborescens* Bl.), and melawis (*Gonystylus* sp.). The soil, which is peaty to a depth of several feet, is often inundated after rain.

(3) *Low-land dipterocarp forests.* It has been estimated that this type of jungle at one time covered at least 75 per cent. of the land area of the Peninsula, and it is probable that it still represents 60 per cent. of the total. Forests of this type constitute the bulk of the commercially exploitable jungle, and represent the timber capital of the country. They consist of an upper story, often averaging over 150 feet in height, in which dipterocarp species abound (meranti, balau, keruing, chengal, etc.), but they also contain representatives of practically all the other commercially important timber species of the Peninsula, except mangroves. There are usually several under-stories of pole species, a thick shrubby undergrowth, and an abundance of climbers, including rotans, that weld the whole into a well-nigh impenetrable mass. These forests also provide several minor products, of economic value—e.g., damars that are used in the manufacture of varnishes, and jelutong used in the manufacture of chewing-gum. Probably upwards of 2,000 tree species occur in the low-land dipterocarp forests, and although only a few are of outstanding importance the majority are a potential source of timber for some purpose or another. Although these forests have suffered considerable inroads in the past, they are still capable of providing an appreciable annual out-turn of serviceable timber.

*Hill dipterocarp forests.* Running down the Peninsula, but petering out in Johore, is the Main Range, and there are two or three subsidiary ranges. These are high hills up to 4,000 feet above sea-level, with peaks exceeding 6,000 feet. Although slopes are steep and outcrops of rock are numerous, the hills are covered with tree growth. Between the 2,000 feet and 4,000 feet contours dipterocarps predominate, but of different species from those in the plains. Towards the altitudinal limits, dipterocarps become scarce and the character of the jungle becomes markedly different. The forests carry a considerable stand of potentially merchantable



timber, but except where hill stations have been developed, inaccessibility has preserved them from exploitation and is likely to do so for a long time to come. In character these forests are rather more open than those in the plains, and the dominants do not attain the same maximum dimensions, but one or two species tend towards a gregarious habit.

*Mountain forests.* These forests occupy the upper slopes of the principal high-hill ranges and the tops of the mountains. Several sub-types may be recognized, corresponding with altitudinal zonation. The hill dipterocarps give way to the mountain-oak forests, which in turn are replaced by mossy forest or xerophytic scrub. The forests have no economic value as a source of timber supplies, although several species may prove useful for local building purposes. The soil cover is important, however, as protection against excessive erosion, and for regulating stream flow to the plains.

Reviewing the position as a whole, it may be said that the mangrove forests are more or less static in area, and they are today under intensive and controlled working. The fresh-water swamps are not well known, and until recently they were seldom worked. Today appreciable areas are being exploited by comparatively small, semi-portable mills. No special rules are in force to safeguard the future of these forests, but, from the young regeneration coming up, there are indications that the regrowth will not be inferior to the existing crop. The low-land forests have suffered most in the past; the 10 per cent. of the total land area that is at present under rubber was once under forest of this type, and other areas have been cleared for mining or agricultural settlement. Nevertheless, a considerable area has been reserved, and large tracts are being exploited intensively by small mills of the type already referred to, instead of being denuded of one or two especially valuable timber species. The hill dipterocarp forests have suffered but little from the opening up of the country, although considerable areas have been destroyed by shifting cultivation by the hill tribes. These forests are likely to escape serious inroads for many years to come, and large tracts are preserved as water-catchment areas. The mountain forests have undergone least change of all, but agricultural development and the creation of hill stations may cause reduction of area in the future.

The present forest policy is aimed at improving the growing stock in reserved forests and encouraging the intensive exploitation of those areas that may eventually be alienated for some specific purpose. The problem in the reserves is to increase the proportion of valuable timber species. This is being done by removing unwanted species, either by commercial workings under permit or by departmental operations at Government expense.

Operations are designed to open up the canopy gradually, thereby producing sufficient light for young seedlings to develop, but at the same time protecting them and the soil against deterioration. When the young crop is established, the remaining trees of the mature crop are removed.

Where there are good local markets for forest produce the unwanted species are removed first, in firewood or pole fellings. Alternatively, in the last two or three years semi-portable mills that take all, or practically all, species of timber size have been erected. Mill-owners have received official encouragement by remittance of royalty on the less popular species, combined with permission to remove a certain proportion of the wanted species that ordinarily would not be felled until the young regeneration was well established. In the absence of local markets improvement fellings have to be carried out at Government expense. Several methods have been tried, and the one in most general use today is to poison-girdle trees of the unwanted species. Whether commercial workings or departmental operations have been adopted for the first stage, the second is the same in both cases: when the young regeneration is established the overwood of valuable timber trees is removed in a revenue-producing final felling.

The local timber market is not a highly critical one as regards the segregation of species or the grading of produce, but it is conservative. The former method of exploitation by hand-sawyers resulted in selective working: only those timbers that were easy to convert with hand tools were taken. Moreover, local practice in the utilization of wood placed all but the most durable at a disadvantage: design of structures did not follow scientific principles that reduce the incidence of fungal and termite attack; seasoning, except for a little surface-drying of boards on the building site, was unknown; and wood preservatives were not in use. The combination of selective working and bad utilization resulted in marked preferences for certain timbers and strong prejudices against others.

But the buyer was not and is not always competent to recognize his timbers, and the astute producer has traded on this. In consequence, the few timbers that are known to the market are not so much individual species but timber classes. For example, the standard general utility timber, that takes the place of "deal" or Baltic redwood on the home market, is *meranti*. Because of the large number of closely related species in the jungle, this may properly be regarded as the product of over thirty distinct botanical species of the genus *Shorea*, but in practice trade *meranti* may consist of any of these, and as many more of different genera and families. These latter woods may lack several of the qualities



of genuine *meranti*, but being superficially similar in appearance they are accepted. On the other hand, many other timbers that are superficially distinct, and which are perhaps difficult to convert by hand, are rejected irrespective of their intrinsic merit. This is a factor of some economic importance now that sawmills have rendered a much larger number of timbers exploitable: all those of the general utility class that are not sufficiently similar to pass as *meranti* have to be sold unclassified at lower prices. Moreover, there is no empirical knowledge on which to judge the new timbers. The research branch of the forest department is, however, tackling the problem, and special studies of the commoner, but at present largely neglected, timbers are in hand.

The local timber market operates under another and more pertinent handicap—namely, the widely fluctuating demand, and concomitant fluctuations in price, of timber. The trade of Malaya, and the prosperity of the country, is bound up with the fortunes of the country's two major industries—tin and rubber. Although the largest producer of these primary products, Malaya has no say in their consumption, with the result that her domestic position is in a constant state of flux. So pronounced is this influence, however, that the chairman of a large local trading firm was constrained to point out that "normal" times are unknown to the country! The effect on the timber industry is most unfortunate. For example, at one time last year  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch boards were fetching almost \$60 (£7) per ton of 50 cubic feet, but by the close of the year this price had been halved. Moreover, at the time of peak prices mills were working all out, almost any tree of sufficient size was converted, and there was a rush of applications for sawmill sites, while today some of the existing mills are working only five days a week, or are closed down, and the preference for some tree species to the exclusion of others is again very noticeable. This frequent swing in production and consumption of timber accentuates the already difficult problem of controlled forest management in the tropics. The forest department has the position in hand, however, and is taking steps to protect the young sawmill industry against excessive zeal in times of prosperity: it is proposed to introduce a system of licensing of all mills. New propositions will be considered in relation to potential markets, and the suitability of the sites and equipment proposed. Those that are approved will be given technical advice in the layout of plant, and a guarantee of an adequate area of forest over a period of years. It will be appreciated, however, that with domestic requirements in so fluid a condition it is very difficult to plan a long-term policy to the best advantage.

Since its inception in 1901, the forest department has been an important contributor to the revenue of the country, and, except



for the period 1931 to 1933, has always been able to show a considerable surplus over expenditure. The total revenue from 1901 to 1935 amounted to \$36,042,335, and the surplus of revenue over expenditure was \$11,094,906. Moreover, the total deficit for the three years 1931 to 1933 was more than recovered in 1934. The surplus for 1935 was over 250 per cent. up on that for 1934, and in 1936 there was a further gain of 50 per cent. over the figures for 1935. The rising trend has been more than maintained in 1937, but with the present prices for tin and rubber is not so likely to be repeated this year.

The picture portrayed in the preceding paragraph cannot be matched by other colonies, and, in that it has been achieved without a reduction in marketable forest capital (the alienation of low-land forests for rubber cultivation was not made in the interests of forest revenue), finds a parallel within the Empire only in India. The forest department would, however, be the first to disclaim sole credit for this achievement, recognizing that its prosperity is bound up with that of the country as a whole. At the same time the present tends to weigh heavily with the critics, as was experienced in 1932, and it is pardonable to resent a short-term criticism of a long-term venture.

The out-turn of timber from the forests of Malaya (including Brunei) was 12,029,944 solid cubic feet in 1936. In addition, imports of saw-logs (mainly from the Netherlands Indies for conversion in the sawmills in Singapore) totalled 99,784 tons of 50 cubic feet, equivalent to about 2,500,000 cubic feet of sawn timber, and imports of sawn timber and teak a further 400,000 cubic feet. But these figures by no means represent the total Malayan trade in timber and forest produce. Including poles and fuel wood, the total out-turn of major forest produce from Malaya and the State of Brunei reached the formidable figure of 32,495,229 solid cubic feet in 1936! The value of minor forest produce, including dammar, jelutong (a constituent of chewing-gum), rattans, and gutta-percha, added a further \$180,593 to these totals. In addition, imports of round wood, firewood, charcoal, etc., amounted to 94,729 tons, the figures for round wood being in tons of 50 cubic feet and those for firewood and charcoal in tons weight. Finally, imports of manufactured timber goods, including plywood chests, furniture, and wooden ware, totalled \$1,443,610.

The economic significance of the trade will become apparent when the figures cited are turned into money values. Accurate statistics are not available, but if we take the low minimum of \$20 per ton for timber, and \$5 per ton for fuel wood and poles, a very conservative estimate is achieved. This estimate is as follows:



*Estimate of Value of Malayan Trade in Timber and  
Minor Forest Produce in 1936.*

	\$
12,029,944 solid cubic feet of timber, or, say, 240,600 tons, at \$20 per ton	4,812,000
Minor forest produce	180,590
Firewood, poles, etc., 20,465,285 solid cubic feet, or, say, 410,000 tons, at \$5 per ton	2,050,000
Total imports unmanufactured timber, fuel wood, etc.	2,422,800
Total imports manufactured timber (plywood, furniture, and wooden ware)	1,443,610
Total	\$10,909,000

The figure of nearly \$11,000,000 represents more than one and a quarter million pounds sterling, a small proportion of the total trade of the country, but a not inconsiderable factor when its true perspective is appreciated. In the first place the trade is not by any means a wasting asset, being concomitant with an amelioration of the capital resources of the country. In the second place, the results have been achieved by a revenue-earning department that, except for a short period coincident with a major world-wide slump, has always shown a surplus of revenue over expenditure, and in 35 years has earned over four million pounds sterling for revenue. And finally, the trade has provided considerable earning and spending power to a large labour force. This last factor is of some importance because wages in forestry enterprises tend to be lower than in many industries, but the percentage of labour costs to total costs is exceptionally high.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the timber trade of Malaya is the development of the sawmill industry. This is of comparatively recent growth, as may be gauged from the fact that the number of mills has more than doubled in three years: by the close of 1934 there were 22 mills in the Federated and Unfederated States, but by the end of 1937 49 mills were in operation and others were under construction. These mills are of the semi-portable type, powered by horizontal wood or sawdust burning steam-engines of 90 to 120 h.p. The typical layout consists of a 72-inch circular breakdown saw and three to five smaller resaw units. In the larger mills the breakdown saw has a rack bench, and the resaws have drag-feed benches for boards, planks, or scantlings, and a hand-fed bench for waste. In addition, there is a winch for log haulage and a grindstone for filing saws. Power is transmitted by belts from an overhead or underground pulley shaft. The intake of logs varies from 15 to 60 tons of 50 cubic feet per eight-hour day (seven hours sawing time and one hour for re-

sharpening saws and manipulation of logs). The maximum daily output is 30 to 35 tons of converted timber in board and scantling sizes.

The development of the sawmill industry is of more than parochial interest. It has been demonstrated that several species that have been neglected in the past because of their recalcitrant working qualities with hand-saws present no difficulties with machine tools. This fact transfers many more species to the merchantable class, resulting in more intensive working of the forest. Moreover, "frontage scratching" is no longer justified, because intensive working permits of expenditure on improved methods of extraction—i.e., metalled roads and light tramways. These in turn allow of the handling of larger logs of greater length than is possible with animal haulage, and extraction can be expedited, reducing the incidence of borer attack in certain timbers. The net result in the long run must be a reduction in timber prices to the consumer, although so long as hand-sawing and mill-conversion exist side by side inflated prices are liable to persist to the benefit of the mill-owners.

In conclusion, a few remarks about the export trade in unmanufactured and manufactured timber may not be without interest. The total value of this trade in 1936 amounted to \$735,906, or rather under £100,000. By far the largest item in this total was the export of sawn timber, amounting to \$480,680. For many years the largest market was Hongkong and China, but in 1936 there was a falling off in this trade, which was, however, more than offset by gains elsewhere. In 1936 the Netherlands Indies became our best customer, and this position was strengthened in 1937, partly as a result of the Sino-Japanese conflict. Other important low-grade markets are those of Mauritius and Arabia. Exports to the United Kingdom are of recent growth, originating from special efforts during the slump years. From small beginnings the volume of business has grown gradually until exports in 1937 totalled 25,773 cubic feet.

Only a small proportion of the Malayan output is suitable for the exacting requirements of the British market, but the present position is no criterion of eventual attainments. Moreover, unlike the West African forests, the Malayan ones do not yield a large percentage of valuable ornamental timbers: those that occur in sufficient quantity for export are of the general utility class. In consequence it is only the cream of the production that is able to stand the high homeward freight charges. Further, the local demand for timber is such that only good prices will tempt the producer to cater for the high standards of an exacting market. Nevertheless, the changes that occurred in the last quarter of 1937, when all previous records were easily beaten, are an indica-



tion of what may be achieved if a steady flow of orders at a fair price is maintained. The present organization alone could probably treble its production of high-grade produce if prices and freight charges remain unchanged.

The principal timber at the moment is keruing, equivalent to Philippine apitong, Siamese yang, and Burma gurjun—and by equivalent is meant synonymous with. These timbers frequently reach the consumer as Philippine or Bornean teak! Next in importance to keruing is meranti, equivalent to Philippine lauan and the Bornean serayas and “cedars,” but often sold as Philippine mahogany. Other timbers that have been exported are jelutong and kapur (equivalent to Borneo camphor wood).

Meranti and kapur suffer from the disadvantage of being frequently attacked, when living trees, by boring beetles. The particular insects concerned are incapable of living in dry wood and so are not a source of infection to unattacked timber, but they do leave more or less conspicuous tunnels in the wood. Such timber is the equal of uninfected material so long as the tunnels are not sufficiently numerous to weaken it or spoil its appearance, but it finds no favour on the home market. The frequency of borer attack renders a large proportion of the output of these timbers unsuitable for the prime grades, and the necessity for disposing of the whole production is a definite counter to unlimited expansion of the export trade.

One other item of interest is the growth of the local production of plywood, principally for rubber chests. Imports are still many times in excess of exports, but there are indications that much of the prejudice against the local produce is dying down. The agency system, however, whereby rubber estates buy their requirements through their local agents, who are also agents for European exporters, is a stumbling-block to a true valuation of the Malayan article.

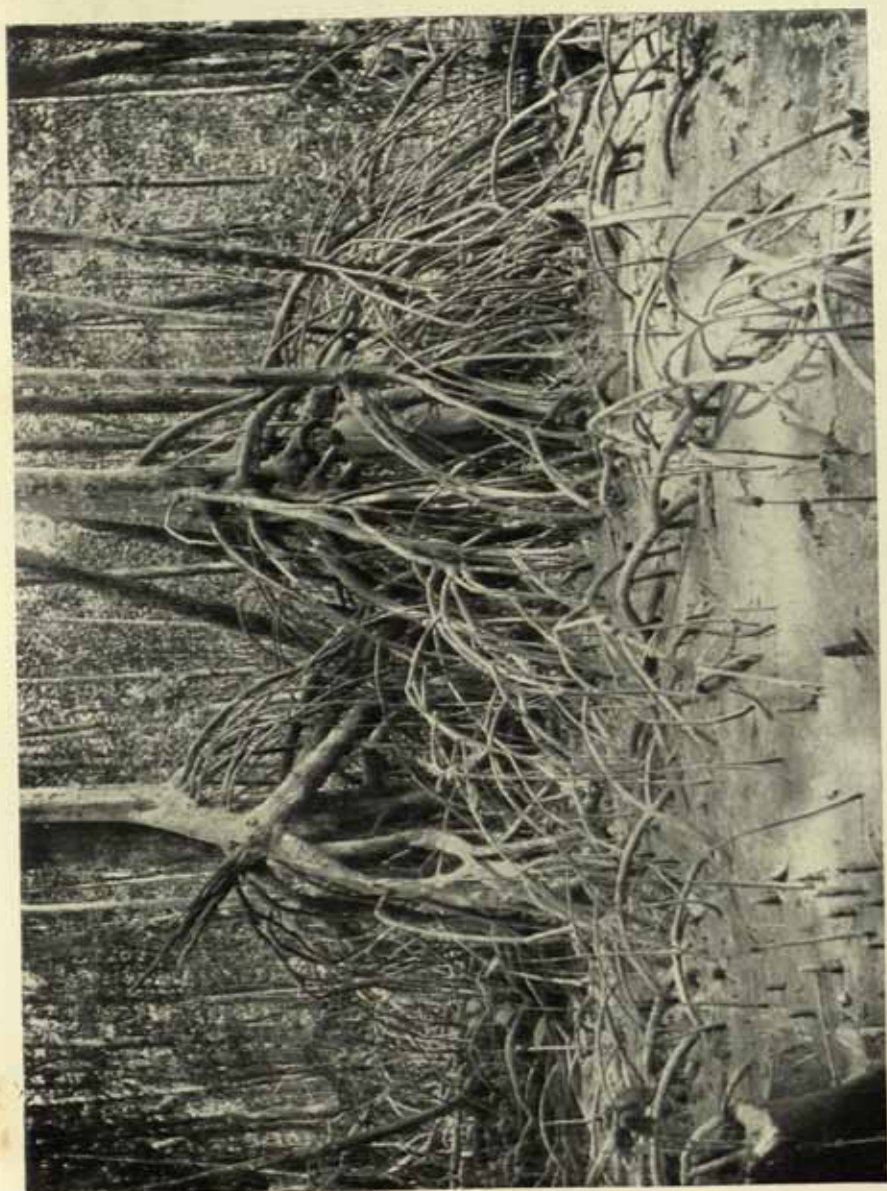


FIG. 1.—MANGROVE FOREST.  
Note aerial roots that are covered by high tides.  
*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*





FIG. 2.—FRESH-WATER SWAMP FOREST.

The tree in the foreground is *Shorea rugosa*, a source of commercial dark red meranti.  
*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*



FIG. 3.—HILL-DIPTEROCARP FOREST.

The tree in the foreground is *Shorea Curtisii*, a high-grade, dark red meranti.  
*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*





FIG. 4.—NATURALLY REGENERATED FOREST OF *KAPUR* (*DRYOBALANOPS AROMATICA*) ABOUT 26 YEARS OLD: LOW-LAND DIPTEROCARP FOREST.

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*

Malayan Forests and Their Utilisation.

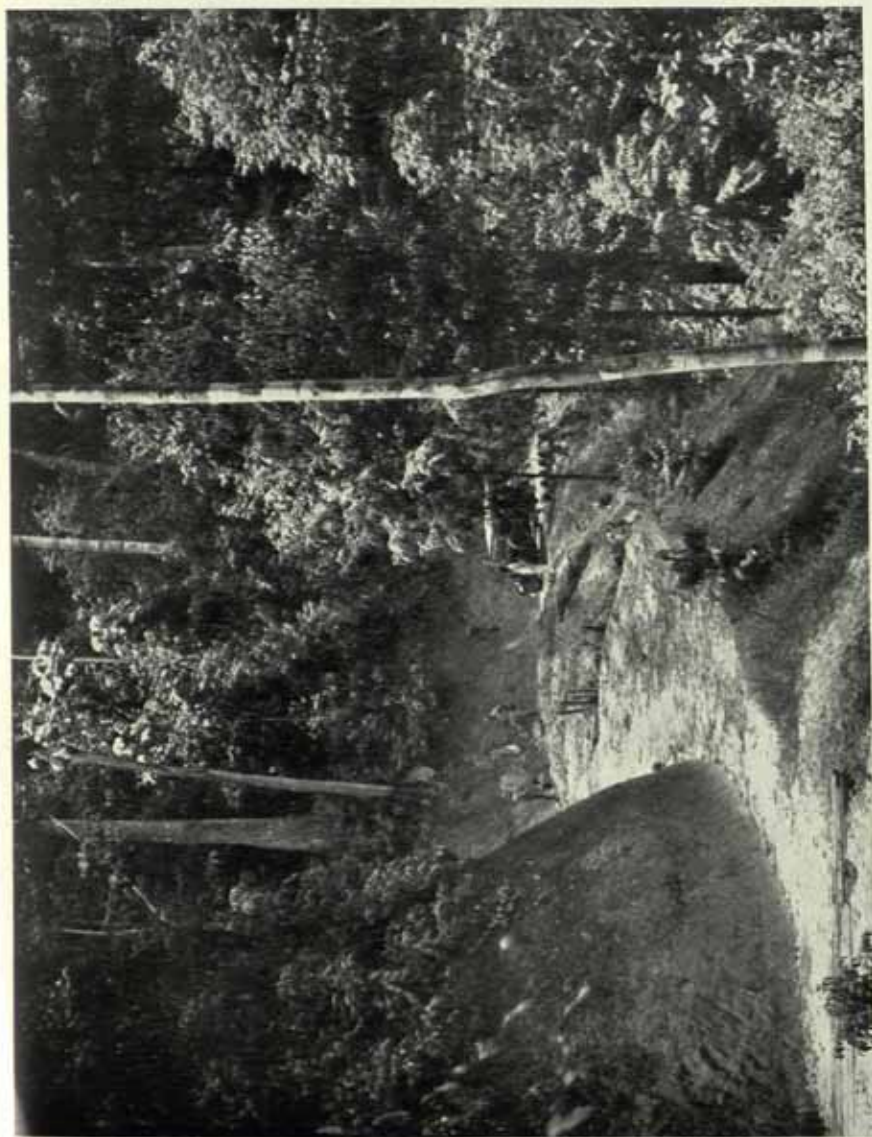


FIG. 5.—EXTRACTION ROAD IN LOWLAND DIPTEROCARP FOREST.

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*

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FIG. 6A.—SEASONING ON SITE.

This method is often to be seen on building sites, and while effective in drying the timber, it is unduly drastic and results in considerable end-splitting and cupping of the boards.

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*

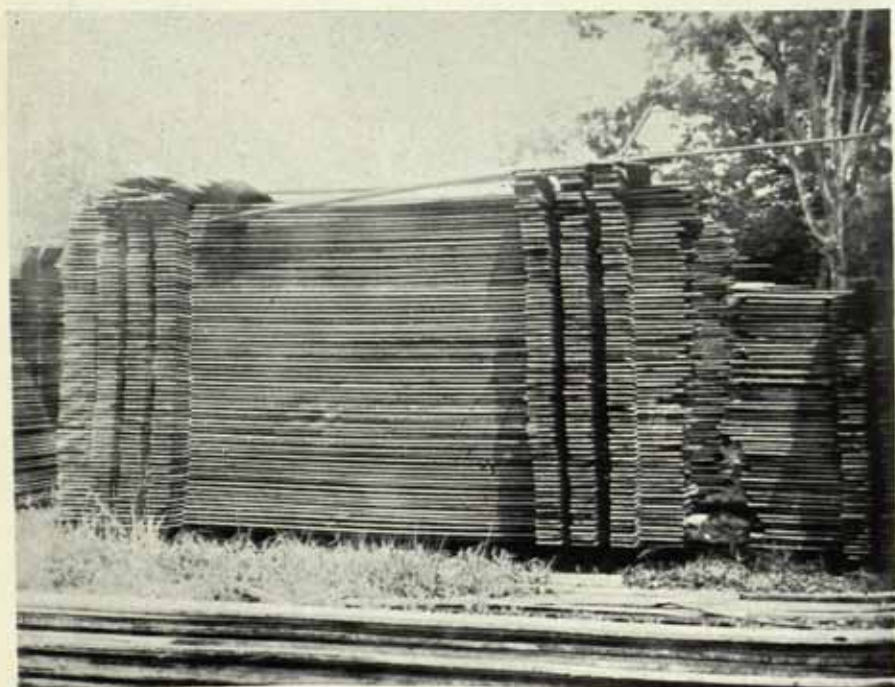


FIG. 6B.—SEASONING AS SOMETIMES PRACTISED IN MALAYA.

The method is effective in drying the timber, but the long lengths of unsupported boards and the unprotected ends result in considerable degrade from bowing and end-splits.

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*

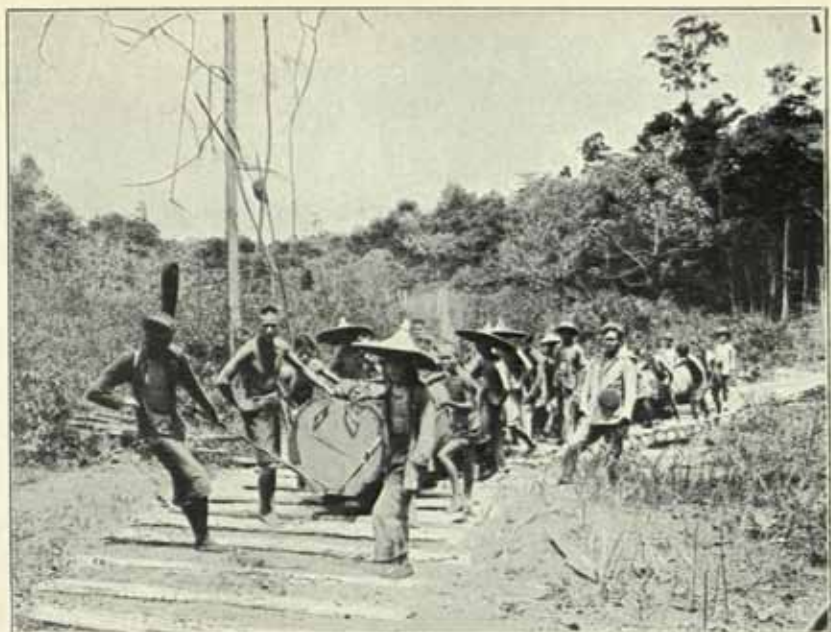


FIG. 7.—“PANLONG” EXTRACTION.

The log is mounted on a sledge (see Fig. 8) and hauled over greased poles by coolies who wear a webbed harness (visible on the leading man on the left).

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*



FIG. 8.—A SHORT LENGTH OF PANLONG, WITH A TIMBER SLEDGE.

The longitudinal runners are grooved to take the poles, but the latter are not otherwise secured in position.

*Photo by H. E. Desch.*

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FIG. 9.—A LIGHT TRAMWAY WITH A TRUCK IN THE PROCESS OF LOADING.  
The sleepers are round jungle poles adzed square at the rail seat.

*Photo by H. E. Desch.*



FIG. 10.—INTERIOR OF A LOCAL SAWMILL.

A 72-inch circular breakdown saw with rack-bench is seen on the left, while a drag-feed bench is on the right. The breakdown saw and four re-saw benches are belt-driven from a central shaft seen at the top of the picture.

*Photo by H. E. Desch.*

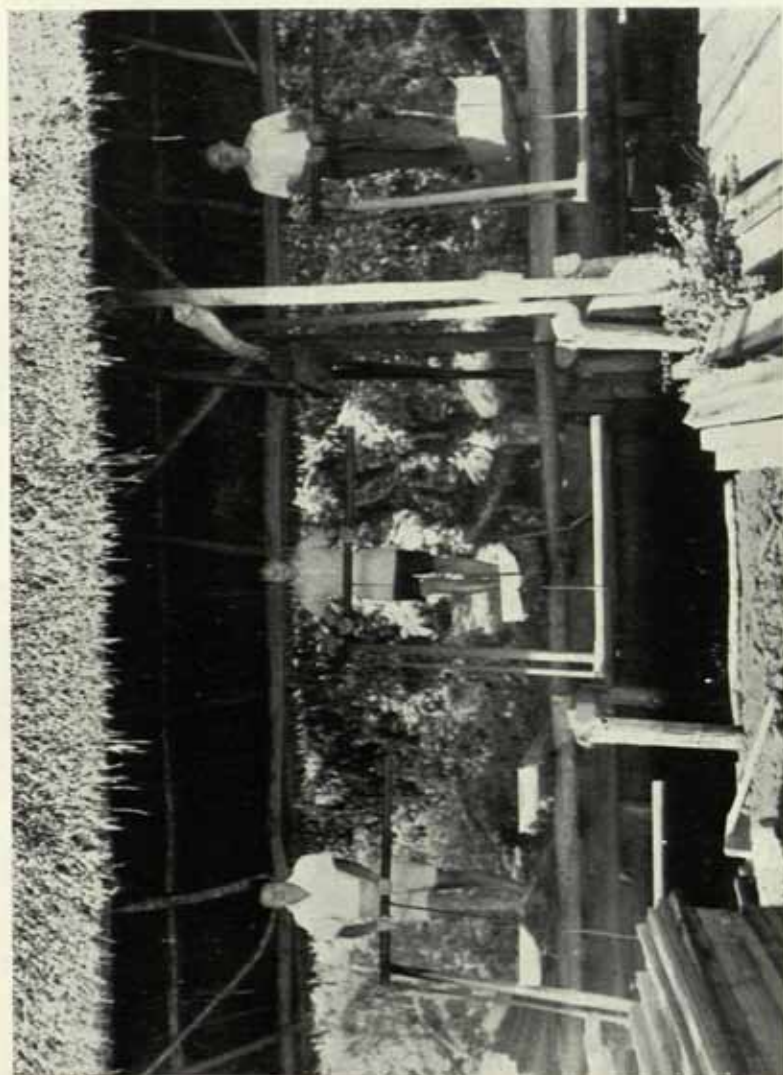


FIG. 11.—A HAND-SAWYER'S DEPOT.

Note the very thin saws and the peculiar type of frame used.

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*

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FIG. 12.—A BUFFALO USED IN TIMBER TRACTION.

Although massive animals, the buffalo can only handle comparatively small logs. The method of harnessing is not efficient, and the animals cannot work in yoke because of the narrowness of hauling tracks.

*Courtesy of the Forest Research Institute.*

Malayan Forests and Their Utilisation.

## THE JOURNEY THROUGH SYRIA

BY A. R. ADAIR, I.C.S.

(Mr. Adair, who is now serving as an Assistant Magistrate and Collector in Bihar, was one of a party of four I.C.S. officers who, on the completion of their probation in this country, travelled the whole way from London to India in an open tourer car. They journeyed by way of Damascus, Baghdad, Teheran and Quetta and were about two months on the road.)

OUR first impression in Syria was one of immense relief after leaving Turkey—for we found ourselves on perfect asphalt roads; and that in itself was a regular paradise, to which was added the fact that we could once more get what we required without having to point to our mouths and champ our jaws or show an empty petrol tin, as the case might be. Practically everyone in Syria can speak French.

We had had so little opportunity of reading the news that we knew nothing of the sudden flood havoc in the country—and we were a little surprised to encounter lowering skies and rain on our run out from Alexandretta towards Aleppo. However, we consoled ourselves with the thought that, "As we get further south we will get out of the rain belt"—and towards sundown indeed, as we approached Aleppo, there was a pale blue streak on the horizon and suddenly the sun broke through and shone down on the city.

The great citadel bathed in the golden evening sun and surrounded by the white flat-roofed buildings of Aleppo made a most impressive spectacle, as this was the only patch of sunlight to be seen, and all around were the deepening shadows of the evening.

But it was not till we reached Homs that we learned of the floods. There, when we enquired the way to Damascus, we were told the road was out and we would have to detour through Tripoli and Beyrouth. Even on the way to Tripoli we encountered difficulties; we had a lot of water and mud to go through, and in places, where the road was washed away, we were detoured and had to drive through muddy, slippery fields, where the car went broadside as easily as forwards. We went on driving till 3 a.m., and then skidded so far down a hillside off the road that we just had to wait till daylight to get right again. So we "slept" in the car till dawn.

Still, the lovely drive along the coast road from Tripoli to Beyrouth, skirting the shores of the Mediterranean all the way,



made up for our troubles of the previous night. And in all we only lost a day, for we reached Damascus that evening.

We had heard so many conflicting reports about crossing the Syrian desert that we did not know quite how we should tackle it, and we determined to try and get as much information as possible during our short stay in Damascus.

On the one hand there was the view that it was suicide not to cross with a recognized convoy; and indeed that seemed to be the most usual method, especially for people who had no previous desert experience. But that method entailed taking on a chauffeur-guide from the Transport Company, and this we did not like the idea of doing, because we wanted to drive to India ourselves, not to be driven by a chauffeur over the difficult parts, and only take the wheel when there was a straight tarred road before us. Then again the floods had greatly affected the Syrian desert—whole villages had been washed away—some of the most reputed transport firm's buses had been marooned as much as five days, and others had not been able to get through for over a week; and there were many detours of the track to avoid flooded areas.

However, we got the opposite view from a very loquacious Frenchman who was the chief mechanic at the garage where we had put the car. According to him there was no difficulty in the desert crossing at all, and people just set out alone as a matter of course and took about two days to get to Baghdad. All that was required was to get the official documents of permission for which an inspection of the car was necessary; take on ample supplies of water, food and petrol, and set out early in the morning.

To make certainty doubly sure, a friend of his was going to drive a lorry over, starting the day before us; and a rendezvous was arranged at the French military wireless post—the last sign of civilization—100 miles out in the desert. We were to start at dawn and meet him not later than 9 a.m.; then we would carry on together. As the lorry driver had been doing the crossing for fifteen years and knew the desert *comme sa poche* in the phrase of our Frenchman, there seemed no possibility of risk or danger. It was the very opportunity we had wanted.

So all was settled; the necessary documents of permission were obtained, and our Frenchman promised to have the car ready for us by 4.30 a.m. the next day. But it was not ready at 4.30, nor even at 5.30. In fact the time was 8 o'clock before we got the car, and 8.30 when we had her packed and took the "road to Baghdad."

In spite of fast driving—the speedometer needle was on sixty-five as long as the road was fair, and when it became desert track

even, we seldom dropped below fifty—we obviously were going to fall far short of our 9 a.m. rendezvous; and we only hoped our lorry-driving friend would wait for us. But luck was not on our side.

First we had a puncture, then one of our best tyres burst, one on which we had been relying for the desert crossing, and it was useless for anything but a "slipper" to pull on over a worn cover.

These delays were the cause of an 11 a.m. arrival at the wireless post, and there we were told that our friend had departed sharp at nine. So we decided to push on and try to catch him at Rutbah, the "halfway" post, where we knew he intended to pass the night.

We drove on in the glare of the desert sun, over endless stretches of dead-flat, hard-baked mud and gravel. Sometimes large stones were strewn about, and sometimes the surface was of fine shingle, but always the unending glare and the vastness and utter desolation remained.

Occasionally the flat plain would give place to gentle slopes, and it was with this undulating type of terrain that mirages were most constant. They were remarkably real, too, and the cool blue lakes sometimes seemed to come almost up to the car. Having heard so much about the floods we often thought that here at last was water in reality—but it always melted away into mud and gravel as we approached.

We were not destined to reach Rutbah that night, for we had no less than nine punctures during the day, and by sunset we were still over 100 miles from our objective. There was nothing for it but to camp *in situ* in spite of vague rumours we had heard in Damascus of the fierceness of Bedouin nomads and the necessity of travelling in convoy with machine-gun protection! It was better to camp at dusk than run the risk of losing our way in the desert by attempting night driving, because the tracks were fairly easy to follow by day, but very difficult to distinguish in the headlights.

Night in the desert was cold, but to see the dawn breaking with all its splendour of colour in that vast solitude repaid us for the discomfort many times over. We had to ration both food and water carefully, for we could not know how long we would be in that waste, and by sunset of the second day we were glad we had done so, for we were again overwhelmed with punctures, and darkness overtook us still some thirty-five miles from Rutbah.

We passed many cairns of stones to mark the passage of less fortunate travellers than ourselves; but our most vivid impressions of the loneliness and dangers of the desert were received the next morning just after we set out for Rutbah. We came on a broken-



down bus which had been stranded there for four days and no help had come. The poor occupants were getting desperate, for food and water supplies were almost at an end, and but for us they might not have got help for days more. We had two lorries sent out to their assistance as soon as we reached Rutbah an hour or so later.

Supplies of water and bread were replenished there also, but more important still was rubber solution for our punctures—and there was none to be had. The great drain on our repair outfit in the previous two days had practically finished our supplies; so if our luck with punctures did not change our outlook seemed grey indeed. However, our luck was about to turn. We passed a lorry from which we obtained a tube of good solution, and with that as a reserve we felt safer; yet strange to say it was hardly required, because after leaving Rutbah we had only three or four more punctures, and we reached Baghdad on the afternoon of the fourth day of driving, with a total of eighteen punctures to our credit.

Our first sight of the Euphrates was a memorable moment. After four days of unbroken wastes of mud and gravel and sand, with no vegetation to be seen from horizon to bare horizon, or indeed from sunrise to sunset, the mirage we saw of palm trees on the sky-line seemed completely unreal—but when we reached that horizon we saw in reality what before had been but a mirage—an unbroken line of palms, and even more strange, a felucca sail which seemed to rise from the desert itself. At first the sail and the palm trees were all that showed above the undulating surface of the plain, but as we approached we saw the river—an abrupt ending to 500 miles of arid desert—and on its banks an abundance of vegetation.

From Ramadi on the Euphrates on to Baghdad was quite a short run, and an asphalt road most of the way; so once we had reached Ramadi, which is the Iraqi Customs station, we had really completed the desert crossing and were able to heave a sigh of relief.

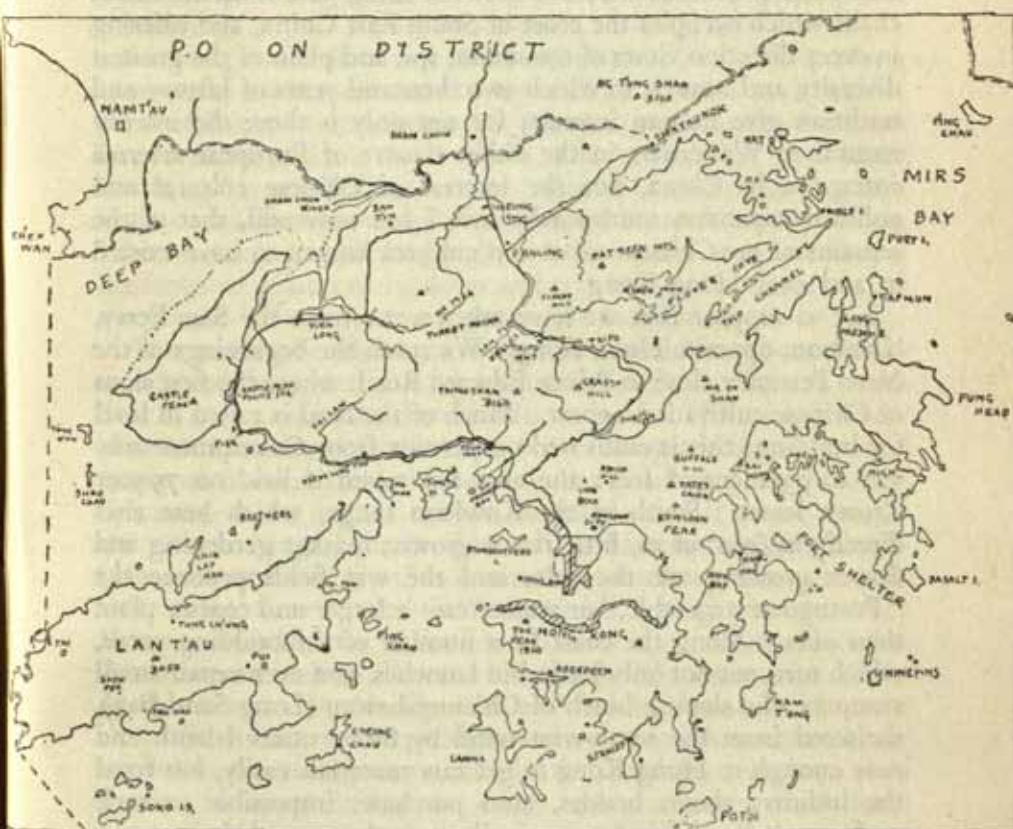
Though it had been force of circumstances which made us cross the desert alone we were very glad to have it behind us, because there was always the uncertainty: what would we find next in the way of difficulties.

This feeling was all the time fostered by the thought: "There must be some reason for all this convoy business and official permit and checking-in before leaving—if there is no real danger then why should people pay £10 to have a chauffeur-guide?"

The general attitude of anyone we met increased this feeling of uncertainty. Once, on the first day, when mending a puncture, a transport car stopped near us, and the driver seemed sur-

prised that we were travelling alone and said: "Isn't that rather dangerous?" Again at Rutbah the same note was sounded: "What, alone, and never done the desert crossing before? A lot of people have been lost in this desert!"

Yet actually we were never in any real danger of losing our way—once when we came to a flooded area we had some difficulty in picking up the tracks of the detour, but half an hour's cruising about found us on the main track again and forcing towards Baghdad. More than anything else, I think, it was our principle of driving only by daylight that kept us from losing our way; and though necessarily our driving hours were thereby shortened and the time for the crossing increased, it was better than running the risk of getting off the route and going round in circles till the petrol ran out, which is, I believe, what happens if once you miss the track.



SKETCH MAP OF HONG KONG AND THE NEW TERRITORY.

(See article on next page.)



Built-up areas.



## HONG KONG'S NEW TERRITORY: ITS BEAUTY AND INTEREST

By W. SCHOFIELD

(Of the Hong Kong Civil Service.)

THIS article does not pretend to do more than point out a few of the beautiful and interesting things to be seen in the little corner of South China known as the New Territory of Hong Kong: to do them full justice would require a volume.

A glance at the map on page 733 shows what the New Territory is: a land of hills, islands, and fiords forming part of the mountain chain which occupies the coast of South-East China, and offering in every direction views of mountain, sea, and plain of the greatest diversity and beauty, to which two thousand years of history and tradition give human interest; for not only is there the interest natural to Westerners in the oldest theatre of European overseas enterprise in China, but the interest of Chinese cultural and political expansion southwards, and, I can now add, that of the remains of pre-Chinese tribes and cultures known to have existed in and near Hong Kong.

Let us suppose that we have taken a car from the Star Ferry, Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong. We reach the beginnings of the New Territory close to Prince Edward Road, where the first signs of Chinese cultivation appear. Much of the land is raised in level for building; this is cultivated on permits from Government subject to payment of fees: the area not raised is held on 75-year Crown leases. South of the Kowloon range, which here rises directly in front of us, little rice is grown; market gardening and flower growing are the rule, and the wet fields produce the "Portuguese vegetable," or watercress—a larger and coarser plant than ours. Along the coast lie a number of shipbuilding yards, which turn out not only junks but launches, and even repair small steamers; the sloping beach of Ch'ungshawan (Long Sand Bay), sheltered from the south-west wind by Stonecutters Island, and near enough to Hong Kong to get raw materials easily, has fixed the industry there; besides, land purchase, impossible to such under-capitalized firms, was needless, as they got their areas on yearly permits.

At Ch'ungshawan the road divides: the right road goes to Taipo and the centre of the Territory, the left to Castle Peak and the west. Taking the Taipo road, we begin to climb the foothills

of the Kowloon range. The west end of the range is, as every cutting shows, of granite, which is believed to have reached its present position about the time that the English chalk was being deposited. It then lay deep underground, forming a low dome of irregular shape, and cooled and solidified very slowly, so that its crystals grew large. Near the top and edge of the mass it cooled faster, so the crystals were smaller and the rock became harder. As the rocks above the granite wore away in the course of ages, the granite was exposed, and decayed. The coarser rock rotted faster than the finer, which was strengthened by the edges of the disappearing "roof" rock beside and above it. This roof rock still exists on Kowloon Peak and Tate's Cairn, away to the east; Beacon Hill and Lion Rock retain some of the finer-grained granite on their summits, while the remarkable Lion's Head Rock on the latter, and the Amah and Child Rock in Shat'in valley (Plate I.), probably owe their shapes to accidents of joining and weathering.

As the granite does not decay uniformly, but chiefly along cracks, the undecayed rock between them remains as boulders, often of immense size, when the softened rock round them has been washed away by rain. This is happening all over South China, and is proof of the former existence of vast jungles, which alone could have prevented the washing away of decayed rock. When man cleared off the jungle, this protection disappeared, and the frequent masses of boulders and areas of bare rock-surface on the granite hills testify to enormous soil destruction.

After passing Kowloon reservoir, an artificial lake set amid pine-woods and fringed with long bays and headlands, the car enters Shat'in valley and runs downhill to sea level. This valley, where between March and October the earth is carpeted with the vivid green of flooded rice-fields—rice is the chief crop of the New Territory—is an arm of the sea, which flooded it at the time of the great sinking of the Pacific coast, and is now receding slowly before the sand and gravel from the two mountain masses on either side. These have formed the "sand fields" which give the valley its name. It is a corner of the fiord called Taipo, or Tolo, Harbour. Across it can be seen Turret Hill, the Buffalo Peaks, and, finest of all, the 2,200-foot Ma On Shan or "Saddle Mountain" from its shape (Plate II.); its steep ridges and vast precipices make it one of the most striking mountains in the Territory: its base is of granite, its upper half of the tough lavas and ashes which form most of the highest mountains in the Colony. Among these are found many fragments of the still older sandstones, shales, and cherts which alone offer fossil-hunters a chance of success in Hong Kong. Here, too, is the only commercially workable iron ore in the Colony; a steep road leads up to the mine from sea-level, and



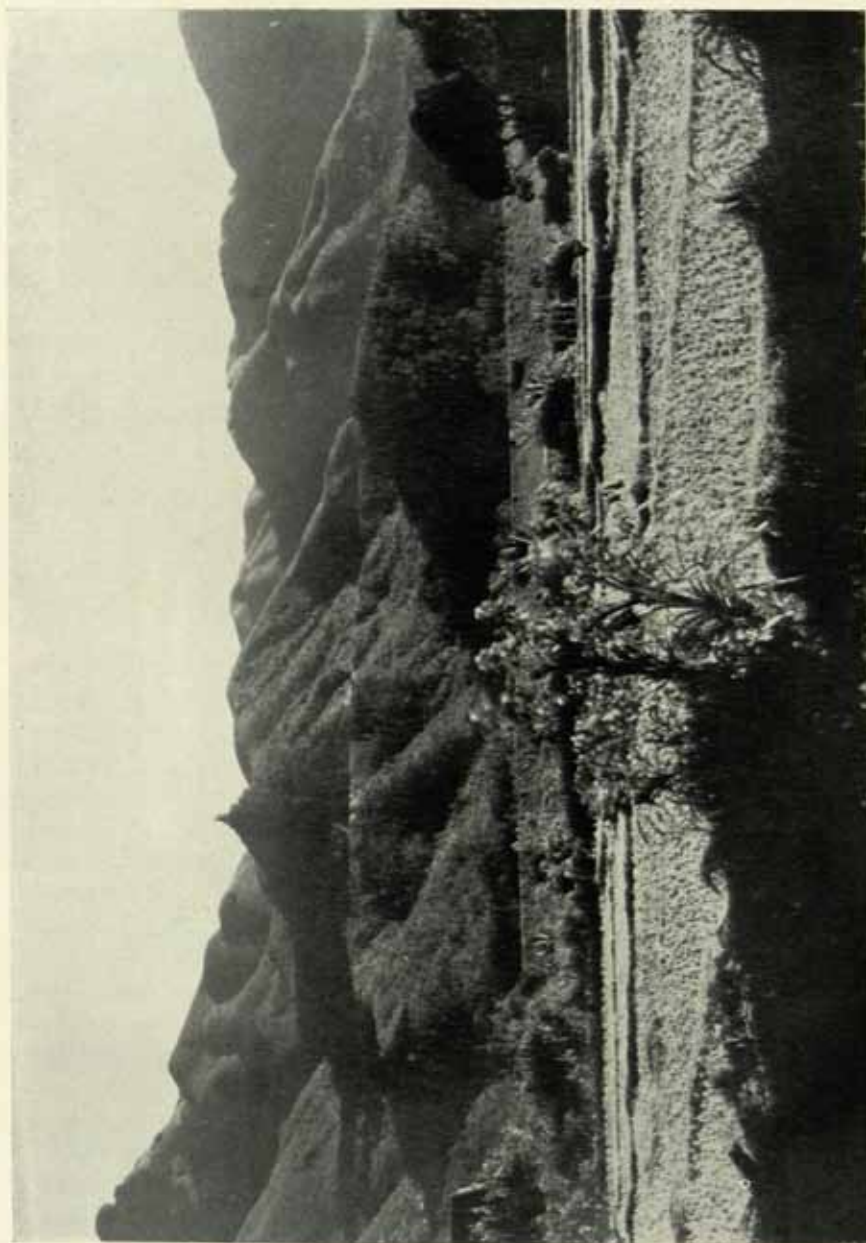
piles of the ore lie by a small jetty. From the summit can be seen wonderful views of mountains, islands, and straits, while on the slopes the botanist can find rare and interesting plants, though they will cost him a hard climb.

Shortly before reaching the sea we cross the diminished waters of the Shing Moon river, blocked three miles upstream by the highest dam in the Empire to furnish water to Hong Kong, completed in 1937. On a hill north of the river is the unique Mission to Buddhists called Tao Fong Shan, with its beautiful church in Chinese style, roofed with tiles of the same glorious blue as those of the Temple of Heaven; its font is a lotus-shaped bowl surmounted by the Cross, and on its wall hangs a rubbing of the great Christian inscription of Si-an.

For three miles the road keeps at sea-level beside the railway. Under the hills across the valley lies a most interesting walled village, with towers, loopholes for rifles, and gateway all complete, and all quite modern, put up only ten years or so before the Territory was leased to Britain. This walling, a common expedient in former years, is chiefly practised by the Cantonese-speaking settlers who in the Sung dynasty moved into the plains and valleys and were the first Chinese to populate the coastlands in large numbers. A walled and moated village is a most picturesque feature of the countryside, especially if within it there rises a tall tower, reminding the Westerner of a donjon keep, with narrow barred openings for windows and a battlement atop. This structure is simply the local pawnshop, where the countryside raises its capital and keeps its winter coats or its summer silks, according to season, as collateral. One such shop can be seen at the village of Taipo T'au, at the head of the Taipo valley.

The road now recrosses the railway and rises to nearly 300 feet. At the top of this rise it leaves the granite for the first time and runs on to sedimentary rocks forming part of the "roof" covering the great Taimoshan igneous mass. A new arm of the fiord opens to our right: it stretches from the mouth of Shat'in cove eastward to Mirs Bay, beyond which, framed by the mountains and headlands on each side, is caught a glimpse of the shore of China. To south are the mountains surrounding Long Harbour and dividing Tolo Channel from Port Shelter; to north is a long ridge forming a peninsula which partly encloses the lovely inlet of Plover Cove. Above the cove rise the Pat Seen hills, another igneous mass, on the western half of which can be seen layers of sandstone, forming its roof and capping the hills. In the very middle of the harbour, Centre Islet is noteworthy for its grass, which is always green no matter how dry the weather may be, thanks to the composition of its soil.

Taipo, the name originally applied to the plain at the head of

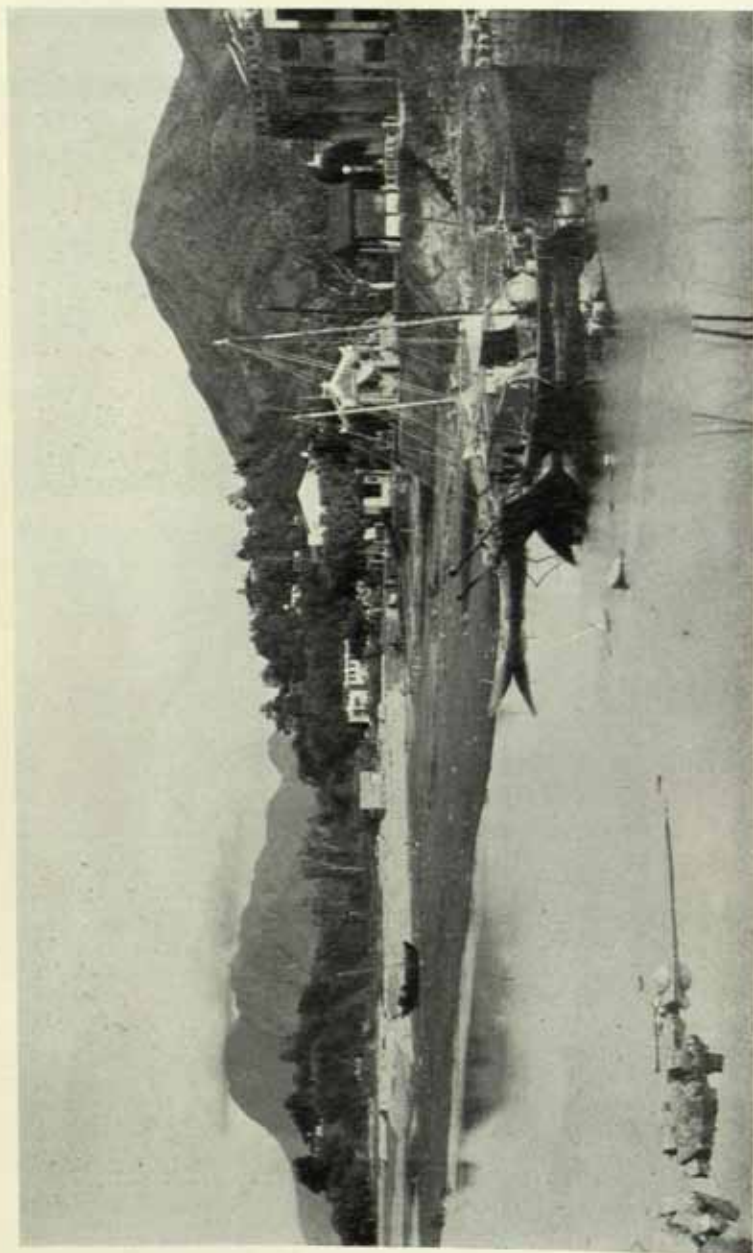


KOWLOON RANGE FROM THE NORTH, WITH LION ROCK AND THE AMAH AND CHILD ROCK, SEEN FROM ACROSS SHAT'IN VALLEY.

Hong Kong's New Territory.



PLATE II.



THE SHORE BY TAIPO MARKET, LOOKING EAST: SADDLE MOUNTAIN IN THE DISTANCE.

Hong Kong's New Territory.



NORTH END OF LAM TS'ÜN VALLEY, SHOWING SHAMCHUN RIVER TERRACE AND STEEP SLOPE OF CENTRAL TERRACE IN FOREGROUND: IN THE DISTANCE ONE TREE PASS ON CLOUDY HILL.

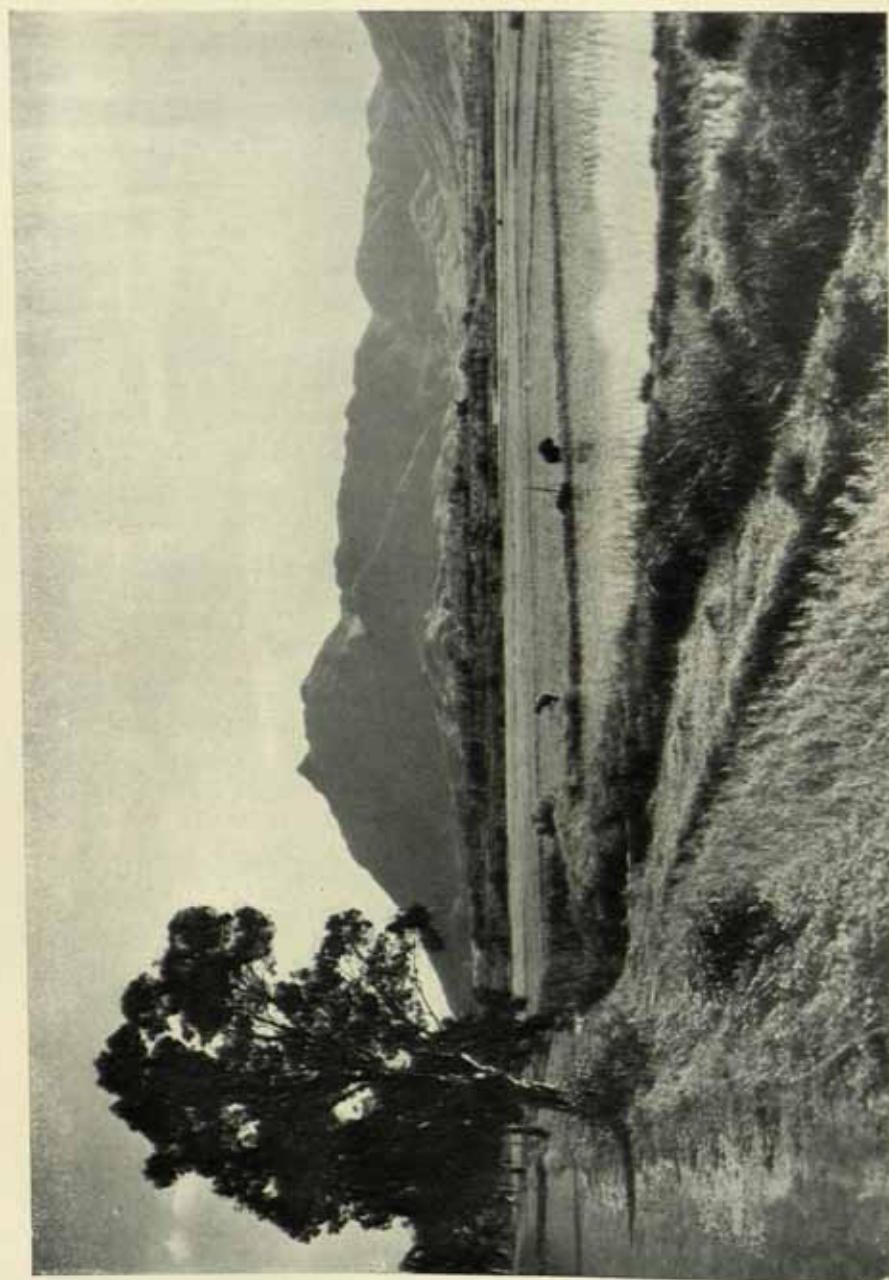
B



PREHISTORIC SITE OF SŌ KON WAT, LOOKING SOUTH; MOTOR ROAD IN THE MIDDLE DISTANCE: WEST BROTHER AND LANT'AU IN BACKGROUND.

Hong Kong's New Territory.





CASTLE PEAK, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST FROM THE MOTOR ROAD; RICE-FIELDS IN THE FOREGROUND.

Hong Kong's New Territory.

the western branch of the harbour, is now that of the railway station 2,000 yards east of Taipo Market, the economic centre of the country bordering the harbour, and the administrative centre of the northern district of the New Territory. Much of the market town is new, built on a reclamation made in 1912. The river beside it can float junks, which cross the shallows at high water to load and unload by the market: but launches and small steamers can only reach Taipo pier, for the river, which comes out of the Lam Ts'ün valley a mile west of the market, has filled the head of the harbour with sand for a mile out from shore. It has a remarkable course; it rises on the north flank of Taimoshan, is joined by a stream on its left coming from the pass at the head of the valley, and enters the broad lower half of the Lam Ts'ün valley. This is floored by sandstone, with the Taimoshan mass to south and the Turret Rock mass to north, so that it must be an old valley created by the raising of these two great domes of rock. Just below the road, near the ancient three-span stone bridge, the river turns from north-east to south-east, cuts through the low hills, and enters Taipo plain and harbour. But there is ample evidence that in former ages the river went straight on north-east and turned north to Fanling, joining the Shamchun river, which forms the boundary of the New Territory. The Taipo stream must have been a little torrent like those near Shün Wan, across the harbour; but it cut backwards through the hills and "beheaded" the old stream, drawing off its water and finally deepening its bed 60 or 70 feet almost up to its source. The old bed survives as terraces both in the middle of the valley and on each side, and the whole thing is as clear as a model. It can be seen by walking 20 or 30 yards up the low bank west of the road at Wai T'au (Plate IIIa.).

This spot has another interest. In the banks and cuttings beside the road are found fragments of the high-fired pottery, ornamented with criss-cross patterns of raised lines, and "double F" patterns of impressed lines, used by the Bronze Age people before the Han dynasty. It lies about two feet below the surface, so evidently soil has crept downhill in the course of ages and buried it, aided by the normal process of soil circulation carried on by termites and burrowing insects. Evidently there was a clearing and a settlement here, 60 feet above the stream, in the broad valley which it had abandoned.

The road now bends north between Turret Rock and Cloudy Hill, past Tsui Hang village, where in 1912 a large hoard of coins dating to the Southern Sung dynasty—about A.D. 1100 to 1250—was dug up under a house; evidently buried about the time of the Mongol invasion in A.D. 1240.

Passing into the Fanling plain, lower hills and wider expanses



of verdant rice-fields, stretching away to the border and beyond, meet the eye. These hills are often of sedimentary rock, usually sandstone and shale altered by earth movements and mountain-building into quartzite and mica-schist. These, broken up by an infinity of planes of movement, weather into masses of loose rubble on the steeper hills, held together only by shrubs and coarse grass; in 1912 the broken-up white quartzite so littered the Fanling golf course that it was most difficult to find a ball among the fragments, and caddies drove a thriving trade in lost balls!

This northern plain is a comparatively dry area; for this reason we see a new crop, the sugar-cane, growing everywhere: it is almost entirely confined to this part of the Territory.

The road passes by Fanling (dusty ridge), noted for its lichee orchard, and near Sheung Shui (upper water), where the new road to Canton branches off. Not far from the junction there are signs that a porcelain kiln once existed there, probably 300 to 500 years ago. To left, between the mountains and the road, lie the rolling parkland and forests which Government and the Golf Club have created out of rice-field and hill to make the finest golf course in the Far East. To south-west of it lies the low pass called Ha Ts'ia Gap, from the village below it, whose name means "lower slope"; its top is hardly 100 feet above the general level of the plain, though the hills each side rise over 1,800 feet.

Beyond San T'in (new fields) there stretches the wide plain bordered by the largest tidal marsh in the Colony, beyond which again are the waters of the strangely named Deep Bay: it certainly is a deep recess of the coastline, but is quite the shallowest arm of the sea in the Colony's waters. Mangrove bushes, sometimes six feet high, cover the flats, which are the resort of numerous wild duck and other waterfowl, and offer first-rate shooting. Beyond, the low neck of sand on which Namt'au stands can be seen, joining to the mainland the rocky headland on which is the great Buddhist temple of Ch'ekwan (red bay). The shores of Deep Bay are parcelled out into oyster beds; their owners, living in Chinese territory, pay fees to the British district officer, whose jurisdiction extends to high-water mark as far as a rocky point near Ch'ekwan.

Namt'au is the capital of the district of San On, or Po On, which used to include Hong Kong and the New Territory, and was set up in 1560 to deal with the pirate menace, particularly from the Japanese. Previously the area had been a portion of the Tung-kwun district, which lies to the north.

The road now runs south to the rich plain of the Pat Heung (eight villages), the home of the Tang family, the leading clan of the New Territory, and the chief landowners in the countryside, with a history going back to the Sung dynasty. Above it, on the



slope of Taimoshan, is the Ling Wan monastery. The villages are walled and moated; one has a very handsome pair of iron gates. The streams flowing into Deep Bay here have sufficient water to make them good harbours for junk traffic, so that in the next stretch of plain, where the road runs west again, we find a large country town, Yuen Long, with a regular junk trade; it is also a bus route terminus, and the chief market town of the north-western New Territory: the abundant water in the hill streams and the flatness of the plain make this the richest agricultural area in the Colony, and a special Land Office has been put up on a hill near by, at P'ingshan, to deal with its land business.

Once past P'ingshan the car has in front a range of hills, low and mainly of sedimentary rock on the right, higher and of granite on the left, culminating in the lofty hill Castle Peak, or Ts'eng Shan (green mountain) (Plate IV.), a centre of Buddhist legend, with a monastery 700 feet up its east face. It is mentioned as Mount T'ün Moon in the account of the travels of the monk I-ching, who touched at Canton on his way back from India in A.D. 695. T'ün Moon is still the name of the district at the foot of the hill, where once there was a Chinese coastguard station: the name means "garrison gate" or "channel"; the deep-water channel to Canton passes beside the hill. There are three peaks on the hill, which has a form as distinctive as Saddle Mountain. The name "green mountain" comes from the fresh green grass on its eastern slope, where the soil is of sedimentary rocks instead of barren granite. Wolframite has been mined in the Castle Peak range, and the 20-year-old adits are still visible.

To left of the road, along the foothills near the police station, many polished stone adzes of prehistoric times have been found, proving the valley contained settlements. The pottery found with them is of ancient type. One settlement was, however, of historic date, for the pottery is of types found in Canton and dated to the Han dynasty, and no adzes are associated with it: this may possibly be a relic of the ancient garrison.

By the village of San Hui (new market) we reach the sea shore again, and running off the sandstones and shales of the valley, enter granite country. Here begins the series of bathing beaches that make the next length of road a combination of the Lido and the Corniche. Just off shore is the sea route to Canton; and beyond it, displaying its full length and its lofty peaks, lies Lant'au, largest of all the Colony's many islands. In the west can be seen the three peaks and three isthmuses of the curiously shaped Shau Chau (guard-station island); in front of Lant'au, the East and West Brothers, known to the Chinese as the Little and Great Whetstones; and Ch'ek Lap Kok—Chulukok of the charts—which creates the harbour of Tung Ch'ung, the former administra-



tive and military centre of Lant'au; a large island, but very thinly inhabited.

A little beyond the branch road to the pier we pass another fine bathing beach, behind which is a gravel cliff cut away by a stream; two feet from the surface are fragments of prehistoric pottery of two types, the soft and the coarse: the latter is decorated with string impressions applied with a bat or roller. This is one of the earlier of our prehistoric sites.

At the next large bay, called Sō Kon Wat, are a practice range for artillery, two high banks of sand marking the modern and the ancient beach, the latter 250 yards inland from the former, and a noteworthy prehistoric site (Plate IIIb.). The two beaches are among the many proofs to be seen on this coast that the sea level has fallen 10 or 15 feet. This can only have happened a few centuries ago, for dead oysters and corals are still found here and there in sheltered corners a little above high-tide mark. The prehistoric site is on a low hill, partly grass-covered, and has yielded hard and glazed pottery, pieces of quartz and stone rings, centres knocked out in ringmaking, masses of chips, lumps, and flaked discs of quartz, a few partly made cylindrical beads of green stone, and even a bronze arrow-head. All these lie scattered on the surface, or buried at a few inches depth.

This valley, like most other valleys along this stretch of coast, runs north-east and south-west, agreeing with the general structural trend of the country. A little further on, a smaller valley contains a military road. By walking up it the long, beautiful Tai Lam valley is reached. It is, like Castle Peak and Lam Ts'ün valleys, formed by the uprising of domes of molten rock, in this case granite, inside the earth's crust each side of it. The result is a long straight valley 100 to 180 feet above sea-level, with a pass at its north-east end no more than 250 feet high, beyond which a steep slope leads down to the plain around Yuen Long. Out of its south-west end flows the river, making two right-angled turns and dropping over two waterfalls before reaching the sea at Tai Lam Ch'ung. The river is thus only just beginning to deepen its valley.

Crossing its estuary by two long bridges, we climb a hill and round the steep rocky headland of Brothers Point, where loss of soil has left great areas of hillside bare down to the very rock. The next village, Ts'eng Lung T'au (green dragon's head), contains a Government telephone call office, a prehistoric site on a hill shoulder, and boats which can be hired to carry passengers to the island of Ma Wan opposite, or to Lant'au beyond it. The name of this village refers to Chinese geomancy: a hill ridge east of a site with a south-west aspect is a "green dragon," and that to west is a "white tiger." The "head" is the rocky headland to east of



the bay. Our "Worms Head" and "Great Ormes Head" belong to very much the same order of ideas.

The next village we reach is Sham Tseng (deep well), where the Hong Kong Brewery and Pure Cane Molasses Co. are established. Much of their land has been acquired from the villagers, not by purchase, but by lease, rent being paid regularly, thus giving the peasants an income instead of a lump sum, which might be squandered, stolen, or lost, and avoiding the trouble caused by some local Naboth refusing to give up the inheritance of his fathers.

Just before reaching the next village, Ting Kau, we leave the granite and enter the south-west corner of the Taimoshan igneous mass. The road runs alongside the strait between Ts'ing Yi island and the mainland; this strait is another valley of the same type as those described earlier, floored by sediments and flanked by up-raised igneous rocks, for the sediments are exposed at two or three places both on the road and on the island shore.

The deep channels between Ts'ing Yi and the mainland offer good harbourage to coasting steamers and tankers, but the innermost bay, Ts'ün Wan, is also named rightly Ts'in Wan (shallow bay). The place so named is a small town, unwallled, with shops and a market, the centre of the whole district from the south corner of Gindrunkers Bay to Ts'eng Lung T'au, and inland to the top of Taimoshan. This district, with New Kowloon and a district round Junk Bay, is the mainland portion of the Southern District, under an officer whose office is in Hong Kong, the natural centre of his district.

One crop very common in the Ts'ün Wan area is seldom seen outside it—namely, the pineapple: it is grown on the steep hill slopes, generally among pine trees, which help to hold the otherwise unprotected soil together; even so, washouts in pineapple patches are not uncommon. For this reason they can only be grown on compact, clayey soil; for the loose gravel of decayed granite would be washed away by the first heavy rains unless terraced. Shing Moon valley, above the reservoir, used to be a centre of this kind of cultivation: now the land has been resumed by Government and the people have moved to other parts of the Territory, and have started growing pineapples near their new homes.

On entering the Ts'ün Wan plain the first noteworthy object we pass is the grave of the ancestor of the Tang family, marked by two octagonal pillars which stand just above the road. The hillside around has been laid out as a garden by the family, and the grave is considered to possess better "fung-shui" than any other in the Colony. Above and below it is a prehistoric site, with both coarse and high-fired pottery, and other objects. Rounding a little hill, we cross a wide stream, and about 300 yards up this



is a group of mills worked by waterwheels: these work wooden hammers, which pound clay and sandalwood for making incense sticks; the clay prevents rapid burning when mixed in the right proportion with sandalwood powder. A little further on, near Muk Min Ha (under the cotton-tree) is a big stream which has built up a delta of sand and boulders washed down from Taimoshan, and much of Ts'ün Wan is built on such material.

By the police station—such stations are always built near important villages—is a branch road to the famous Shing Moon reservoir, rising through mountain scenery of ever-increasing grandeur and beauty to the valley where it lies, deep in the folds of the Colony's greatest mountains, Taimoshan, Grassy Hill, Needle Hill, and Smugglers Ridge, and soon to become a forest reserve. The main road keeps on to Ha K'wai Ch'ung, the group of villages on Gindrinkers Bay. The hilly peninsula dividing this bay from Ts'ün Wan has unusually red soil, marking, like the soil by Taipo Market, the margin of the Taimoshan igneous mass, which is of different composition from the rest. On its south side is a prehistoric site in a sandbank behind a beach. It is one of the later sites, for a stone mould for casting axes was found there.

The road now climbs the ridge of Laichikok Pass, the lowest point of the Kowloon range. Looking back from near the top, a last view is caught of Hong Kong's largest mountain; its whole majestic south flank rises before you, clad below in pinewoods and varied by the square patches of pineapple, above in grass, green in summer, purple-brown in winter; its great flanking ridges east and west rising to lofty heights, and its base planted in the island-studded sea.

The journey is likely to end towards evening. If so, one last spectacle is offered to the traveller: the view of Hong Kong and its harbour in the twilight, with the lights rising towards and mingling with the stars—a fitting climax to such a feast of beauty as is worth travelling half round the world to see.

## THE CONFLICT BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA

BY CHING-CHUN WANG, PH.D., LL.D.

(Former Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway.)

### CHINA'S CHANCES

TO-DAY China is engaged in a conflict with a Power which, militarily speaking, is very much stronger than herself. Nobody who has personal knowledge of China would describe her as being warlike, or as prone to engage in military adventures. It is China's natural tendency—a tendency, in truth, which is not without its weaknesses—to compromise whenever she can. But China was compelled, by bitter experience, to realize that a point had been reached at which compromise would, in fact, have left her with few of the things for which compromise was worth making. As General Chiang Kai-shek solemnly declared last year, "We shall not relinquish peace until there is no hope for peace. We shall not talk lightly of sacrifice until we are driven to the last extremity which makes sacrifice inevitable." To-day China is fighting for her national existence and for the purpose of saving her people from Japan's pan-Asiatic schemes.

But what the anxious world wants to know is this: What are Japan's chances of success in "beating China to her knees," and what would be the consequences should Japan succeed? In order to answer these questions we must dispassionately examine the whole situation and match the factors that are against with those that are in favour of Japan's success.

First of all the Chinese, although "hopelessly inferior in equipment, are resisting the Japanese attacks with astonishing resolution and courage in the face of immense losses and the breaking of that resistance is still far distant yet." China has the man-power, and the events of the last twelve months have proved that she also has the courage and the endurance. With a moderate supply of munitions China feels confident of being equal to this task that has been forced upon her. Moreover, all information seems to indicate that either the invaders will be gradually worn down or both belligerents will become totally exhausted.

On the other hand, Japanese hopes of a quick victory were disappointed months ago. Their military plans have been much delayed. The Japanese army occupy most of the railways, but they exercise little control beyond narrow strips of territory along these railways. Their lines of communication are constantly interrupted, while their garrisons are often menaced. They have won battles but have secured little that is of decisive value.



## RUSSIA

Next to China, Russia would suffer the most should Japan succeed in breaking China's resistance. Whether as Empire or as Soviet Union, Russia has been intensely interested in the Far East ever since the days of Peter the Great. With her enormous stretches of land and sea frontier in the Far East Russia cannot divest herself of that interest. On the contrary the Soviet Government has recognized the importance of its Far Eastern possessions more than ever before, as shown by the fact that in the course of the first Five-Year Plan it sank in Eastern Siberia more industrial capital than the Tsarist Governments had done in the whole of Russian history.

Russia must seize the earliest opportunity to resist Japan's continental adventures because she knows Japan's designs on Eastern Siberia. Japan's large expeditionary force sent into Siberia in 1919, her support of Seminov in opposing the Soviet in 1920, and her prolonged occupation of Nicolaivsk during 1921-23, to mention only a few events, must have demonstrated clearly to the Russians that Japan's "lifeline" after having moved steadily onward from the Japanese channel through Korea and the Liaotung Peninsula will not voluntarily stop at the borders of Manchuria and Jehol.

The Japanese occupation of North China, which is already far advanced, will soon form a ring around Outer Mongolia and lay bare a thousand miles of Siberian frontier. By a glance at the map anyone familiar with Far Eastern affairs will be able to realize that Russian territorial possessions east of the Baikal will be at Japan's mercy the moment Japan's position in North China is consolidated.

If Russia can help China to stop Japan's invasion the risk of the concerted German-Japanese attack on herself, which is her nightmare, may be averted. Moreover, if Russia ever finds herself the object of such an attack, which has become more apparent since the German-Japanese agreement of 1936, it will be a great help to her to have the collaboration of China. The fighting during the last twelve months shows that even from a purely military point of view help given to China will bring adequate returns. On the other hand, insufficient support would enable Japan to consolidate her long-planned wedge between China and Russia and would make Chinese assistance not available when it is needed. Such a situation would enable Japan to hold Germany and Italy, with Poland and Hungary, as trump cards. Then the U.S.S.R. would find herself with a hand difficult to win.

The Soviet seems to realize fully the dangers of Japan's plan of expansion. We need only recall Stalin's words to Mr. Roy

Howard a little over a year ago when he said in unmistakable terms that a Japanese attack on Outer Mongolia would lead to a Soviet-Japanese war. There is hardly any doubt that those words still hold good. But Japan has already attacked and occupied Inner Mongolia, and nobody can tell where Inner Mongolia ends and where Outer Mongolia begins. If Russia is forced by reasons of her own or otherwise to play a waiting game and refrain from taking action, as a policy, until she is attacked she would be playing right into Japan's hands, for Japan will see to it that Russia would only be attacked when the time for attack would suit Japan best, and Russia worst. Indeed, such a waiting policy would be like in a game of bridge to tell your opponents beforehand what your trump cards are and precisely when you will play any one of them.

Should Japan succeed in breaking China's resistance, the only step that could prevent the consequent conflict between Japan and Russia would be for Russia to surrender her rights east of the Baikal, because Japan could never feel secure with the Maritime Provinces in the hands of the Russians. In fact, nothing is so disquieting to Japan as Vladivostock with its concentration of Soviet bombers, which the Japanese consider a constant danger to Japan's back door.

Even the combined Anglo-American fleet is less annoying to Japan than the Soviet Air Force in Eastern Siberia, because important areas of Japan are within easy range of Soviet bombers operating from that region. Of all the eventualities one thing is certain: as soon as Japan's position in China is consolidated she would seize the first opportunity to secure control of the Maritime Provinces so as to prevent that area from being used as air bases by Russia or any other nation.

These brief references lead to the inevitable conclusion that Russia's own interests demand that she must act. The only reason for her hesitation seems to be (1) she is much weakened by her political purges; (2) she might not be too confident of internal solidarity in case of war with Japan, and (3) she is doubtful of the ultimate attitude of Great Britain and the U.S.A. The elimination of any one of these three weak points in the scheme of the Soviet's plan would most likely see Russia taking an active part. When she does so she would also be fighting the battle of the Western democracies.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

Next to Russia Great Britain has the most genuine reasons to be alarmed by the Japanese invasion of China. British interest in the Far East is as vital as it is extensive. Her investments and shipping enterprises dominate the whole Chinese coast as well



as the Yangtze Valley. Her steel, cotton and woollen goods occupy an enviable position in China's growing market; to say nothing of Hongkong, Singapore, India and her South Sea possessions. These extensive British interests in the Far East in general and those in China in particular are increasingly threatened by Japan's invasion.

It is clear that Japan is planning to take over Britain's place in the Far East, which is badly needed by Japan's rapidly expanding trade. Much headway has already been made, in spite of the widespread prejudice against things Japanese which prevails as a direct result of Japan's military activities in China. The inroad made by Japan into Britain's place in the Far East is only checked by British prestige, laboriously built up during the last hundred years, and the goodwill won by Sir Austen Chamberlain's friendly gesture in 1924, Lord Willingdon's mission to China in 1926, and Lord Lytton's far-sighted statesmanship in 1932.

Australia is becoming increasingly alarmed by Japan's expansionist activities. To alleviate Australia's fear Tokyo often has to issue official denials of any aggressive designs in Australia. In September, 1936, the Japanese Foreign Office even took the pains of establishing a South Seas Bureau for the special purpose of putting an end to the talk of Japanese territorial designs. This step, however, was followed two months later by the German-Japanese agreement, which was reported to involve the Dutch East Indies with a common frontier with Australia's New Guinea. This agreement naturally has not helped the Australians to accept Tokyo's assurances wholeheartedly.

It is now generally recognized that the failure of Great Britain and the United States to co-operate in stopping Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1932 is largely responsible for the Abyssinian and the Spanish catastrophes, both of which immediately affect Britain's safety. Further weakening of the forces of collective security by allowing Japan "to beat China to her knees" would do incalculable damage to Britain's position East of Suez. As Lord Curzon\* once said, "The fate of Great Britain will not be decided in Europe but on the Continent from which our forbears once came and to which their descendants returned as conquerors." Indeed, several English publicists observed recently,† "If Britain were to shirk all share of responsibility for the restraint of violence in such a case as China's the moral and material means of protecting this sprawling Empire against violence will not be

\* Quoted in the *Spectator*, August 27, 1937, p. 339.

† Vide W. Arnold Forster's letter in the *Manchester Guardian*, September 30, 1937, Sir Norman Angell's article in *News Chronicle* of October 1, 1937, and Sir A. L. Rowse's letter in the *London Times* of September 3, 1937.

forthcoming." Therefore, quite apart from its moral aspects, Britain should and must oppose Japan's subjugation of China.

The recent establishment of a separate department in the Japanese Foreign Office to watch developments in the Dutch East Indies confirms the opinion frequently expressed in Holland that a new stage has been reached in Japan's southward policy. The possession of the large Chinese island of Hainan, about the size of Sicily, south of Canton, long coveted by Japan, forms one of the primary objectives of Japan's war on China to-day.\* Once the Canton hinterland and Hainan are in Japan's hands the position of Annam and Hongkong would be untenable. Therefore, France and Holland, no less than Great Britain, are most anxious to prevent Japan's control of China.

Even Germany and Italy, members of the Axis, are by no means enthusiastic for Japan's expansion on the Continent, for no ideological sympathy with Japan could comfort either Germany or Italy for the loss of their Chinese market either through exclusion from it by Japanese competition or by the effects of Japan's armies of invasion.†

#### THE UNITED STATES

Last but not the least, the United States has serious reasons to be alarmed by the Japanese invasion of China. Besides the violation of the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, both of which were sponsored by her statesmen, America's interest in the Pacific is substantial. Her longest sea-coast is on the Pacific. Hawaii, which is American territory, and the Philippines, which are under American protection, are on the Pacific; and these islands form the front line in the way of Japan's expansion, while Alaska is nearer to Japan than most other territorial possessions of the Western nations. Though the United States plan to withdraw from the Philippines, this withdrawal will take many years to come into effect, and before the completion of that withdrawal all manner of things may happen in that part of the world. Moreover, after having wrested these islands from Spain and ruled over them for so many years with such excellent results, can the United States permit them to slip into Japanese hands even after her withdrawal? Will not such a retreat so weaken her prestige and so enhance Japan's as to expose Hawaii and parts of South America to some untoward consequences?

For generations American foreign policy has been based on

\* *Vide Sunday Times*, London, October 10, 1937, the *Daily Telegraph* of June 15 and July 5, 1938, and the Debate in Parliament concerning the "threat to Hainan," in the *London Times* of June 28, 1938.

† *Vide* report of the *Daily Telegraph's* Berlin Correspondent in the *Daily Telegraph* of January 27 and 29, 1938.



the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door. Although different in name the two doctrines in spirit were originated to serve the same purpose\* of affording protection to her neighbours to the south and to the west so that they may develop peacefully and serve as open markets. By its provision for China's territorial and administrative integrity, the Nine-Power Treaty has gone a long way further in bringing the Open Door policy to the level of the Monroe Doctrine.

Apart from the consideration of the trade possibilities around the Pacific which to her are of paramount importance, and her traditional desire for peace and fair play which accounts for her greatness, the United States would consider the attack on any South American nation by any Power as a threat to her own safety. In addressing the Brazilian Congress in the summer of 1937 President Roosevelt undoubtedly voiced the opinion of all good Americans when he stated in unmistakable terms that "We cannot countenance aggression from wherever it may come. . . ."

When the open door was first introduced probably the commercial and moral considerations were uppermost in the minds of its founders. The development of aviation as an instrument of war, however, has raised the safety factor of the Open Door policy to the same level as that of the Monroe Doctrine. A rational examination of the map will at once reveal that the threat to the safety of America could not come from Europe but from Asia. The Atlantic makes it quite impossible for any European nation or combination of nations to prepare sufficient naval or air forces to attempt an invasion of America. On the Pacific side, however, America is not nearly so invulnerable. The Behring Strait, which separates America's back door at Alaska from the mainland of Asia, is not much wider than the English Channel. Weather conditions in that region are known to be not unfavourable to flying during a greater part of the year. It will not require much imagination to visualize that with Eastern Siberia in the hands of a hostile militaristic nation, much annoyance if not trouble could be expected at America's back door from air forces using that region.†

The reason why the average American would almost at once take action against any invasion of Argentine or Chile but would at the same time remain complacently indifferent to aggression

\* See Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck's able article in *Amerasia*, August, 1937, which contains this significant passage: "This country has but one foreign policy, a policy animated by principles which are applicable—and which it seeks to apply—in relation with all countries, everywhere."

† The map of Mr. H. Hughes' recent round-the-world flight must have made the close relationship between Alaska and Eastern Siberia more vivid than ever before.

that threatened Eastern Siberia must be largely due to the fact that America and Asia always appear on different pages of maps. This printer's habit seems to have created the impression that the two hemispheres are on separate globes and that Cape Horn is nearer to Texas than East Cape is to Alaska.

Many important American leaders, however, have long looked at the situation differently. Among others Senator Pitman and Senator Lewis have on more than one occasion warned the American people of the dangers from the back door of Alaska. American strategists have been quietly paying increased attention to the Aleutian Islands. President Roosevelt himself seems to be specially conscious of the back-door situation, as shown by the fact that he has seized the opportunity of each one of his recent goodwill trips to Canada to discuss the United States-Alaska highway.

It is only natural for these American leaders to show equal concern regarding the back door in the north as well as the front door in the south, because it is inconceivable that the United States would only show concern about attacks of her neighbours in the western hemisphere simply because they happen to be situated on a piece of land which, ages ago, happened to be named America, but would ignore much more wanton attacks on other neighbours much nearer to her own boundaries simply because these nearer neighbours happen to be situated on another piece of land bearing a different name. When the whole situation is taken into consideration, one can perceive that President Roosevelt must have had America's back door in mind when he said at Chicago last winter:

"The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which are to-day creating this international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality."

Apart from moral and economic considerations, America is a Pacific Power whose defences by virtue of her geographical position are closely linked with the fate of Eastern Asia. President Roosevelt's attitude as shown in his Chicago speech has done much to rally the forces of peace and of international justice to a cause which in its Far Eastern aspect is profoundly relevant to the future of the United States.

#### CONCLUSION

At long last the world is aroused from its dangerous complacency. People everywhere realize that it is to the interest of the whole world—and not least of Japan—that the wasting strife



should be brought to a speedy end. At Chicago President Roosevelt voiced not only the feelings of the Americans but the conviction of all right-thinking people when he urged as a matter of common sense that Japan's military adventure should be quarantined.

China is the first to suffer from this epidemic of militarist fanaticism because she happens to be the nearest neighbour of Japan. China is fighting this epidemic in the face of great odds and enormous sacrifices; but she feels confident to have the will and the courage to bring the momentous struggle to a successful end. She does not ask her friends to share the sacrifices in the loss of life and property. All she asks of the peace-loving nations is (1) to let her have a reasonable amount of arms and munitions which they can easily spare; (2) to stop buying things Japanese. China asks for arms, because determination and sacrifice alone cannot resist for ever Japan's gigantic war machine. She asks the peace-loving nations to stop buying Japanese goods because every penny spent on Japanese goods would contribute to Japan's war chest in making the invasion more protracted.

By manipulating Chinese tariffs and currency and by Japanese-controlled police "advice" as to what to buy, Japan could soon drive out most of the foreign trade from China, as she has already done from Korea and Manchuria, thus turning the whole Chinese market into another private Japanese reserve. Moreover, with the control of China's railways, telegraphs, customs and salt revenues, agricultural and mineral resources, Japan could secure the sinews of war that would be envied by the most powerful nations.

Ruthless and frequent combings of the countryside, together with the "spiritual hygiene" to be administered by the "mental police" in the cities, could go far to remove opposition, while missionaries of the Pan-Asiatic doctrine would regiment Chinese thought by exploiting China's disappointment over the West's indifference, which they could magnify into the West's betrayal. Schools, radio, films, newspapers, mysticism, Buddhism, Confucianism and even Christianity could be conscripted, as already being done in North China, to preach the gospel of "Asiaticism." To these, when intimidation and the "chain guarantee system" of holding the clans responsible for the behaviour of their individual members are added, Japan could get control of China's colossal man-power. Within a few years the nations with vital interests in the Pacific and the Far East would have to throw up their hands in despair at the "Frankenstein monster" which is today being brought into being with their own oil and trade patronage. Everything east of the Urals and the Suez would be fundamentally affected.

Should Japan succeed in breaking down China's resistance, in spite of her financial weakness today, then who could reasonably question Japan's conviction that she could do what Chengis Khan did, once she got control of China's resources and man-power, while being protected by the myriads of strategic islands in the Western Pacific? And we must not forget that many Japanese claim that Chengis Khan himself was a Japanese.

One thing is certain. The events of the last twelve months have shown clearly that China would resist to the bitter end, until the invaders are driven out; for years there would be widespread uprisings, disorder, famine, epidemic and chaos over the occupied areas, with unthinkable sufferings for millions of people and with crushing blows to the trade of all nations.

In case Japan succeeded in breaking China's resistance the following calamitous events would take place: The liberal elements would be further discredited, while the position of the militarists now in control at Tokyo would be greatly strengthened. The latter would be able to carry the whole Japanese nation with them in pushing forward their long-planned expansionist schemes and could convince the Chinese people that the Christian countries only render lip service, that China has no real friend, and that it would be suicidal for China to resist Japan, who can successfully defy all the Great Powers.

The Chinese Republic as conceived by its founder is modelled after France, Great Britain and the United States. In spite of its shortcomings, the Chinese Government has constantly aimed at building up a democracy that will take care of its own people and contribute its share to the promotion of law and order in the community of nations. Despite great difficulties, China has made remarkable progress in national unification as well as in material and spiritual progress. As is well recognized by some leading statesmen of to-day, she has already rendered much service to the cause of peace by causing "exemplary discomfiture" to aggression. With moderate help—indeed, even with the materials discarded as obsolete by the Western democracies—China will be able to bring Japan to her senses before Japan can beat China to her knees.

The events since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 clearly show that the outcome of this undeclared war will decide whether China is to remain an independent nation and continue her efforts for internal progress and international co-operation, or whether China's resources and man-power should be controlled and exploited by Japan. These are the grim realities that confront the world today.



## THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND SOME DOMINION COMPARISONS

BY DR. ANWAR IQBAL QURESHI

(The author, who is head of the Economics Department in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, has recently toured in the Dominions and studied agricultural conditions.)

### THE PROBLEM

FROM time immemorial agriculture has played a predominant part in the national economy of our country, and in spite of recent tendencies towards industrialization, agriculture is bound to be our main industry for many years to come. The vague talk of India's glorious industrial past and the dream of seeing India as a highly industrialized country in the immediate future, has done more harm to the interest of the country as a whole than any material good, because it has diverted the attention of the country to uncertain future possibilities and has caused us to shun the issue. Agriculture has not received the attention that was due to it as the chief industry of the country, and has been rather neglected until very recently, both by the people and by the Government. No doubt attempts were made by the Government from time to time to do "something," and as early as 1839 the East India Company invited twelve American cotton planters to show how cotton could be grown, and in 1865 the Madras Government imported steam ploughs and other improved implements to improve the condition of agriculture, but these efforts did not yield much result.

The Famine Commission of 1880 drew the attention of the Government to the sad plight of agriculture, but no organized effort was made by the Government until the Famine Commission of 1901 emphasized in very strong words the necessity for definite State efforts to help the agriculturists. It was Lord Curzon's Government which gave the matter the sympathetic attention which it deserved. The provincial departments of agriculture were properly organized, experimental stations and agricultural colleges were established in the major provinces, and a Central Research Institute was set up at Pusa.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms promised a new era for Indian agriculture, as from now on agriculture was to be a transferred subject in charge of a Minister, and it was expected that this rather neglected industry would receive a great stimulus.

The importance of agriculture was duly realized by the Ministers in charge of agriculture, but as they had no control over the finances of the provinces nothing very material could be done. However, during this period one very important event took place, and that was the appointment of a Royal Commission with Lord Linlithgow as its chairman. The Commission made a very thorough investigation and submitted a report which can be considered as a Bible of Indian agriculture and its problems. It was unfortunate that shortly after the publication of this important report the economic horizon of the world became so overcast and two years later the severest economic depression began in which India was involved with other countries. Prices began to fall tremendously. Farming, which even in the days of prosperity was not a very profitable profession, became a great liability. Farmers could not even cover the cost of production. Unlike manufacturers, they could not "close," as farming is not only a profession but is also a mode of living, and farms cannot be closed like factories. When farmers were faced with decreasing prices they tried to produce more in order to make up for the difference, and thus glutted the market and themselves accentuated the depression. The finances of the Government dwindled considerably, and in order to balance their budgets, economies had to be effected, and unfortunately the axe of retrenchment fell on the beneficial departments.

However, the depression has taught us many useful lessons. It has made the industrial countries of the world realize that a very close relationship exists between agriculture and industry, and that it is in the interest of the industries themselves to desire a prosperous agriculture. It was discovered during this great depression that, owing to the decreased expenditure by farmers there was less demand for industrial products and many factories had to be closed, leaving a vast army of unemployed. This army of unemployed was unable to buy as many agricultural products as previously, owing to decreased purchasing power. These millions of unemployed created many difficult problems and brought home with greater force another great lesson: that industrialization at the expense of agriculture was not a wise policy. As a result, we find today in leading industrial countries of Europe and the United States of America a regular campaign being carried on to urge people to go back to the land. During the period of depression farmers suffered badly, but still they could work on their fields and produce enough to feed themselves and their families. The depression also showed the advantage of small-scale farming. The farmers who were not greatly dependent for their livelihood on the export of their products fared much better than those who produced on a large scale for the markets of the world. India,



which is a home of small-scale subsistence farms, fared much better in the depression than other agricultural countries that were mainly producing for export. In considering the problems of Indian agriculture these valuable experiences should not be lost sight of.

The introduction of autonomy in the provinces has given the purse strings into the hands of elected Ministers, and the Cabinets in the majority of the provinces that made definite pledges in their electioneering campaign to improve the farmer's lot have been giving serious attention to the problems of the farmers. Therefore it will be worth our while to place the problem in its proper setting and then evolve the best and most efficient methods to achieve that end. And in this connection it is worth while to look at the other Empire countries and see what they have done for their farmers and how far we can follow their example. The problem is a complex one, and in order to examine it more thoroughly and critically it is advisable to split it into its component parts—(1) Better living conditions, (2) better farming, (3) better marketing—and to study each part separately. As existence comes before business, we shall first take up the question of better living.

#### BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS

Man has been aptly described as the creature of his environments. This is particularly true of the Indian farmer, because he has a very rigid and circumscribed environment in which he lives and moves. From times immemorial he has been living in a village which until very recently has been cut off from all external influences. Owing to the lack of means of communication and transport and to his natural inborn conservatism, the Indian farmer lives in a world of his own. Except for a change here and there, which at some places is quite conspicuous, he still lives in the same way as his great-grandfather. The housing conditions in Indian villages are terrible, the congestion unbelievable, and the lack of fresh air and light very striking. A child born in this atmosphere, brought up by an illiterate mother, and growing up without any beneficial external influences, can never become a satisfactory farmer or a respectable citizen.

Whatever may have been the justification for such a state of living in the past, it should not be tolerated in the future, and the foremost task of any society or state should be to devote more attention to making him a better man and to improving his environment, and in due course of time, if this essential is achieved, he is bound to become a better farmer and a better business man. England, which in the last half of the nineteenth century was an

individualistic country to the very core and where the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was supreme, was the first country to realize the importance of improving man, and it was with this idea in view that free compulsory education began to be provided by the State. We find in India today that every scheme of betterment is retarded, owing to the fact that the masses are absolutely illiterate.

The most striking difference which I noticed in my travels in the Empire countries was between the Indian and the Dominion farmer as a man. I was shown many typical farms in Australia and New Zealand. I shall briefly describe one of them to show what better living means. I went to see a farmer. He was working in his field with his two sons. They were ploughing with the help of a team of horses. At this time they looked rather rough and shabby. In the afternoon I was invited to tea. I was taken to the most charming farmhouse that I have ever seen in my life. It was absolutely clean and everything was well arranged. In the living-room I found several agricultural papers, one technical journal and a number of books, some dealing with the problem of farming and others of a more general nature. On one side there was a piano, and the mistress of the house entertained me to music. When my host came in after a wash and change I could hardly recognize him. He was very neatly dressed in a lounge suit, and I was surprised at the extent of knowledge which he possessed of the markets and prices ruling therein. The farm quite fitted the description that we read in English poems. A child brought up in that open air and sunshine, with that neatness of surroundings, knowledge and culture, would certainly be a great asset to any state in the world. In India we find that there is a great antipathy shown by the educated classes to agricultural pursuits.

Many of the improvements which have been brought about in agriculture in European countries have been mostly due to highly educated farmers. Therefore it was considered that as long as educated persons were not made to take to the land—persons who have thoroughly studied the science and practice of agriculture, are rooted in the soil, and are familiar with village life—it was not possible to achieve any permanent results in creating a better peasantry in India. But we should ask ourselves why educated persons shun agriculture, why landlords want to live away from their estates and why the sons of farmers who get an inkling of education do not want to stay on the farm. The answer to all these questions is that the living conditions in the Indian villages are so bad and life so dull that it hardly affords any attraction for a person possessed of any imagination and intelligence to live there. Unless and until living conditions



in Indian villages are improved many of our most important problems cannot be solved. It is a great shame that the majority of our university students do not possess any experience of village life. I have made enquiries, and have found that about 80 per cent. of students in our universities have never spent a night in a village.

Another reason for the poor state of agriculture and the agriculturist in India is the absence of leaders. The scarcity of village leaders and the lack of interest shown by the educated middle classes in village life is very largely due to the unattractiveness of the village and its uncleanness. Lest it may be considered that I am laying undue stress on the problem of better living, I may here quote Sir John Russell, who remarks: "The efforts to improve agriculture are likely to be unavailing, unless the villages are improved and made fit for good cultivators to live in. This work has a deep personal side and could never be accomplished without enthusiasm and missionary spirit."\* In this connection the British Dominions provide a very good example for India to follow. In every settlement every possible effort has been made to provide the decent amenities of life to the settlers and to make life worth living. There was a great opportunity for the provincial Governments to build better villages in the new canal colonies, but unfortunately this opportunity has been lost. It is highly desirable that in future all settlements should be on a group basis, and the village should be properly planned and provided with all reasonable amenities of life and facilities for play and recreation before settlers are allowed to cultivate their new lands.

Until and unless living conditions are improved in Indian villages, and the life of these teeming millions is improved, and they are made to realize what happy home life means, all talk of better farming and better business is useless. The British Dominions, where the main profession of the people is agriculture, provide a good lesson to India that the standard of living can be considerably increased, even of those who mainly depend on agriculture. To create an ambition in the hearts of these millions to *live* and not only to exist should be the chief motto of the better-living campaign, and for that purpose more and more co-operative societies should be started in every corner of the country. It must be clearly realized that better living cannot be imposed from the top. It must come from within, and no effort should be made to achieve quick results; rather, attention should be devoted to achieving permanent improvements by creating a desire in the hearts of the people to help themselves.

\* Report of the Work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in applying Science to Crop-production in India, by Sir John Russell, p. 223. Government of India Press, Simla.

In this connection the improvement in the lot of every farmer's wife and daughter is a necessity, and no effort should be spared to educate the future wives and mothers, as they are the very basis of our civilization. A colossal amount of work will have to be done before Indian villages become fit to live in, but there is no cause for despair.

The conditions in Australia and New Zealand fifty years ago were far from satisfactory, but all difficulties have been overcome by patience and hard work. The provision of the simple amenities of life and of simple sports and recreations will go a long way to brighten the lives of our farmers. The radio affords a welcome pleasure, provided the programmes are made to suit the taste of the villagers. During my travels in the British Dominions and the United States of America I found two agencies which were considered responsible for the better life in the villages; one was the influence of the schoolteacher, and the other that of the village priest. It is a misfortune in the greatest degree (and no efforts should be spared to remove it) that the schoolmaster and the priest do not carry healthy influence in the Indian village, and have failed to play the part that their colleagues have played in other parts of the world. In India, where illiteracy is so widespread, it is all the more necessary that the village schoolmaster should be made to carry on the work of rural reconstruction. At present these teachers are too poorly paid to possess any self-respect. The Government should do all that is in its power to increase their status. In a religious country like India, where people have more or less a blind faith in religion, the priest could become a vital factor in the work of improvement only if he were better educated himself, and had not to depend on the charity of the villagers for his livelihood. No effort should be spared to educate these priests and make them economically independent.

These are the two persons—the teacher and the priest—who know the farmers and their problems intimately, and everything possible should be done to utilize them in the work of rural reconstruction.

#### BETTER FARMING

We have laid a good deal of stress on better living in the Indian villages, but that is only possible when there are adequate means of livelihood. When a farmer has an annual income on an average of four to five pounds he can hardly maintain a decent standard of living. There is no denying the fact that an Indian farmer is a very frugal, shrewd and intelligent person, and makes the very best use of his land according to his resources in eking out a living from it; but we find that he is handicapped in various essential



fundamentals, and as long as these obstacles remain no farmer in the world, however intelligent and resourceful he may be, can earn a decent living.

In the first place, we find that the unit of his farming is not big enough. The average size of a holding in India is not more than eight acres, and in many provinces this average drops to three or four acres. Not only is his unit of production small, but it is hopelessly subdivided and fragmented. He has hardly any facilities for irrigation, and, on top of all this, he suffers from all the vagaries of nature. Who could stand up against such trying conditions successfully? The over-dependence on nature makes his outlook on life rather fatalistic, and gradually his despair reaches such depths that he begins to refuse to have faith in any preventive measures. The alarming rate of increase in the population is a very serious factor, which unfortunately had not been fully realized in India, and the problem has not been properly analyzed in all its probable effects. The increasing pressure of population on the soil must be taken very seriously. During the period 1921-31, while the population increased by 10 per cent., the area under cultivation increased only by 1 per cent.

There are three possible remedies to lessen the pressure of population on the soil: (1) Colonization, both internal and external; (2) absorption in other industries; (3) the attainment of better results by intensive exploitation of the soil and by other improvements.

(1) As far as the migration outside India is concerned, the matter is not in our own hands, and unfortunately there are not many countries who are prepared to receive our immigrants. The possibilities of internal colonization have not received the attention that they deserve. Some useful work can be done in this field, but it does not offer great scope.

(2) There is a growing belief in India that the main solution of our agricultural problems lies in developing the industrial resources of the country and thus relieving the pressure of population on the soil. It appears an excellent idea and quite simple to put into practice; for nobody denies the great desirability of developing the immense resources of our vast sub-continent. But when we examine the matter more analytically and dispassionately, we find it a very hard problem indeed. From 1921 to 1931, in the course of ten years, the population of our country increased by over thirty-two millions, which is greater than the population of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada and Eire combined. During the same period, in spite of the great industrial development of the country, there was hardly any increase in the number of persons employed. With the development of industries on a larger scale, more and more labour-saving devices are



bound to come into use, thus making it impossible to create further outlets for work for such an increasing population.

There is another school of thought in the country that believes that we should develop our industries irrespective of the cost and try to make our country self-sufficient for all our requirements. If this view is accepted, we have to ask ourselves what is going to happen to some of our agricultural products, which are mainly produced for export and for which there is very little demand in the country—as, for instance, tea (90 per cent. of which is exported), jute, etc.—and what is going to happen to the persons who will be displaced from agriculture? I am afraid the question has not been properly considered and due weight has not been given to all the implications involved in it. If we are not going to buy from other countries certainly they will not be eager to buy from us. We cannot have the cake and eat it. The result of this policy will be that we shall be thrown back on our own resources, the advantages of the territorial division of labour will be denied to us, and if our aims are purely economic this policy has nothing to recommend it.

(3) Now we shall examine the third and the only alternative left to us. As a very substantial majority depends on the cultivation of soil for their livelihood, it is quite obvious that the condition of this industry must be improved if this vast population is to get any tangible relief. The average yield of various crops in India per acre is considerably less than in many other countries. The quality of the seed sown is generally indifferent, and the soil is starved of manures, and the amount of capital invested in agriculture in India is ridiculously small, the result being that there is a great lack of permanent improvements. The future welfare of the country lies in giving full and proper attention to agriculture and sparing no effort in putting the capital and the achievement of science at the disposal of the farmer. Very valuable scientific work is carried on by the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research under its five different sections—viz., (1) Agriculture, (2) Chemistry, (3) Botany, (4) Mycology, (5) Entomology. This institution is one of the finest research institutes in the world, and I think easily one of the best and the biggest in the British Empire, but its fundamental drawback has been that this fine work has not been placed at the disposal of the farmer to any considerable extent. “The investigation fostered by the council should be for the express purpose of improving agriculture. The great need now is for full use of existing knowledge, rather than the accumulation of more knowledge, for work on the cultivator’s field rather than work in the laboratory.”\*

The condition of the Indian farmer can be considerably im-

\* Sir John Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 215.



proved by better and more efficient farming methods, especially by growing improved types of crops, the discovery of new varieties by selection and breeding, better control of pests and diseases, the conservation of soil fertility, and proper apportionment of manures and growing fodder crops. Careful attention should also be given to the ultimate aim for which crops are grown, as different markets need different varieties. Another important problem for Indian agriculture is that of cattle. But it is difficult to discuss it rationally, owing to religious susceptibilities. We possess the largest but probably the worst heads of cattle in the world, and surely it is time that we should tackle this problem firmly, courageously, and try to solve it.

### BETTER MARKETING

In the world of today, where production is carried on for the markets of the world, no producer, however efficient he may be in the technique of production, is likely to succeed if he lacks business ability and is unable to market his goods efficiently. The problem of farm management and the marketing of agricultural products is far more important today than it was at the beginning of the century. No competent observer has ever doubted the skill of an Indian peasant as a farmer, but the general opinion is that as far as the business side of his vocation is concerned he does not possess any knowledge of it. It was not such a grave handicap fifty years ago, when he was living on subsistence economy, but it is a most serious drawback today when he is producing for the market. The weakest link in the chain of Indian agriculture is the farmer himself and his absolute lack of business ability. He borrows money at recklessly high rates of interest without the knowledge of what this credit costs him. This is bad enough; but, worse still, he does not know what it will bring him and cost in the future. He keeps no accounts, and his methods of selling are almost primitive. As a consequence he loses at every point, with the result that in spite of his hard work and frugality he cannot even make both ends meet. However, it must be realized that, although he has carried on the profession of farming from generation to generation, the business side is altogether new to him and is a phenomenon of recent origin.

It is rather unfortunate that until recently this side has been practically neglected in India both by the farmers and by the Government. Although the Government did make very laudable efforts as early as 1904, by starting the co-operative movement to provide credit to the farmers at reasonable rates of interest and to save them from the clutches of moneylenders, unfortunately the movement as a whole has not been successful except in a few pro-

vinces; but even in those provinces the movement has been mostly confined to the provision of short-term and intermediate credit. And the credit without the education to use it and the business ability to profit by it, which was altogether lacking in the farmer, has not been altogether an unmixed blessing. Even in the field of credit no effort was made until very recently to provide long-term credit, and the marketing side has not been developed to any extent at all.

In this connection we can have very good guidance from the British Dominions that have made provision for long-term credit for development purposes, and have organized an excellent system of marketing. They attach due value to publicity and the advertisement of farm products in the overseas markets. In Australia very valuable work has been done by the various marketing boards which, through wide publicity campaigns, have captured and developed overseas markets for the products of Australian farmers. Hundreds of thousands of pounds are spent every year to advertise Australian products abroad. The Farmers' Co-operative Organization is doing excellent work in linking the remotest Australian farmer with the consumers in the biggest cities of the world. The Overseas Farmers' Co-operative Federation, Ltd. (London), which was started by the farmers in Australia and South Africa to sell their farm products, has so far sold the products of the farmers of these Dominions to the extent of one hundred million pounds. The Governments of the Dominions take a very active part in helping the farmers to sell their products in the overseas markets, and in order to maintain the good reputation of these products the Dominions have laid down very strict conditions regarding the standard and the quality of products that are to be exported. No important export product is allowed to leave the shores of any Dominion unless it is examined by Government experts and declared of standard exporting quality. As a result, the Dominion agricultural products enjoy a very good reputation in the European markets.

The whole machinery of marketing of agricultural products in India requires drastic overhauling, and this can be most successfully done if the process begins at the farm. It is one of the most important problems of our agriculture, and no effort should be spared to solve it. The best solution is the improvement of the outlook of the farmer himself, which can only be brought about by education, better living and the development of the spirit of co-operation amongst the farmers themselves.



## LIFE AND SPORT IN SHANTUNG

BY CAPTAIN W. A. POWELL

THE Sino-Japanese War has brought the land of the Dragon once again into the news; but I shall refer here chiefly to the wonderful sport to be enjoyed on the hilly coastland and arable plains of Shantung, bounded on the north by the Gulf of Chihli and on the east by the Yellow Sea, where it is no rare thing for a single gunner to account for as many as a dozen varieties of game between sunrise and sunset.

Shantung is the Holy Land of China. Confucius lived there. Extreme Conservatism prevails there, and such ancient customs as footbinding and the wearing of queues, first adopted after the Manchu conquest in 1644, were abolished with great difficulty by the Reformers in 1904. Its 56,000 square miles, which are rich in minerals, support nearly 37,000,000 inhabitants. Its western portion is a wide alluvial plain, forming the basin of that Yellow River which, owing to its habit of overflowing its banks or changing its course and so devastating the country, has earned for itself the title of "China's Sorrow." Its peasants are for the most part industrious agriculturalists—growing such divers crops as soya beans, the opium poppy, wheat, millet, ground nuts, maize and sweet potatoes—men highly regarded, for farming, in China, is the most highly esteemed of all occupations. The mining of iron, tin, lead and gold gives employment to others, some of whom resort to washing or panning for gold, and even filter the mountain streams with some suitable substitute for sheep's wool, the use of which for this purpose in ancient times in the Middle East doubtless gave rise to the classical myth of the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece.

Between the mountain ranges—the name Shantung means "Mountains of the East"—lie broad estuaries or lagoons, frequented by countless varieties of waterfowl, including innumerable geese, swans, ducks, widgeon and waders. The saltings close to the water's edge merge into wide expanses of coarse grass and reeds which provide ideal cover for quail, hares, sheldrakes and an occasional bustard. Beyond this ground we come to fields of millet, kaoliang and maize, extending to the hillsides and drained by channels overhung by tamarisk bushes which seldom fail to contain teal and snipe. Many of even the steepest hillsides are terraced and cultivated.

The winters are cold here. Consequently much of the in-

digenous timber—dwarf pines, cypresses, walnuts, poplars, pomegranates and wax-trees—has been cut down for fuel. The hillsides, too, are regularly denuded of grass with which the k'angs, the Chinese beds of brick and earth through which flues are constructed, can be heated. But, thanks to the Shantung silk industry, a thick covering of scrub-oak, on which the silk-worms feed, is preserved on many of their lower slopes, and this provides admirable cover for pheasants, woodcock and hares. Finally, above the tree line, amidst outcrops of granite and shale, chukor and rock pigeons provide shooting of a kind to test the hardihood and satisfy the taste of the most energetic and enthusiastic sportsmen.

One approached the region, in pre-war days, from Wei-hai-wei, the port leased to Great Britain by China in 1898 and restored to China, in conformity with the arrangements made at the Washington Conference, in 1922. My diary records one of many typical shoots there in mid-autumn, after the China Squadron had gone south.

Our party consisted of the marine officer, the paymaster, the resident M.O. and myself. As a rule we first visited the tidal inlets or lagoons, as we called them, for wildfowl; but this time, rising early after a convivial evening, the effects of which we were in a hurry to dissipate, we scrambled to the summit of a precipitous ridge beneath which, in sunlit panorama of great enchantment, lay the walled city of Mahto, Leukung Island, Port Edward and the distant Ching-ming-tao or "Cock-crow Island."

The German destroyer whose visit had been the occasion of our festivities had left us. Except for a solitary motor-boat, the distant anchorage, the scene of great bustle during the summer, was deserted; but the little craft's engines could be distinctly heard in the still atmosphere, and the sound recalled an amusing incident at the dinner given, that summer, at the United Services Club, to celebrate the visit of the American Eastern Squadron. There had been a lively discussion of the respective merits of some noisy and new-fangled American motor picket-boats, or power boats as they were termed, and the steam picket-boats of the British cruisers, and the American Admiral had clinched the argument by assuring the British Admiral, the late Sir Hedworth Meux, then Sir Hedworth Lambton, that the British boats would stand about as much chance of catching the American boats "as a dog with wax legs would have of catching an asbestos cat in hell."

The Club premises had once been the Yamen of the Chinese Admiral Ting who committed suicide in mortification at his country's defeat by the Japanese in 1894, and had been transformed into a club by the installation of a bar, a billiard-room,



a bowling-alley and other amenities. Its Chinese barmen were adepts in mixing restoratives and hair-raising draughts, and it had been the scene of much memorable buffoonery, some incidents in which it may be worth while to recall.

One evening, for instance, a fierce argument between two junior N.O.'s resulted in a "duel," the weapons being the contents of two large tins of uncooked sausages. The toss of a coin decided which of the combatants should have the first shy, the loser being required to stand motionless at a distance of about eight paces, each posing in turn as Aunt Sally until the ammunition was exhausted and honour satisfied. On another evening, while we were conversing before the bar, there crashed on to it, without warning, from the dim rafters above, the ponderous form of a large lieutenant from one of the cruisers. Having enjoyed a heavy meal of bacon and eggs and beer, after playing bowls, he had light-heartedly gone aloft and fallen asleep, stretched out on one of the rafters supporting the roof.

But that is a digression. I must return to the shooting.

Next to the bean-geese and brent-geese, the wariest and most exasperating game was the hill-partridge or chukor (*Caccabis chukar*). I have often stalked one of the sparse coveys of these birds with patient care, only to see them, while still out of range, soar, in the most provoking manner, across a ravine to an adjoining spur. The cock bird's note would then be derisively wafted back, for though they might be only 400 yards away, at least half an hour's strenuous trudge over the rock-strewn ravine was necessary in order to reach them.

Mongolian sportsmen, however, circumvent them by crafty means, advancing towards them behind large shields of paper stretched on rattan frames, with bright and fantastic designs painted on them. Many birds and animals which instantly take to flight at the sight of man will stand spellbound for a time at the sight of something novel and grotesque; and the Mongol sportsman, taking cunning advantage of this curiosity of theirs, is able to creep up within range.

On this occasion the paymaster volunteered to drive a distant covey over us, and we anxiously watched a large rock upon which he had promised to appear suddenly after his detour. He duly reached his objective, and from the covey, which made straight for our ridge, we brought down a brace of birds and later picked up a third. But the paymaster was in difficulties. We saw him, exhausted by his exertions, gyrate for a moment on one leg, gesticulate frantically with his gun, and then disappear down a cleft in the rock. Hastening to his assistance, we found him endeavouring to apply first-aid to a rent in his pants and cursing the local tailor.



"Jelly Belly" was that Chinese tailor's name, a name which we bestowed upon him in admiring recognition of his prodigious girth. His fitter was known to us as "Litty More Loo." Though tailoring was only one of many trades which the two followed, they were as renowned in our small outpost as are the exponents of their art in Savile Row at home; but as they cut our clothes in as close imitation as they could of the West End style, they were generally found too tight at the first fitting, and the fitter was, more often than not, obliged to say: "More better me make litty more loo." Hence his sobriquet. The garment now undergoing repair had apparently been of ultra-streamlined pattern, and had burst asunder under the strain suddenly imposed upon it.

Further along the ridge we met a native sportsman—a village headman—carrying two and a half brace of chukor which he had bagged in two shots at sitting coveys with his long-barrelled gingall. He accompanied us until midday and gave some demonstrations of the almost incredible ranges at which he could bowl over hares with this formidable piece of ordnance, into the 48-inch barrel of which he rammed the strangest assortment of scrap metal, and he conducted us to a ridge where a pair of eagle owls had recently nested. We were lucky enough to see both birds at close quarters. They are the largest species of owl, and are fairly common throughout North China and Manchuria, where the natives believe—and ornithologists support their belief—that they live to the venerable age of fifty.

Another bird frequenting these rocky peaks, which it is fascinating to watch, is the large needle-tailed swift (*Acanthyllis caudacuta*), with its black head, brown back, white throat and breast, greenish wing coverts and wing-span of some seventeen inches. We admired it so much, on account of its vigorous flight, that, though it is very good to eat, we always refrained from shooting it. Wolves, too, lurk in the region, descending from the mountains in severe weather to raid the villages. Once, at the request of a village headman, I tried to ambush them by having a pig's entrails dragged along the top of a two-mile ridge and sitting up all night under a rock beside the trail. But the wolves were not tempted, and I watched in vain.

Snipe, on the other hand, were never watched for in vain in any of their known haunts. The Siberian steppes afford them an ideal breeding ground, and they are consequently to be found in far greater abundance throughout the East, from Korea to the Indus, than in Europe. It is nothing out of the way for a single gun to bag two hundred in a day, and they were so plentiful, on one unforgettable day near Nanking, that a good shot might very well have brought down two hundred brace. My own bag was only a quarter of that number. Driving, under such con-



ditions as prevailed there, provided better sport than walking the birds up, though it is not too easy to obtain suitable beaters in the Yangtze valley.

But I must not digress, but must revert to the day's sport with which I started.

Having added a number of chukor, hares and pigeons to the bag, we scrambled down the side of a ridge, to the foot of which lay a cultivated plain extending at sea level for some two miles before another range interrupted it. The principal crop there—incidentally the cover most frequented by snipe—consisted of the soya bean, the cultivation of which has increased enormously in North China and Manchuria since it was first shipped to England in 1904, and may be expected to increase still more as it costs so little to grow and so many fresh uses are continually being found for it. But it was, of course, not for beans but for snipe that we were looking.

As the period of their southward migration was well advanced, and the bean plants were becoming bare, the birds were scarcer and wilder, a condition which we welcomed. We formed a line of nine or ten beaters and guns, and, in two hours or so, had picked up twenty-five brace, including several of the varieties to be found in China, which are the common snipe (*Gallinago calestis*), the pintail snipe (*G. stenura*), the painted snipe (*Rhyncea*) and the great or solitary snipe (*G. major*). The painted snipe, however—the female of which we found to be both larger and more brilliantly coloured than the male—and the solitary snipe which weighs about eight ounces against the four ounces of the pintail and common varieties and two and a half ounces of the jack snipe, are not at all common in North China. The pintail snipe differs from the common snipe in having from twenty-two to twenty-six retrices, or tail feathers, as against the fourteen of the latter. The common belief that the jack snipe does not occur in the East is erroneous. We occasionally shot specimens.

As evening approached we made for the marsh and mudflat which, here as elsewhere on the Gulf of Chihli, lay between the coastal ranges. It had the scenic charm that such tidal estuaries often have at sundown. The tide was at the ebb, leaving only a winding ribbon of water which extended inland from the small village of Chang-Chia-tsao over fen and salting for two miles or so before losing itself in the midst of the millet and maize fields. The stillness was broken only by the flight and calls of the waterfowl congregated at the water's edge, the most conspicuous among them being the Manchurian crane which is seldom absent from these estuaries during the winter months. The estuaries were also the feeding ground of the common heron (*Ardea*

*cinera*), little egret or white heron (*Ardea garzetta*) and little bittern, a family indiscriminately known in the East as "paddy birds" because they frequent the rice fields. The ubiquitous lapwing or peewit was also there, his plumage more mottled than that of his English cousin.

Before darkness closed in we bagged several mallard and teal, some from the reeds beside the estuary, others from the dykes which drain the marginal patches of cultivation, our shots, at the same time, sending seaward several large skeins of white-fronted geese assembled on the sand-dunes which flank the entrance of the tidal inlet. Brent-geese and bean-geese were also common migrants to these shores, being usually easier to approach than were the larger white-fronts; and there was also always the chance of bagging a Chinaman by mistake.

Partly because some of the crops in North China grow to a considerable height, and partly because the Chinese are much given to crouching on their haunches, even an experienced and careful shot occasionally peppers one of them by accident. Indeed, these accidents were so common that there existed a recognized indemnity tariff of five cents (about a penny) per pellet during the snipe-shooting season, and so slight and so lightly regarded, as a rule, were the injuries caused by the small No. 8 shot that many of our victims would, I think, have welcomed the penetration of their skins by a dollar's worth of this dust. But on this occasion, on the day following the shoot which I have just described, I showed myself, despite several years' experience of the local conditions, a complete mug.

From a stance on the stubble below a wooded hill I had just bagged a pheasant, and I had not the least idea that any natives other than my servants were within half a mile of me. Imagine my surprise when, a few minutes later, a villager suddenly appeared, his shirt open and his face, neck and head apparently streaming with blood. Clearly this was no case for the application of the five cent tariff. Too much damage seemed to have been done. So, after consulting my bearer, I produced a five dollar note, the sight of which worked like a charm on my gory friend, the precise character of whose injuries I had foolishly neglected to ascertain. He accepted the note with a smile, saying, "Me no makee more trouble," and, later in the day, he rejoined us, with a broad grin on a clean face and a small piece of plaster affixed above his collar-bone. It appeared that a single pellet of No. 6 had struck him there, and that he had waited in the bushes until sufficient blood had flowed to enable him to smear his entire face, head and neck. "Only one piecee bullet, but makee plenty blood," he cheerily assured us, and as he had so easily bamboozled us, we treated the incident as a joke.



The pheasants, by the way, commonly encountered in North China are *P. torquatus* and *P. Mongolicus*, those ring-necked varieties first introduced into England some two hundred years ago, which have interbred with the (so-called) old English black-necked pheasant, *P. colchicus*, from the River Phasis, in Colchis, Asia Minor. This latter bird is not found in China and was probably first brought to Great Britain by the Romans. But to return to the narrative.

Arriving at our quarters in the temple compound at Chang-ts'un, we found our servants engaged in a fierce dispute with the villagers over the question whether our mules should displace from their stalls the mules already stabled in the compound. The altercation, in which the mules' ancestors and those of the contending parties seemed to be inextricably inter-related, having been settled in our favour, we set to work to prepare a collation of quail, pigeons and temple vegetables, and took stock of the temple itself which, like the majority of those in the British territory, was a Taoist one, and consequently well stocked with grotesque and fearsome images, mostly of local deities. There were, too, some scattered Buddhist temples in the province, but Buddhism in North China is a retrograde faith largely given over to demonology. The ancestral temples, of which there were several, were not, as a rule, thrown open to foreigners.

Ancestor worship, however, is responsible for one practical inconvenience. The British practice of requisitioning ever-increasing areas of cultivable land for cemeteries—a practice to the inescapable limitations of which Lord Horder lately drew attention—is seen in an aggravated form in China where it has prevailed from time immemorial. Village graveyards, in which the actual devotions take place, abound everywhere, and close to where we were shooting were some stone "beehive" tombs which have been there since the thirteenth century. The heavy masonry used in their construction—in shape they resemble Eskimo igloos—is thought to have been necessary for the protection of the dead from wolves and other scavengers which were far more numerous in mediæval times than they are today.

Moreover, just as our churches are often empty in the West, so the temples are often empty in the East. Our British churches, indeed, are veritable hives of activity compared with these Taoist and Buddhist temples of Shantung, which, except on the rare occasions of festivals, were completely deserted. Even the resident priest, where one existed, was often absent from his post, though our visits were very welcome to these gentry whom we paid liberally for the use of their temples as caravanserais. We preferred them to other accommodation because they were roomy



and, thanks to their never being occupied residentially, except, perhaps, by the priest, were agreeably free from vermin.

The success of our shoots depended to some extent upon our success in enlisting native beaters familiar with the country to carry our impedimenta and collect the game, our domestic servants being sent on ahead, with mule train, to the village or temple in which we proposed to put up. All our beaters, on this occasion, were experienced and efficient, one of them, Hsiao K'un, though he had only one arm, displaying tireless energy. Originally he had been a blacksmith's mate, and in that capacity had, with complacent Chinese optimism, used a large projectile, a relic of the war of 1894, as his anvil. One day, however, that anvil, being over-heated or struck too hard, exploded, and the blacksmith "took the count," being lucky to escape with the loss of one arm and a disfigured face. Our medical officer had fitted him with a false arm complete with iron hook, but he had discarded it because the nickname of "Hookey," bestowed on him by his companions, displeased him.

Another interesting beater, remarkable for filial piety, was Shao Ying. Once, his mother being ill and apparently at the point of death, he had bitten a mouthful of flesh from his forearm and used it as stock to make broth for her. She had recovered, whether because of this treatment or in spite of it, I do not know, but Shao Ying was a proud man. I saw the wound in the Government Hospital and can vouch that for the purpose of his "cure" he had not spared himself. Subsequently, in recognition of his noble conduct, the Commissioner, the late Sir James Stewart-Lockhart, presented him, before an assembly of native schoolchildren at Government House, with a Coronation gold medal from surplus stock, and this was the most cherished of his possessions.

Filial piety, indeed, being regarded as a cardinal virtue in China, often expresses itself in curious ways. A classical example of its exaggerated manifestation is recorded by the late Sir Reginald Johnston in his *Lion and Dragon in North China*. The parents of one Lao Lai-tzu, he tells us, "lived to such extreme old age that he himself was a toothless old man while they were both still alive. Conceiving it to be his duty to divert their attention from their weight of years and approaching end, he dressed himself up in the clothes of a child and danced and played about in his parents' presence with the object of making them think they were still a young married couple contemplating the innocent gambols of their infant son."

Very interesting to me, too, were the patients who attended the Government Hospital—as a rule only when they were *in extremis*. They seldom failed to give practical proof of their



gratitude, although the surgery was often of a rough-and-ready order. Thus, the M.O. offered a villager whose gingall had burst, badly injuring his arm, the choice of a whiff of chloroform before the extraction of the splinters or a stiff peg of brandy after it! The patient chose the latter and stood the operation with remarkable fortitude. This man, together with a patriarch of nearly seventy, the crippled victim of advancing elephantiasis, whose leg had been successfully amputated above the knee, and a woman from whom a cyst weighing 40 lbs. had been removed, were three beneficiaries who made regular pilgrimages to Port Edward to offer the M.O. garden produce and eggs.

China's principal peace-time problem continues to be that of maintaining the welfare of a healthy rural population. In Shantung, when I was there, in spite of recurrent famines, epidemics and the intermittent upheavals due to the irregularities of Tuchuns and other marauders of less degree, there were unmistakable signs of rural prosperity and of the desire of the populace to be left in peace to enjoy that prosperity. Before the present war with Japan, the troubles due to these sporadic disturbances had, to some extent, subsided. They had served, at least, to inspire such achievements as the Nationalist Government has to its credit, though it is common knowledge that, at the outbreak of hostilities, despite Nanking's suppression of several autonomous and semi-autonomous régimes in various parts of the country, the nation was far from being united. Its rôle was still the humble one of Door-mat in a world which demanded of it an Open Door policy.

The Nationalist Government was more anxious to fight the Communists than to fight Japan, but the Communists preferred unity, and the Red Army's "united front" appeal against Japan was taking shape when hostilities began. The Sian revolt, in which Chiang Kai Shek was made prisoner, was, indeed, an attempt by the N.E. Armies' commanders to procure Nanking's allegiance to this united front. A Southern army from Kwangsi and another from Sze-chuen have now lent their aid to the common cause, and, incorrigibly discordant though these cat and dog factions have hitherto been, they are now united in face of the invader.

But that is another digression. I must return to my shoot.

The estuary rising above our temple hostel at Chang-ts'un was remarkable for its exceptional width and the immense number and variety of wildfowl frequenting it. Our native attendants, as eager as we were for a full day's sport at this particular spot, aroused us and prepared breakfast before sunrise. Floodtide, when the duck would be feeding over an expanse of some three square miles of shallow water, was not till eleven o'clock, so we



followed a devious road up to and over the range, making good all the intervening patches of swamp, grass and bush. Our bag, secured in three hours before reaching the picturesque village of Shuang-tao, at the head of the estuary, was only a modest twenty head of mixed game, but the conditions of weather and scenery were ideal.

At the foot of the hills was an expanse of coarse grass on which brent-geese and white-fronts usually fed. It was devoid of all cover, but we had often succeeded in approaching within range by borrowing a donkey or mule and the blue dungaree clothes and wide straw hats of the village grass-cutters to whom the geese were accustomed. This time there happened to be no geese there, but two sheldrakes of a flock of half a dozen fell victims to this simple ruse. At a tiny patch of swamp almost within the walls of the village of Hou-shuang-tao we bagged a teal, a snipe and several quail (*Coturnix communis*), these last being migratory and feeding on the millet and hemp seed. We also, as we climbed the scrub-covered range, bagged several mountain hares (*L. timidus*), a species which abounds throughout northern Asia. They are smaller, browner, and have shorter ears than the English variety (*L. Europæus*). In northern Siberia they are completely white and so abundant that, on a tiger hunt in that desolate region, two winters previously, we had been able to make jugged hare a daily feature of our menu.

A fine view of the coastline right up to the Chefoo Bluff, thirty miles to the westward, greeted us from the crest of the range. To the north were the sunlit waters of the Gulf of Chihli, and to the south the rocky mountain ridge on which we stood was crested by the ancient temple Ai-Shan-Miao, shrine of the goddess Sheng Mu (Holy Mother). My diaries record many sojourns at this attractive hilltop retreat, and if its resident priest was as good a pastor of his flock as he was an innkeeper, no anxiety need be felt about his future welfare. Immediately below us, the broad expanse of cultivation was broken only by scattered villages, each in its sparse setting of trees, and towards the largest of these, Yang Ting, we directed our footsteps.

It was washing-day there, and as the womenfolk of Shantung affect the brightest of colouring in their attire, with a decided leaning towards combinations of green, magenta and indigo, we found the ladies of the village, resplendent in all but their crippled feet (for foot-binding was still in vogue among them), busily beating the village linen. They presented a gay picture against the background of drab village walls, and they flogged the washing with such energy that one could not help suspecting that these village laundries were subsidised by the button and linen industries.



Duck shoots such as ours have been so often and so well described that I need not dwell on this one at any length. We used four or five sampans, spaced well apart—a gun in each. The advantage of this manœuvre, as many experiences had shown, was that the duck were kept continually moving over one or other of the guns. At our first shots several hundred swans rose, with a tremendous roar of wings, from the estuary and moved seaward—an impressive sight. The white-fronted geese also beat a hasty retreat without suffering casualties, but, for two hours, the duck provided good but difficult sport, our bag of them comprising mallard, pintails, scaup duck, velvet scoters and golden eyes. We also bagged several brent-geese, widgeon and shovelers.

While the boatmen carried these over the range to our temple, we trekked to foothills beyond Ti-yi-yuan at the landward end of the estuary to look for pheasants. They were never very plentiful here and always rather wild. We bagged only two or three brace of them, but on our way back to Chang-ts'un, at dusk, we sighted some bean-geese feeding on the autumn-sown wheat, as is their nocturnal habit. We succeeded in stalking within range—not an easy feat—and accounted for two of them. On the following day we returned to Port Edward.

## KELADI CHIEFS: THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF MYSORE

BY T. C. S. MANIAN

ORIGINALLY a small village belonging to a Brahmin named Honne Kambli Bhatta, it became in about 1640 the capital of the Keladi Chiefs under the name of Bidanur or Bidarur, taking the place of Ikkeri, which was till then the capital of the Keladi Chiefs from about 1560 to 1640. A city identified with the changing fortunes of eighteen Keladi princes now lies deserted, and the traces of thousands of houses and basements of palatial buildings and temples countless in number confront the visitor who goes hunting for lore and legend. Signs of vandalism on the temples, pillage and plunder of its past troublous days could be seen in the dense growth of jungle which has overspread the once prosperous city which teemed with an industrious and prosperous population of over 100,000. Bright-plumed birds sing, as it were, the praises of the heroes who made Bidanur famous in history. Beasts keep guard over the ramparts where sentinels stood, and take toll of the cattle which unwarily approach their den.

An interesting legend traces the early history of the Ikkeri Chiefs—otherwise known as Keladi Chiefs—to two brothers, Chavuda Gowda and Bhadra Gowda, who, following the humble profession of agriculture, lived in the village of Hale-bayal of the Keladi Taluk. It is said that Chavuda Gowda built a temple at the place where the cow of his servant used to go daily and shed its milk on an ant-hill which, when dug up, disclosed the presence of a Linga. Yadava and Murari, the two servants of these, while ploughing, turned up a sword, which they put into the thatch of the house with the intention of converting it into a scythe. But to their surprise they found that whenever a crow sat on the roofing, the sword turned into a serpent and killed it. Chavuda Gowda, who was apprised of this miracle, took away the sword to his house, cleaned it thoroughly, and, naming it "Nagaramuri," kept it in a safe place. As luck would have it, the servants came upon it after some time on a cauldron containing treasure, and, afraid of the evil spirit guarding such treasures, they covered it up with mud. Chavuda Gowda was told in a dream that the treasure could be utilized by him after a human sacrifice. His two servants volunteered to offer their lives on condition that their names were perpetuated by their master. The story proceeds to say that the servants were bathed and while they were prostrating before the



cauldron they were beheaded by the "Nagaramuri" sword and the treasure was taken possession of by the brothers. With the accession of this wealth they raised a small force and began to subdue the neighbouring villages, when they were rewarded by the then Vijayanagar King for their help in punishing a rebellious chief with the ruling powers over the villages they had conquered and were presented with the Royal Mohur. They then founded the city of Keladi and built the temple of Rameswara. The two mounds called Kalte, at the entrance to Keladi, are pointed out as the scene of the human sacrifices. His son and successor, with the sanction of Sadasiva Raya, the then Vijayanagar Chief, took the name of Sadasiva Nayaka and obtained ruling powers over Bakrur, Mangalur, and Chandragutthi in appreciation of services rendered in putting down the several rebellious chiefs in South Canara, which he subsequently overran as far as Kasaragod.

The elder Sankanna Nayaka, son of Sadasiva Nayaka, leaving his kingdom to his younger brother, Sankanna Nayaka II., set out on a pilgrimage to all the holy places in India from Rameswaram to Nepal and Kashmir in the Himalayas. He is said to have defeated Ankush Khan, a celebrated prize-fighter of the Imperial Court of Delhi. While thus wandering, the god Aghoreswara appeared to him in a dream at Paidana and the god Veerabhadra at Avali, and in memory of these dreams Sankanna Nayaka the Elder built a temple on his return to his country, for Veerabhadra at Keladi and for Aghoreswara at Ikkeri, and lived in retirement for the rest of his days. The Aghoreswara temple is a large structure built of granite in the Dravidian style, and bears traces of the Chalukyan and Saracenic styles. With a lofty roof and ornamental doorways on the west, north and east, and the gigantic pedestal occupying nearly three-fourths of the Garbagriha, the temple is an awe-inspiring sight. Carved out of white spar, the translucent Nandi waits upon the god Aghoreswara and commands the admiration of all the visitors who go there.

The Nandi Mantapa in front of the north entrance has seven arched doorways, a large one on the south, and two smaller ones on each of the other sides, with a big Nandi inside.

In the time of Venkatappa Nayak, the Bijapur forces under Randulla Khan were routed and the dominions were extended to the north and east to Masur, Shimoga, Kadur and Bhuvanagiri. The conquest of the Pepper Queen of Gersoppa carried his sway to Honore on the sea coast and down as far as the borders of Malabar. Venkatappa received an embassy from the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, who wanted to keep the monopoly of the pepper trade for his nation and exclude from it the English and the Dutch.

An Italian nobleman, by name Pietro della Valle, who accom-



panied the embassy, mentions the fine wide level road from Sagar to Ikkeri and the splendid avenue of the gigantic Dhupa trees on either side. The safety of travellers was so secure that he went alone afterwards through the country, marching at his pleasure and slowly descending to the ghats. Another traveller, Jacobus Canter Vissachar, writes: "The city of Bednur, where the Raja holds his Court, lies some leagues inland and is connected with the seaport by a fine road, planted with trees, which the inhabitants are obliged to keep in good order. This road is so secure that any stranger might go and sleep there with bags full of money and nobody would molest or rob him, for if such a thing occurred the people in the neighbourhood would not only be severely punished but would be forced to make good the money."

The history of the Bednur Chiefs would not be complete without a mention of Sivappa Nayak, one of the most distinguished of the Nayak Dynasty, who ruled from 1645 to 1660. He gave shelter to Sri Ranga Raya, the fugitive king of the Vijayanagar line, who gave his ancestors ruling powers and invaded Seringapatam on his behalf and gave him the government of Belur and Sakrepatna. He introduced the land assessment called "Shist," which was fixed on 1,000 "Dayas" at various rates. The distance between the central pillars of the Aghoreswara temple was adopted as the standard measure for garden land. A rod of this length, equal to 18 feet 6 inches, was the space called "Daya" allowed for one tree. His "Shist" or land assessment and Prahar Patti or rules for collecting the Halat on areca-nut, are frequently referred to in proof of his financial skill, and he is said to have framed a scale of expenditure including every contingency for each day in the year for the Sringeri Mutt.

He had a standing army of from forty to fifty thousand men and had more than thirty thousand Christians among his subjects. His complete conquest of the whole of Canara brought him enormous sums of treasure which enabled him to extend his kingdom from the Tudry River to Kasargod or Nileswar. Bednur has become the granary of South India and given a considerable help to the present Mysore State since it was conquered by Haidar Ali, who said that that conquest had established his fortune.

Merchants and artisans were given facilities to come and settle at Bednur and in the other places of his vast dominions, and monumental works of architecture like the Ikkeri Temple and the Devaganga Ponds still bear evidence of the skill of the artisans and the peace and prosperity they enjoyed during the 265 lunar years, 1 month and 25 days, as the chronicler has recorded it.

The Devaganga Ponds were used for swimming and bathing,



and the natural drainage keeps the water always clean. The waste water drains the flower garden which, with its high compound wall, afforded privacy for the Royal household to bathe. These are now in a neglected condition, and it is only proper that Government should preserve them under the Ancient Monuments Act. It is a marvellous piece of engineering skill and science.

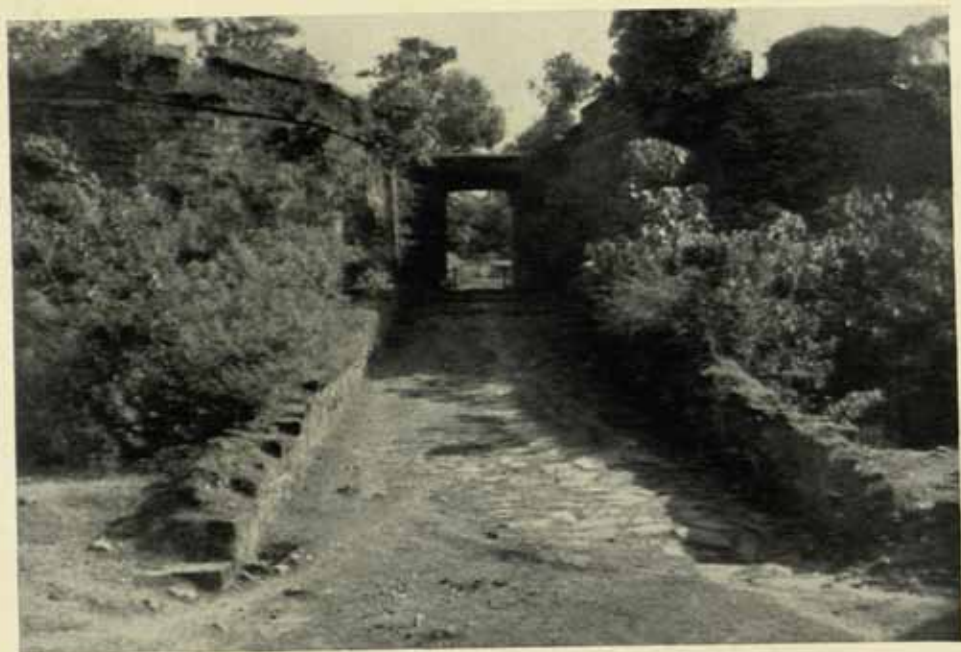


FIG. 1.—ENTRANCE TO THE BEDNUR FORT OVERGROWN WITH JUNGLE.  
The Palace and the Durbar Pavilion are inside the Fort.



FIG. 2.—ANOTHER VIEW OF BEDNUR FORT.





FIG. 3.—THE TEMPLE OF GOD AGHORESWARA, BUILT BY SOMKANNA NAYAKA, THE ELDER, AT JKKERL.

In front is the Nandi Mantapa and to the right is the Brindavan.

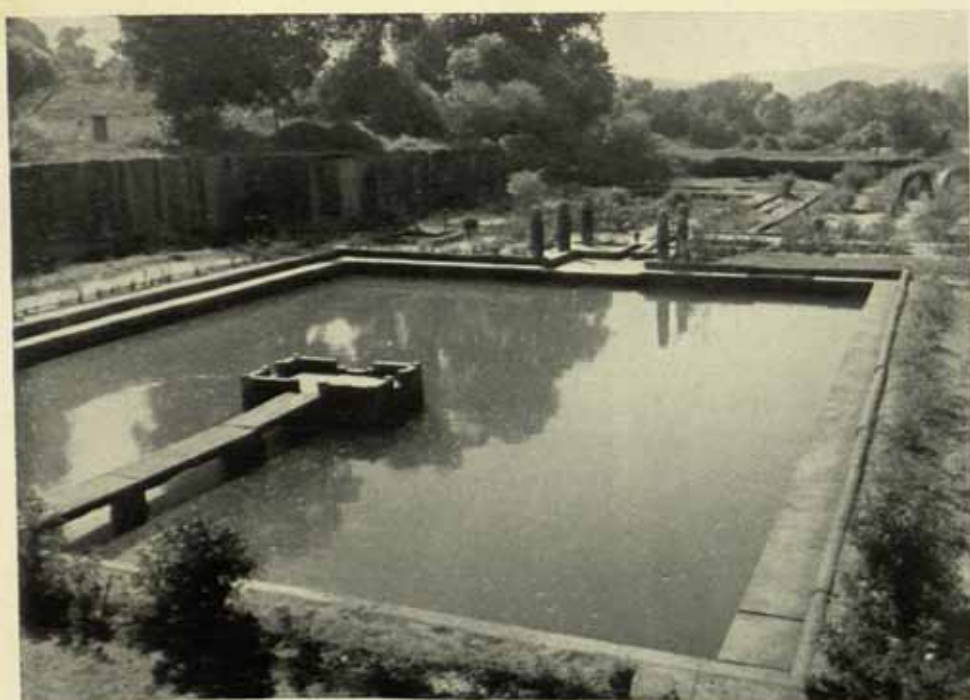


FIG. 4.—THE DEVAGANGA POND WITH GARDEN AND PLATFORM.

The sharp reflection of the garden plants indicates the clear water and the device by which the soiled water is drained off.

## THE FUTURE OF ANGLO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

BY CAPT. M. D. KENNEDY, O.B.E.

DEVELOPMENTS in the Far East since the outbreak of the North China "incident" in July last year have aroused serious forebodings with regard to the future of Anglo-Japanese relations. British interests in East Asia, which have suffered severely during the past few years, are threatened with still greater loss and damage; and resentment, combined with anxiety as to what the future holds in store, has served to create an atmosphere of mutual bitterness and suspicion between the two countries.

In part, the damage inflicted on British interests has been due to the unavoidable "accidents of war," but in no small number of instances these interests have been flouted deliberately. To the resentment caused by this cavalier treatment has been added a feeling of genuine horror and indignation at the slaughter of innocent civilians by the bombing of Chinese towns and cities from the air.

The Japanese, on their part, are equally resentful against the British, whom they accuse of unneutral behaviour, of allowing themselves to be misled by Chinese propaganda, of placing obstacles in Japan's way, of stirring up world opinion against Japan, of gross hypocrisy in the matter of aerial bombardments and of numerous other misdemeanours. The fact that most of these accusations are based on somewhat flimsy foundations is beside the point. The Japanese as a nation believe them, and are just as indignant at the British for giving ear to all the "atrocities stories" told against Japan as the British are at the Japanese for what they are alleged to have done.

It is, perhaps, but natural that, when national sentiment is aroused, clear, dispassionate thinking gives way to unreasoning abuse of those who deliver moral lectures and criticisms and who level accusations against one's own nation. Neither the British nor the Japanese are free from this besetting sin. While, as an Englishman, it is easy enough to bring well-founded charges against Japan on a number of scores, one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that, viewed from the Japanese angle, British actions in the past have not been wholly without reproach. The unfortunate tendency of Englishmen to indulge in schoolmasterly admonitions against other nations serves, therefore, merely to disgust and



irritate the lectured party and to raise the devil in him. As one commentator aptly put it, the moral homilies and reproaches levelled against Japan in the British Press and on British platforms on the subject of aggression conjure up in the Japanese mind the vision of a reformed burglar who, while ready enough to retain the "swag" obtained in his unregenerate days, sees nothing inconsistent in declaiming against those who are now helping themselves to other people's goods. The vision may be distorted, but the reaction is the same as though it were correct in every detail.

Fortunately these homilies are less frequent now than they were in the earlier stages of the fighting in China. The more responsible section of the British Press and of British spokesmen has come to recognize that the policy of Canning, who always condemned resort to threats which could not be carried out, is a very much sounder one to follow than that of Palmerston, whose readiness to indulge in threats and denunciations was emulated by not a few politicians and would-be statesmen in England until a few months ago, and is not uncommon even now.

It is, however, Japan rather than Great Britain that is following, at the present time, a policy akin to that of Palmerston, and it is instructive to note that, along with this policy, she is also pursuing one which has distinct parallels with that of Britain at the time of the Seven Years' War. Of this last-mentioned period in British history, Professor Seton-Watson, in the prologue to his scholarly work on *Britain in Europe, 1789-1914*, remarks that England "pursued a policy of undisguised aggression . . . prompted, it is necessary to add, by a natural desire to forestall similar French designs of invasion and conquest."

Substitute Japan for England, and Soviet Russia for France, and this passage will be found to present a reasonably accurate picture of Japanese policy today. Japan, it is true, does not regard either the Manchurian embroglio of 1931-3 or her present conflict with China as aggression on her part; but the verdict of history will probably be that of Geneva. The Japanese historian of 150 years hence will doubtless be just as frank in endorsing this verdict as is the present-day British historian who writes of British history at the time of the Seven Years' War. At the same time, whatever may be said to the contrary, an objective study of Japanese policy since 1931 should make it clear that the principal spur to Japan's actions in Manchuria and China alike has been her anxiety concerning the steady spread of Soviet influence in Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia and her consequent determination to forestall similar Soviet designs in East Asia. The resulting clash with British interests has, in the main, been incidental rather than intentional. In short, just as British aggression in the second half of the eighteenth century was the outcome of England's desire to



forestall France, so is Japanese aggression today due primarily to Japan's determination to forestall Soviet Russia.

To obtain a parallel with Japan's present attitude towards foreign nations in general, one cannot do better than turn to the days when British foreign policy was in the hands of Palmerston and Russell. "Palmerston," as Professor Seton-Watson observes, "will always remain typical of a certain phase of British policy and British psychology—in a mood of self-assertive nationalism which we ourselves have since outgrown, but which we find somewhat irksome when adopted by younger nations."

Possibly he had Japan, among others, in mind when he wrote this. Whether or not he had, the similarity between British policy and psychology in the days of "Pam," and Japanese policy and psychology at the present time, is sufficiently striking to merit attention. Nor is it without interest that Russia and China were denounced in no unmeasured terms by Palmerston and others as they are today by the statesmen and spokesmen of Japan. It is true that, in so far as the case of China was concerned, the abuse levelled at her was strongly criticized by Gladstone, Disraeli and others, whereas in Japan criticism of the Government's China policy is far less vocal. Nevertheless, abuse of China and other foreign countries by the governing authorities of mid-nineteenth-century England unquestionably suited the taste of the electors at that time and the same may be said of Japan today.

Despite assertions to the contrary, Japan, as a nation, is no more in love with Fascism or dictatorship than was early Victorian England; but although individually the kindest and most courteous of people, the Japanese as a nation exhibit "an assertiveness and assurance, a self-centred outlook, an indifference to the susceptibilities of other nations and an incapacity to see with others' eyes," such as the British exhibited in Palmerston's days. The effect on foreign countries is the same—ill-will, misunderstanding and general distrust.

There were those in high places in England, including even the Premier himself, who objected strongly to the high-handed attitude adopted at times by Palmerston towards foreign Powers; but as Lord John Russell frankly admitted to Queen Victoria in 1848, he, Russell, feared, in the existing critical stage of Europe, to raise a question "which might induce a belief that he (Lord Palmerston) had not conducted foreign affairs to the satisfaction of his colleagues or of his sovereign."

In closely similar words to these, one may expect some future historian of Japan's present policy to reveal the objection of certain Japanese civilian statesmen to the policy forced on them by the fighting services. Like Palmerston, the Japanese Army and Navy have, for the time being, taken the bit between their teeth; but



the more moderate civilian statesmen hesitate to pull them up at this critical period lest it "induce a belief" that opinion is divided in Japan.

The Japanese naval and military leaders are no doubt just as convinced of the righteousness of their cause as was Palmerston of his; but the invidiousness of the position of those who are compelled by circumstances to back them up and attempt to justify all their actions must, at times, be just as great as that of Russell and his other political colleagues, who had to support and justify all that Palmerston said and did. It is true that in England the voice of open criticism was raised more loudly at times than it is today in Japan, and Russell's sarcastic paraphrase of the official argument put forward to justify the war with China in 1856 is worth recalling: "It is true we have a bad case, it is true we were in the wrong, it is true we have committed injustice, but we must persevere in the wrong, we must continue to act unjustly, or the Chinese will think we are afraid."

In like manner Clarendon, on a previous occasion, lamented that "if in the remotest corner of the earth any Englishman gets a well-deserved but uncompensated black eye, the newspapers and Palmerston immediately demand an enquiry into the conduct of the bloated sinecurist in Downing Street, who has no sense of British honour."

What Clarendon caustically remarked about "the newspapers and Palmerston" is applicable to some extent in Japan today. Many of Japan's grievances concerning the treatment of her countrymen in China are well justified and Japan is fully deserving of sympathy accordingly; but, as in the case of the particular type of Englishmen to whom Clarendon referred, Japanese newspapers and reactionary "patriots" are always ready to flare up when some unscrupulous adventurer of their own nationality, such as a smuggler or a "dope" peddler, is subjected to well-merited rough handling in China or elsewhere abroad. If the Japanese Foreign Minister—the equivalent of "the bloated sinecurist in Downing Street"—fails to obtain the satisfaction demanded, he is promptly denounced as "weak-kneed" and lacking in sense of Japanese honour and prestige.

It requires a brave man to take on the onerous duties of a Premier or Foreign Minister in Japan, for assassination by excited self-styled patriots is always a possibility if he fails to defend his country's honour in the way required of him by these muddle-headed gentlemen. It would, in fact, be well if British newspapers and politicians, who are always so ready to denounce and castigate Japan, would show more appreciation of the immense difficulties and dangers surrounding the statesmen and moderate elements in that country. Violent criticism and abuse by foreign Powers only



increase the difficulties of their position and reduce their ability to exercise a moderating influence on their more hot-headed countrymen.

Though it is more than a hundred years since Perceval was assassinated in our own House of Commons, political assassination may now be said to be unknown in England. For this we should be truly grateful. At the same time, we would be well advised to show a more sympathetic attitude towards the statesmen of Japan and other countries not so happily placed. In England, the Press serves as a useful "safety-valve" for excited feelings, and the ardent patriot with a grievance against politicians and the like can "get it off his chest" by writing to *The Times* or some other reputable journal. In Japan, letters to the Press are virtually unknown, and so the aggrieved and outraged "patriot" turns to "direct action" in order to relieve his feelings.

As indicating the similarity between the state of popular feeling in England in early Victorian times and national sentiment in Japan today, it is perhaps pertinent to recall that Palmerston's fall from power over the Orsini Affair was due, not to disgust with his customary dictatorial and hectoring attitude towards another foreign Power, but because for once he showed unusual restraint and moderation. In view of the existing state of war-time psychology in Japan, Japanese statesmen face the prospect of a similar overthrow if they show the restraint and moderation which many of them do undoubtedly favour.

There, for the moment, lies the great difficulty in so far as the future of Anglo-Japanese relations is concerned. The present leaders of Japan, men like Prince Konoye, the Premier, and General Ugaki, the Foreign Minister, appear genuinely anxious to improve relations with Great Britain and recognize that, in order to do so, greater moderation and restraint are essential. Their task, however, is an extremely difficult one, for, as the Tokyo Correspondent of *The Times* emphasized in a recent despatch, they have to contend with the local commanders and with strong anti-British sentiment among Japanese residents at such places as Shanghai; they have also to contend with the reactionary elements which have, since the outbreak of the Manchurian trouble in 1931, increased so greatly both in numbers and power in Japan itself.

If those who, in England, are always so ready to denounce the Japanese and demand strong action against them would only stop to think for a bit, they would see that threats and denunciations only serve to weaken the hands of the Konoyes and Ugakis and strengthen the hands of the anti-British and reactionary elements in Japan. It is hardly too much to say, in fact, that from September, 1931, onwards, the virulent critics of Japan in England



and other Western countries have played as pernicious a part in bringing about the present deplorable state of affairs in the Far East as the much-abused Japanese "militarists" themselves. From Baron Shidehara, the liberal-minded Foreign Minister in power at the time of the Manchurian outbreak, downwards, the moderate leaders and elements in Japan have been handicapped at every turn and the chauvinist nationalist elements have had their hands correspondingly strengthened by the vociferous outbursts and, frequently, unreasoning abuse hurled at the Japanese from London, Geneva, and, in the earlier stages, Washington.

Since the collapse of the Stimson régime, the United States have adopted a far more moderate and reasoning attitude, with the result that Japanese-American relations today are on a more friendly basis than they have been for a long time past. British critics of Japan would do well, therefore, if they took this lesson to heart. Indignant as they may feel at what the Japanese have done and are doing, mere abuse will get them nowhere. It serves merely to aggravate the situation and increase the anti-British sentiment in Japan and does nothing to deter the Japanese from flouting British interests or continuing their campaign against the Chinese.

In saying this, there is no intention to minimise either the faults or the follies of the Japanese themselves. While denouncing the British for indulging in propaganda and abuse against Japan, the Japanese have been guilty of the grossest propaganda and abuse against Great Britain. The Press and public speakers in both countries have vied with one another in mutual recriminations of this kind, and the harm done to Anglo-Japanese relations by sensational headlines and distortions of fact is deplorable. Present-day propaganda methods and the somewhat debased standard of newspaper ethics are, in many respects, a far greater menace to the cause of peace and international goodwill than anything else, as nations are lashed into fury and indignation by unfair allegations made against them by others and by the deliberate falsification of facts dealt up to themselves by their own papers. The present widespread anti-British sentiment in Japan is largely the outcome of this vicious combination, and it will require both time and infinite patience to eradicate the harm done by it and to disprove to the Japanese the convictions it has inculcated regarding "perfidious Albion." General Ugaki and others are seemingly genuinely anxious to eradicate these beliefs and, at the same time, curb the extremist elements which, of late, have got so badly out of control. Moderation and restraint on the part of British critics of Japan should facilitate their task considerably and assist greatly to improve relations between the two countries. Continued virulent abuse will only add to their



difficulties and make the future of Anglo-Japanese relations a matter of increasingly grave concern.

What is required is to take, not the short view, but the long. The short view is bound to be confused and distorted by sympathy with China's present plight, by indignation at the bombing of cities and towns and the slaughter of innocent civilians, and by resentment at the cavalier treatment of British interests. Those taking this short view may well say that moral considerations and national interests alike demand that steps be taken to assist the Chinese and to place every obstacle possible in the way of Japan. But even if such action were feasible, would it, in the long run, serve the best interests of ourselves, or the Chinese, or the cause of world peace? A dispassionate survey of the facts must surely show that it would not. If, as is probable, it led to war with Japan, it is difficult to see how any country, with the possible exception of Soviet Russia, would have anything to gain by it. The Far East would be thrown into even worse confusion than it is at present and in view of Japan's relations with Germany, Italy, and the Soviet, a world conflagration might well result. Even if these last three countries contrived to keep out of it and hostilities were confined to Britain, Japan and China—a most unlikely contingency—the ultimate victor would emerge as exhausted as the vanquished, and the Soviet would be left with the most perfect material on which to work for world revolution. China would then be worse off than ever and everyone else would suffer as well.

On the other hand, action by Great Britain which stopped short of war would assist China but little and would leave Japan with a permanent and ever-increasing legacy of hate and resentment against Great Britain. The resultant and continued tension in the Far East would certainly be of no great service either to Britain or China.

It is necessary, therefore, to take the long view and to consider how to ensure an improvement of the situation in the years that lie ahead. To do this it is necessary to recognize that, in view of our own strategic position in the Far East and of our great commercial and financial interests there, Japan can be only one of two things. She can, as proved during the period of our alliance with her, be a most valuable friend; alternatively she can be a most dangerous potential enemy. Those who decried the abrogation of the alliance and gave warning of the probable results of that incredible piece of folly have proved better prophets and judges of the situation than those who hailed it at the time as a fine stroke of statesmanship. A return to such an alliance is probably no longer feasible; but with Japan as a dangerous potential enemy as the only alternative, it seems but the most elementary wisdom that Great Britain should strive its utmost to work out



ways and means by which, when the time comes and the present hostilities in the Far East have been brought to a conclusion, a firm and friendly understanding with Japan may be brought about. Admittedly there are great difficulties in the way, as there can be no question of reaching an understanding which ensures our own interests without considering those of China and other countries as well.

Japan herself would have just as much to gain from such an understanding as would Britain and the other interested Powers. The present inflamed state of national sentiment makes it difficult for the mass of the Japanese to appreciate that this is so; but the British, if they play their cards properly, can do much to engender this recognition when passions have subsided and Japan finds herself faced with the stern realities of post-war economic and financial rehabilitation. The pity is that the advice of those who, for some years prior to the outbreak of the present hostilities, had been urging the desirability of Anglo-Japanese accord and emphasizing the dangers of delay passed unheeded. In that the advice, if followed, would have entailed certain relatively minor concessions on the part of both Britain and China, it was no doubt unpalatable; but, as pointed out at the time, concessions made freely could be used as bargaining points and would help to create mutual friendship and goodwill. Failure to make timely concessions might, on the other hand, lead ultimately to forcible seizure of far more than would have sufficed earlier if conceded in a spirit of give and take. The result would be, not friendship and goodwill, but a legacy of bitterness and resentment with inevitable loss of prestige as well. The events of the past fifteen months have served all too well to justify this warning, just in the same way as the forebodings of those who forecast the probable consequences of the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance have proved well founded.

As one who frequently gave expression to such warnings during the years immediately following the termination of the alliance and prior to the outbreak in North China last year, I may perhaps be forgiven for quoting a single passage from a book I wrote three years ago:\*

"If matters are allowed to drift on as at present, not only is the steady advance of Japan's virtual control over large sections of North China likely to continue, but—in the absence of any agreement to the contrary—foreign interests in China will suffer in direct ratio to the speed of that advance. Loss of these interests can only lead to increasing bitterness and apprehension in the countries affected and may, in time,

\* *The Problem of Japan*, p. 269. (Nisbet.)

precipitate an armed clash in which the only Power likely to profit in any way will be Soviet Russia, while all others will suffer. Is it not but the most elementary wisdom to strive now, before it is too late, to check the Japanese advance by friendly and freely negotiated agreement providing for recognition, both of Japan's strategic and economic requirements and of the interests of China and the other Powers?"

Developments in the Far East since this was written have served to prove rather than disprove the justification of this plea and its attendant warning.

Obviously tempers are too frayed and passions too inflamed at the moment to render negotiations for such an agreement just at present a matter of practical politics. Moreover, as a result of failure to act in time, Great Britain's bargaining points are even fewer in number now than they were three years ago. Another opportunity may, however, be offered when the present hostilities have been concluded and Japan is faced with the even sterner task of dealing with the problems of post-war economic and financial rehabilitation. British statesmanship will then be presented with fresh material for bargaining and, if it plays its cards properly, may well find itself in a position to bring about a real and permanent solution of the Far Eastern problem and to restore Anglo-Japanese relations to their old and traditional basis of friendship and co-operation. In the meantime, actions likely to aggravate the situation should be avoided as far as possible, and we must be content to mark time and to trust that Japan will appreciate the fairness of the friendly sentiment expressed by Mr. Chamberlain in the House on July 26:

"When the Japanese Government claim that they are protecting their interests in China, I am sure they must recognize that we too have our interests in China and that we cannot stand by and see them sacrificed in the process."

If the Japanese are to accept this view, moderation and restraint on the part of British critics of Japan is essential. Failure to exercise these virtues will only lead to further flouting of British interests and the future of Anglo-Japanese relations will be fraught with the gravest consequences to world peace.



## BRITISH TRADE PROSPECTS IN CHINA

By R. T. PEYTON-GRIFFIN

THE future of British trade in China is a matter which is giving those most intimately concerned in it cause for grave anxiety, though this is mixed with a quiet confidence which has not yet been destroyed by the serious turn events have taken during the past year. Any question which can be posed on the subject will not necessarily find a ready answer, for there are several interlocking factors which have to be taken into account, as, for example, the future duration of hostilities, the method in which they are carried out, and the policy which the Japanese intend to follow in their endeavour to make the military adventure into China a paying one. It would indeed be rash for anyone to seek to forecast when hostilities will come to an end, but it is clear that the future of foreign trade in general—excluding for the moment Japanese—and of British trade in particular depends very greatly upon the duration of the war. How much injury has been and will be done to China's purchasing power? What are the chances of a rapid recovery? The Chinese losses are so colossal that it is almost impossible to endeavour to set a figure to them. The trek of tens of millions of people before the onrush of the Japanese invaders, the distressing toll which is being taken by epidemics, more greatly to be feared as the months pass, the utter destitution of those who have forsaken their homes in fear, the execution of the Chinese "scorched earth" policy and the determination to give the Japanese as empty a success as possible, have all contributed to the creation of a state of affairs uninterpretable in terms of money, even if in the absence of any statistical system such information could be collated. To the destruction of physical property must be added the growing inability of the Chinese to earn what they did before, so that with the capital loss, which must be enormous, must be considered the greatly reduced earning capacity of the people and its profound effect upon the spending power of the nation. The longer these hostilities are protracted the more impressive must be the effect of these factors, and the speed with which Chinese markets regain normality must be in direct ratio to the time through which hostilities are prolonged. The factors which operated in the recovery after 1932 do not now apply. The damage which has been done is so many times heavier, and so much more widely spread that criteria of the past are of little avail in endeavouring to estimate the possibilities of the future.

Japan's policy in China is another matter of which sight must



not be lost. The frequently repeated assurance that Japan has no intentions of territorial aggrandisement in China has gone by the board. True it is still often referred to, but it must not be overlooked that no less an authority than Prince Konoye, the Japanese Prime Minister, in the Japanese Diet on March 28 of this year, announced that "Japan is determined not to evacuate an inch of the territory now held by her armed forces and is planning to exploit the industrial and economic resources of the occupied areas." It does not matter greatly what civilian Ministers have said with regard to the scrupulous respect which is to be paid to foreign third party rights and interests in China, the fact is that the big Japanese financial houses of Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Okura, Yasuda and Sumitomo are marching into China behind the bayonets of the Japanese Army, and through its Special Service Section are seeking to obtain such a hold upon Chinese commerce and industry that the foreigners will have very little opportunity, so far as they are concerned, of rebuilding their businesses, unless there is sufficient pressure brought to bear upon Japan to bring about a complete change of heart. It is through this Special Service Section of the Japanese Army that normal military espionage has been extended to the economic fields, and their devices for interfering with foreign trade are innumerable and ingenious. There is, for example, the widespread smuggling which has been going on in China under Japanese control for months past, as a result of which huge quantities of Japanese goods have entered the country paying no duty whatsoever; there are plenty of instances of discriminatory legislation by puppet governments; there is the closure of the interior to foreign travel and goods, and while it is possible for foreigners to live in the treaty ports, and maintain their residences in districts where they have braved all the terrors of war to remain, travel in the interior is impossible. The Japanese will willingly grant passes for their nationals to go wherever they wish in search of trade, but will on one pretext or another—generally that of military necessity—refuse to grant similar facilities to travellers of other nationalities. Thus despite the capture of Nanking in December, though Japanese civilians are permitted to travel freely between Shanghai and Nanking, that same right is denied foreigners, with the recent exception of two passes granted to missionaries, the very obvious idea being to keep foreign business out of the market long enough to obtain all preference for the Japanese.

It would be impossible to give a full list of all the infringements of foreign trading rights which have occurred through the instrumentality of the Japanese during the past twelvemonth. There have been so many, that even in China there is a danger of their being taken too much for granted, so many that it is impossible



for some to see the forest because of the trees. But in addition to the exceptionally large number of instances of Japanese discrimination against British and other foreign interests, there are to be seen developments calculated to wipe out the latter as rapidly as possible. The establishment of monopolies is a case in point. The wool trade of North China, in which British exporters in Tientsin were greatly interested, has passed under the control of the Japanese, who have enforced the registration by the Chinese holders of the whole of the clip, and if a British buyer were able to purchase from the old sources of supply, he would be unable to obtain freight facilities to the coast—on the score of military necessity. Just recently there has been an attempt to persuade Tsingtao middlemen in bristles no longer to sell to foreign buyers. The pressure is not very great at the present, because all Japanese arrangements have not yet been made, but an announcement made on the day that this article is being written, is to the effect that no further exports from Tsingtao will be permitted unless they are financed by the Yokohama Specie Bank—a direct attack on the activities of the branches of British banks established in that port. In Shanghai within the last few days a scheme has been announced for the establishment of a monopoly over the inland shipping of China, more immediately concerned with the navigation of the waterways of the Yangtze delta. An alleged Sino-Japanese concern is being formed, which seeks to oblige all British and other foreign ship-owners interested in this business to join the monopoly, registering their vessels with it at values to be arbitrarily placed upon them by the sponsors of the movement. They will be allowed to operate as participators in a sort of co-operative scheme, in which the estimated value of their craft will be regarded as capital investment in the undertaking. Fifty per cent. of the net return of any voyage will be paid over to the monopoly, out of which will be found overhead expenses, and, perhaps, ultimate dividends. But it will be seen that the former free and unrestricted competition on the inland waters of the Yangtze delta will be controlled by a Japanese dominated concern, and history has shown that that control will be operated in favour of the Japanese trader.

The rapidity with which the preparations are being made for assuming control of all key industries in the provinces occupied by the Japanese forces, is again emphasized by the fact that hardly a week passes without the announcement of some form of monopolistic undertaking. Thus, in addition to the above example, the Peking Provisional Government has announced the formation of the North China Telegraph and Telephone Co., with a capital of Yen 35,000,000, which will succeed in part to



the functions of the former Ministry of Communications. Existing institutions will be absorbed by the new company, shares being allotted to the amount of the estimated value of the properties thus turned in. This company will be controlled by a board on which Japanese and Chinese will sit, though the Japanese will hold the key positions. Then, again, in Central China, the Nanking "Reformed Government" announces the establishment of a monopoly embracing all power companies and waterworks, whether privately or publicly owned, which have to be surrendered voluntarily on the usual terms, of shares for the value of the property, and should owners fail to surrender within a stated time, only one-quarter of the estimated value will be given to the owners in the shape of shares in the new concern.

It may reasonably be expected that as opportunity offers Japanese control of the currency of Manchoukuo, and but recently North China, will ultimately be extended to the whole of China under Japanese control, and by this means, and the consequent control of foreign exchange, another heavy blow will be dealt to British trade in China. In order that it may be emphasized how closely the Japanese contemplate maintaining control over trade in China, the following despatch from Domei, the principal Japanese news agency, reporting from Tokyo on April 7 of this year, may serve:

"Unified control over Japanese business activities in the parts of Central China occupied by the Japanese Army is sought in a set of regulations promulgated today in Shanghai by the army, navy and consular service. Enterprises of minor importance will be controlled by the local consulates, but important industries coming under the heading of national policies will be supervised jointly by the army, navy and consulate. . . .

"The businesses that will come under the new jurisdiction include banking, trust companies, warehousing, mining, fishing, transportation (shipping, aviation, railways, tramways and motor-buses), communications (telegraph and wireless telegraphy), electricity, gas and water supply, important manufacturing enterprises (staple fibre, cement, flour, sulphur, tobacco, liquor, pepper, fats and sugar), and retail business such as the operation of public markets, abattoirs and salt distribution."

A completer control of the industry and commerce of the occupied portion of China it is difficult to conceive, and it must be remembered that no matter what the civilian side of the Japanese Government may have promised the world at large, the military



and naval high commands in the field contemplate bringing the whole of these activities under Japanese control—to the complete exclusion of the foreigner, if necessary.

That the outlook is gloomy from the foreign point of view, and especially the British who have so much at stake in China, is undeniable, and it is not inapropos at this juncture to consider how fitted Britons are to meet the menace to their activities. It is difficult to obtain precise figures calculated to give a good idea of the situation, but the following figures have been obtained from a sound source and may be taken as reasonably correct. The material loss in Shanghai arising from the hostilities in that district is put in the neighbourhood of £500,000; that does not take into account contingency losses from ten to fifteen times that sum. It is believed that the loss on British investments in China as a result of the past year's fighting is such that the total estimated investment of some (£300,000,000 will have to be written down by between 40 to 50 per cent. It is impossible to arrive at any idea of what the Chinese losses have been in terms of money, but it is safe to say that the total must be a colossal one, many times greater than the largest of the above figures.

It must be remembered that all the destruction which has been wrought in China, and the suffering which has been caused, must react upon her foreign trade, and that of Great Britain more particularly. It is impossible to estimate to what extent the purchasing capacity of China has already been reduced, though there is all the evidence available that it is already tragically below its former levels. Prolongation of the hostilities cannot but have an increasingly deteriorating effect, and even as matters stand at the moment many years will have to be spent in recuperation before China will again possess her former purchasing power. Were hostilities to end shortly with the fall of Hankow, it is possible that some sort of peace would be arrived at which might permit the Chiang Kai-shek régime to retain control of Southern and South-West China. That might afford Hongkong an opportunity for continued prosperity, but the fate of the British merchants in Central and North China depends entirely upon what are the plans of the Japanese military on the spot, and whether present economic developments under its ægis are incidental or fundamental. The formation of the various monopolistic enterprises referred to above, taken together with Prince Konoye's statement, indicate to the mind of the writer that whatever Japan originally planned regarding the military adventure in China, it is now intended to annex in some form or other all the territory now occupied or which may be occupied by the Japanese troops. There may be the familiar establishment of



government such as that in Manchoukuo, the classic example of what Japan is endeavouring to establish in the overrun areas of Central and North China. Every indication points to this development and if it eventuates it will amount to just as complete a military, political and economic hegemony as that which has been established in Manchoukuo, with all that that has meant for the British trader. Even the trend in recent years for Great Britain to concentrate more on the sale of capital goods to China will not save the situation if such a development occurs. It is true that much of this cannot be supplied by Japan, but Germany's abandonment of China, and the consequent loss of the growing trade which the former was building up, will probably find compensation by the diversion of contracts to Germany, which otherwise would have been open for British competition.

If the foregoing conveys the impression that the Open Door in China may soon deteriorate into a mere exit for all except Japan and her anti-Komintern allies, it is unfortunate but nevertheless true. Or rather it will be true if Great Britain and the United States, together with the other nations concerned, fail to find some method of counteracting what are undoubtedly the plans of the Japanese Army command and its Special Service Section. It must be remembered that the army has eventually to justify by results the enormous expenditure to which it has committed Japan. That can only be achieved by the most complete and ruthless exploitation, and exploitation which can and will brook no competition unless it is supported by forces which neither the Japanese Army nor the Government would care to oppose to ultimate conclusions. Looking at the whole affair as an investment, it must be realized that Japan has already spent something in the nature of Yen 7,000,000,000. It has been stated, on the authority of the former Minister of Finance, that Japan could afford to spend half her national wealth on a successful campaign, or something in the neighbourhood of Yen 52,000,000,000. Should the hostilities continue for another year it may reasonably be expected that the cost to Japan will be at least Yen 20,000,000,000, for wars do not grow cheaper as they continue. But that is not the whole of the bill Japan has to face in seeking to turn this war of annexation into a profitable undertaking, for it is very apparent that huge sums will be required for investment in China. How much will be required it is difficult to estimate, but the value of the Japanese cotton mills destroyed by the Chinese in Tsingtao was said to be in the neighbourhood of Yen 300,000,000. If that figure is to be taken as any criterion, it is clear that the present ambitious schemes of the Japanese will run into some thousands of millions of yen. A figure of Yen 1,500,000,000 is lightly quoted in Japanese periodicals as being the



sum necessary, but if Tsingtao is any standard it is apparent that even the expropriation of properties at fantastically underestimated values will do little to relieve Japan of the task of finding very considerable sums with which to carry on, while the diminished purchasing power of the Chinese, to which reference has already been made, must mean that the likelihood of securing adequate returns must await China's recuperation. That it may be confidently expected will take many years, for no similar disaster, not even the Taiping rebellion, has wrought so much damage and suffering as has this latest adventure of Japan on the Asiatic mainland.

Japan has yet to solve all these problems, and the conviction is growing that she is completely unable to do it by herself. Whatever assistance she may secure from Germany will be only along the lines of barter—Chinese produce for German machinery. That will do nothing to meet the major of her problems, so that other foreign nations, but particularly Great Britain and the United States, have still more than a little to say in the ultimate development of China. Much is made of the contention that the policy of the Open Door can be maintained, by those nations destined to suffer under what appears at present to be the Japanese scheme, by the denial of the British imperial and the American markets to Japanese trade. There is much of virtue in the argument until it is realized that such a step would reduce Japan to such a state of economic desperation that war would be inevitable. Resort to the application of such an economic sanction should be made only if the two great powers concerned are prepared to go to such an extreme, and while there is little reason to believe that they would suffer anything but minor and temporary reverses in the military and naval sense, the stranglehold upon Japan would in all probability be so tragic in its effects as to lead to the downfall of the Japanese Government and the establishment of some other form which might be even more inimical to world interests. Something of the sort in such an event would be inevitable, for Japan cannot find self-sufficiency in that portion of China which she has already captured, and is unlikely to do so for many years to come. It will not be until the living standards of the Chinese have been very considerably raised that they will provide a satisfactory market for all that Japan has to sell to maintain her economic position.

The alternative arises out of Japan's need for money to develop her conquest. In this fact lie the many references which have been made by Japanese spokesmen to the desire that other nations should co-operate with them in their programme for the future development of China. There is no spirit of generosity behind this frequently expressed wish, but the knowledge that Japan is



entirely unable to do it unaided. But the co-operation which is desired merely takes the shape of loans so necessary for her purposes. If Great Britain and the United States desire to finance their own elimination from China's trade the best and surest method of doing so is to meet Japan's wishes in this respect.

The foregoing presents a gloomy picture, but it must be emphasized that if the present Japanese policies are fundamental and not incidental then the situation is serious. All the developments to which reference has been made, and the many others which cannot for reasons of space be included, have about them all the evidence of permanent intention, and unless some means are devised for supporting British traders in this part of the world, they will be reduced to fighting a rearguard action. There was a time when it was possible to believe that Japanese failure to implement assurances regarding the rights and interests of third party neutrals was due merely to the lack of control over the Japanese forces in China, but all the evidence points to a definitely concerted scheme between the Japanese Army and big Japanese business interests to exclude foreign competition from this particular field. I have indicated methods by which it might be possible to ward off this onslaught, but it is clear that whatever steps are to be taken will have to be taken quickly, for with the end of hostilities there is every possibility that so far as foreigners' trade in China is concerned those engaged in it will be faced with *un fait accompli*. At the moment the whole machinery for British trade in China stands but little impaired. Given facilities it would easily go into action, and despite Japanese competition probably succeed in regaining old customers, contact with whom has been broken in many cases for nearly a year. There are still goods in which the Japanese cannot compete, but in those British traders will only be allowed to do business on Japanese terms and through Japanese intermediaries, who may be expected to milk the trade of all that it will yield. But despite all this, if the lending Powers of the world refuse to grant Japan loans, except upon terms providing against such extensive raids on the trading interests of their nationals, Japan may still be brought to reason. She cannot finance her scheme for development in China from her own resources, and must look to other countries for financial aid. And as has already been pointed out, if American and British financiers are prepared to assist in the elimination of their trade with the Far East, they have only to meet Japan's requirements with regard to loans. Refusal except on terms seems to be the only remedy short of applying those stronger methods which would close the most important markets of the world to Japanese exports. That may be a dangerous weapon, but there can be no doubt about its effectiveness in the long run.



## TU-THUC: AN ANNAMITE LEGEND

BY PHAM-DUY-KHIEM

*(Translated by STANLEY RICE)*

MORE than 500 years ago, in the time of the Tran\* kings, there lived a mandarin called Tu-Thuc. A native of the province of Thanh-Hoa in North Annam proper,† he was sent to Tonkin to take charge of a district in which there was a pagoda, much visited by the people. It was celebrated for a magnificent pæony tree which grew in the temple enclosure. Every spring the tree blossomed, and crowds of pilgrims came from all parts of the country to admire the beautiful flowers.

In the second month of the year Dinh-Ti (1396 A.D.), when the festival was at its height, a beautiful girl came like the rest to look at the flowers. She leaned carelessly against a branch and broke it. She was not allowed to leave. Evening had fallen and no one had yet released the girl, by compensating the pagoda, when by chance Tu-Thuc passed. As soon as he heard what had happened he took off his garment of brocade and offered it in exchange for the girl's liberty.

From that day on everyone praised the kindness of the mandarin. Unfortunately he was fond of drink and of reciting poetry and so he neglected his duties and often drew down upon him the reprimand of his superiors. At last he decided that for the sake of a few measures of paddy, he could not live always surrounded by empty honours and intrigues. He yearned to follow a narrow path which should lead him towards "limpid waters and blue mountains" to satisfy the longing of his heart.

And so one fine day he delivered up the seals of his office into the hands of his superiors. His inclination led him to the springs and the grottos of the country of Tông-Son. He therefore built himself a house and lived there in retirement. He was accompanied, on every excursion which his leisure allowed him, by a boy who carried a calabash of wine, a guitar and a volume of poems. He would sit down in the spot that pleased him most to drink or to play his guitar. Nor was there any strange or picturesque place that he did not know; the mountain of Chinh-Tro, the grotto of Green Clouds, the river Lai, the mouth of the river Nga—he visited them all and composed poems about them.

\* The Tran dynasty reigned from 1225 to 1413. There were fourteen kings.

† Annam in the larger sense comprises today Tonkin in the north, Annam proper in the centre, Cochin-China to the south. The inhabitants are all called Annamites.

One morning, rising early, Tu-Thuc looked out in the direction of the sea and saw some leagues away five clouds of different colours arranged in the shape of a lotus flower. He got into a boat and was rowed out to the place. There he saw a superb mountain. He stopped the boat and, having landed, climbed the mountain; bluish mist covered it up to a dizzy height. Inspired by the beauty of the place, Tu-Thuc composed these verses:

"The golden sun is playing upon the tips of the branches,  
The flowers of the grotto the guest welcomes with a smile.  
It is near the spring, but where are the gatherers of simples?  
Around the fountain I see but the boatman at his oars.  
In the fulness of freedom, seated upon a cool seat, a few notes of the guitar,  
Played carelessly in a boat, and a calabash of wine.  
If we asked of the fisherman from the country of Vo-Lang:  
The Village of the Fishers, where is it? Is it far from here?"

Having written this poem, Tu-Thuc gazed long at the scene. Suddenly he saw the mountain open, as though to invite him to enter the cavern. He did so, and when he had advanced a few steps he noticed that the mountain closed behind him; the cavern was enveloped in thick darkness. Tu-Thuc went on, feeling his way. The path was winding and narrow. At last he saw a faint light and little by little the daylight came. Raising his eyes, he saw above his head some very high peaks. Clinging to the rocks, he climbed without difficulty, and the path broadened out. When he reached the height the atmosphere became translucent, a radiant sun was shedding its light around. On every side appeared richly decorated palaces, green and smiling trees, as if in some place of pilgrimage.

Tu-Thuc was revelling in this enchanting scene when his attention was caught by two young handmaidens dressed in blue. One said to the other, "Here already is the son of the house." They disappeared to announce his arrival, but soon came back and, addressing Tu-Thuc, they said, "The Great Lady commands us to pray you to enter." Tu-Thuc followed the two girls, walked between brocaded walls, through doors covered with red lacquer, noticed the private rooms which shone with silver and gold, and read: "The Palace called 'Heaven of Jade,' the storey called 'Light of Jewels.'" Mounting upwards, he found a fairy clothed in white silk, who asked him to be seated in an armchair of white sandalwood. Then she said to him, "You delight in picturesque places; do you know what this place is?"

Tu-Thuc replied: "Yes. As a true lover of lakes and rivers, I have wandered over many places, but I did not know that there was a country here fit for the immortals. Will you be pleased to tell me?"

The fairy smiled. "How could you know this place?" she



said. "You are in the sixth of the thirty-six grottos of the mountain Phi-Lai; this mountain traverses all the seas, without touching land anywhere; as the winds blow, it takes shape or it vanishes. I am the Fairy Terrestrial of the mountain Nam-Nhac and I am called the Lady Nguy. It is because I know that your nature is noble that I have welcomed you here."

She gave an order. The handmaids retired. A girl came in, and Tu-Thuc recognized the girl who one day had broken a blossoming branch. The fairy said, "My daughter is called Giang-Huong. When she went down to the feast of flowers she met with a serious accident and it was you who saved her. I have never forgotten this, and I now allow her to link her life with yours, to pay back the debt which she owes you." The fairies of all the grottos were invited to the wedding, which was celebrated with music and song. A year passed quickly in the kingdom of the fairies. Tu-Thuc had not forgotten his native land, and one day he said to Giang-Huong, "You know that I went out for a short walk and it is already long since I wandered afar. It is difficult to suppress altogether the human feeling of our hearts; I still dream of my old village. Let me return for a while to my home."

Giang-Huong seemed to demur; she hated the thought of separation.

Tu-Thuc insisted. "It is only a question of days or months," he said. "I shall tell the family what has happened to me and will come back without delay."

Giang-Huong was weeping as she answered: "I dare not invoke conjugal love to oppose my husband's wishes. But the limits of the lower world are narrow and the days and months very short; I am afraid you will not discover the familiar face of things and objects after this lapse of time."

She spoke to the Great Fairy, but she replied, though reluctantly: "I did not expect that he would still be so attached to the world of red dust. Let him go. Why be so distressed?"

She gave Tu-Thuc a car for his journey. Giang-Huong gave him a letter written on silk, and begged him not to open it till he had arrived. He mounted his car and she could not restrain her tears.

In the twinkling of an eye Tu-Thuc was there. Everything seemed different from that which he had known before—the houses, the men, the countryside. The two sides of the mountain ravine alone remained unchanged. He gave his name to the grey-beards of the village and enquired of them. At last one of them said: "When I was a little boy, I heard it said that my grandfather was so named. One day, more than 80 years ago, he disappeared into the hillside and never came back; it was thought

that he had fallen into some crevasse. That was at the close of the Tran dynasty and we are now ruled by the third of the Lê kings."

Tu-Thuc, feeling desolate and sad, wanted to return to the place he came from. But the car was changed into a phoenix and the fabulous bird flew away. Tu-Thuc opened the letter and read these lines:

"In the midst of the clouds two phoenix were united,  
But the union of last year is now dissolved.  
On the seas men look for the tracks of the immortals,  
But the times forbid them a meeting."

He understood that this was a final farewell.

Later on, clad in a light cloak, with a small conical hat on his head, Tu-Thuc entered the Yellow Mountain in the district of Nong-Cong in the province of Thanh-Hoa. He never came back. No one knew whether he ascended to the kingdom of the fairies or was lost in the mountain.

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*

A few explanations, necessary to a first reading, should be added in order to give an idea of the form in which the popular legend is regarded by the Annamite public, that of a history.

Accurate details are not wanting; the whole story of Tu-Thuc is enclosed by space as well as by time. I should say that I have suppressed several Annamite names, for too many might well weary the Western reader. The Annamites know not only the epoch (or rather epochs) when Tu-Thuc lived and the length of his stay in the supernatural kingdom (when one year is equal to 80 of ours), but also the name of his village, that of the district he administered, even that of the place to which he retired and which exists for all time. A mountain in the province of Thanh-Hoa in the district of Nong-Cong is called the Yellow Mountain as in the olden times, like the surrounding country. The mouth of the Thân-Phu, towards which Tu-Thuc was being rowed one morning, no longer exists; alluvial deposits have transformed the countryside, but the place is still known by the same name.

Such is the vivid impression which the Annamite reader or listener gets from the story of Tu-Thuc. One must remember that while the civilization of the country was extremely refined from the point of view of morals and art, science was only in embryo, and the critical spirit was very little developed. We can imagine therefore the credence which such stories, enriched as they are by details borrowed from reality and resting upon so much accuracy, obtain among the people of Annam; it only wants to believe in its dreams, which are so fascinating to a modern mind, but given to credulity.

Nor is that all. There is further delicacy in the art of it.



Everything that might seem improbable, supernatural, is exhibited on the same plane as the rest, insensibly in a continuation of that rest, which is not only probable in itself but is dated and localized; the reader does not notice at any stage the transition from the one world to the other. Thus in the beginning the young fairy is simply a girl. She breaks a branch of blossom, is arrested, kept prisoner and finally rescued. In all these details there is nothing that might not happen to a human girl. Later on, in the midst of the enchanted country (which, however, contains no element of unreality) it is Tu-Thuc himself who calls on the immortals in his verses. What is there then to be astonished at when the cavern opens? How can he hesitate when invited to enter? Thus it is that he does so *naturally*. When he reaches the kingdom of the fairies he is happy but not at all amazed; he is at home. Is there not a familiar savour, in itself quite human, in the brusque words of the handmaids: "Here is the son of the house who has come." Then Tu-Thuc follows the girls, as a visitor would in an earthly palace. Lastly, when he finds "her who brings down perfumes," he says nothing. Is it not all quite simple, quite normal?

And that is not the whole of the fascination of our legend. In many ways it differs essentially from the legends that are to be met with in the world's folklore. The idea of a paradise where beings other than mortal live a happier life, can be found in the most primitive mentality, and has given birth to themes which have spread amongst all peoples. A man, overcome with fear in some solitary spot, meets immortals with whom he lives a certain time. When he returns to human society he sees that many years have passed, even one or more centuries, on the earth which is completely changed. Such are the materials on which are based many stories in the most diverse tongues. We may recall in particular the German legend of Tannhäuser, the Scotch legend of Thomas the Rhymer, or the Irish stories where Niamh of the golden hair leads Oisín, son of Finn, through Tír na n'Og, the country of immortality, to enjoy with him all the pleasures of the senses; three centuries pass like three days, but an indescribable longing comes over Oisín that day when from the top of the forbidden rock he sees below him Ireland, the land of his birth. We recall, too, the marvellously beautiful fairy which drew back to the earth Prince Aed, who ends by tiring of sensual pleasure and by begging St. Patrick to give him back to his country and his relatives. In this last legend we can observe the religious element which comes to be developed in the well-known legend of Tannhäuser.

But this Annamite legend has none of these traits. Here there is no struggle between saints who personify the Christian Church



and pagan deities who represent physical pleasures. There is not even a conflict between sensuous love and the pure love in the souls of its heroes. Giang-Huong is no *side* with a magic charm, which overwhelms a noble knight; there is nothing comparable to the Venus of the German Tannhäuser, or to the Sibyl of the Italian legend. She appears first as a beautiful girl, simply a girl. She comes back at the call of her mother and we are told nothing of supernatural fascination nor of divine charms.

Neither are we told anything of her loves with the fortunate mortal Tu-Thuc. Not for an instant is there any mention of their mutual feelings, either on the lowly earth or in the æthereal sojourn with the Tiên; not a word of legitimate joys, nothing of conjugal happiness, while we are far from being plunged into unbridled descriptions of sensations and of pleasures. The first time that any allusion is made to their common life, the only time that Giang-Huong uses the words "conjugal love," is when she is in tears over the impending departure of her husband. The Kingdom of the Tiên is not a sensual paradise; the bliss of it does not consist of the perfection or of the number of the pleasures of which one catches a glimpse here below.

Nor are we given a description of the kind of life led there. It is enough that that life is something different from that which we know, and that world something different from that which we see, a world without ordinary cares and troubles, a world of which we dream in the solitude of the mountain, near a grotto where the water murmurs its song or its plaint. An aspiration towards a better heaven, a thirst for purity, a longing for liberation without any precise notion of what is to be found on the other side—such as the soul knows from time to time, such as the Annamite soul often loves to bathe in—these are what the legend discloses, a popular legend, simple and transparent. It is not the illustration of a particularized doctrine. It is the reflection of a condition of the universal soul, and it is that that gives it its value, so largely poetic and so profoundly human.

We can now define the idea of Tiên. The Tiên are not actual deities. They are the men of old, men of a certain quality, of a chosen race, purer than other men, and who have become immortals. Destined to play the part of the elect and the blessed, they put off their humanity by degrees in the course of this life, often assisted by some Tiên whom they have met by chance in the windings of a path. It is easy to understand how hard it is to translate the word. There is no question of "genies" or of "gods." And fairies, at any rate in French, does not fit the Tiên who may have a masculine shape and face. For want of a better word, I have called them "immortals." But it must be understood that the word is used in a special sense.



Tu-Thuc is destined to become *Tiên*. He is called to the life of blessedness by reason of his own natural qualities. He is fond of drinking, but he is by no means a drunkard. Nor is he solely a musician, nor a poet, but rather a mixture of artist, poet, hermit and saint. But "hermit" implies prayers and austerities, and there is nothing of that kind in Tu-Thuc. Our *Tiên* to-be has nothing in common with hermits except a love of research and solitude, separation from the world and renunciation of this world's goods. As for the "saint," he rises to the Christian paradise after a life lived in strict conformity with the religious law; he is then allowed to contemplate God face to face, and his happiness consists in singing everlastingly the praises of the Lord. Tu-Thuc has not led an exemplary life; the only good deed which he has done on earth was to save a fairy girl without knowing who she was. Moreover, this detail—the only positive action of his life—is necessitated by the demands of the fabulous; there must be only the minimum of romance in a legend. The trend of the story requires that Tu-Thuc should be attached to the Other Kingdom by some kind of tie, a human tie; love, recognition, or the chance encounter of a moment. For the rest, Tu-Thuc is but a creature of refinement, who is not made for this world and who ends by getting away from it. If he becomes *Tiên*, it is not in virtue of an edifying life but simply because he has not had a life on earth.

However, as we have seen, he is not altogether freed from his attachment to this world of dust; from his place above the clouds he thinks of his family, his friends, the country of his birth. That is what brings him nearer to us; that is why his adventure moves and enthrals us. And so the legend of Tu-Thuc is only a dream-form; it is the reflection and the voice of all simple hearts whom the world deceives, at any rate at certain times, and who long for something else: a little peace, a little purity, yet nothing systematic, no belief crystallized into precise dogma. It is exactly the condition of the Annamite soul at many crises of his life, and so we can understand how this legend of nostalgia has arisen; as well, too, does it explain its place among the people of Annam for so many generations.

## THE KESHUB CHUNDER SEN CENTENARY

By VISCOUNT SAMUEL

THE custom of celebrating centenaries prevails throughout the civilized world. It is a good custom, for such celebrations recall the memory of illustrious men and women, help to reanimate their achievements and revivify their messages. Usually we celebrate centenaries of sovereigns or statesmen, poets, scientists or philosophers; but it is right that we should celebrate also the centenary of one who has been illustrious as a religious leader and social reformer.

Keshub Chunder Sen was one of the great religious initiators of the modern world. He was a man of lofty, spiritual temperament, but not one of those who therefore renounce the world. He was too wise and too good a humanitarian to take the path of withdrawal and the abandonment of social duty. On the contrary, he spent his life in strenuous and incessant effort to spread beneficent ideas.

I have long been deeply interested in the Brahmo Somaj, and so far as I understand the teaching of Keshub Sen, who was for so many years its leader, the central ideas are these. Religion is not to be regarded as something merely historical, given once and for all at some distant period in the past, but is rather a living force in the present; as much a vital concern for our generation as it has been for any previous generation. Religion is not a matter of rigid dogma, fossilizing ideas that prevailed in an age before science. Rather should it embrace all the knowledge painfully acquired by mankind through the centuries, and should be adapted to the conditions of life of the present time.

Further, it is wrong for each creed to emphasize its own particularized and distinctive doctrines so that a spirit of separatism, or even of antagonism, is created between the various faiths. Religion is something more than the religions. Yet, in seeking an ultimate unity, we ought not to insist upon uniformity. We should not be forgetful of the variety of national traditions and the needs of different temperaments.

Keshub Chunder Sen was an Indian and proud to be the servant of India. He realized to the full her own special needs. He insisted upon the urgent necessity for changes in the ancient laws and customs of India. Caste and Untouchability was an outstanding instance. The status of women was another. No one can estimate the injury done to the Indian people by child marriage, and by the denial of opportunities for womanhood. It has been well said that "no nation can permanently rise above



the level of its women." And Chunder Sen never wearied in emphasizing these truths.

Further, he incessantly attacked the evils of idolatry and superstition; and that message is still needed in a land where those evils still influence the lives of vast masses of the population, confusing their ideas and warping their judgments. He contributed also to the great movement which, in our own times, has gone far to fortify the national self-respect and the patriotic spirit of the Indian people. He dwelt upon the importance of nationalism, but was not among those who make the mistake of considering it necessarily opposed to internationalism. The two, wisely conceived, may coincide, but it has been rightly said that "Internationalism must rest upon a satisfied nationalism."

All these matters are of vital import to modern civilization. In the long run it is Ideas that rule. Practical politics are important. I have devoted almost all my life to political affairs, but I have come to see that, without depreciating the importance of action in the sphere of politics and administration, even more important are the ideas that underlie and direct and control politics. In the matters with which Keshub Chunder Sen dealt, he touched the very mainsprings of the contemporary world.

I feel, therefore, that the Brahmo Somaj Movement has rendered great service to India, and if its influence were to spread among a larger proportion of the population, that service would be greatly enhanced. And since India includes one-sixth of all mankind, the indirect effect upon the world as a whole must be significant.

In the admirable *Life*, written in connection with this centenary by Dr. P. K. Sen, I have read of the visit paid by Chunder Sen to England in 1870. In his many addresses here he proved himself a frank critic of British rule in India. We are always ready to be admonished for our own good, and his criticisms were in no way resented. He urged strongly the need for a reform in the methods of British administration in India, and for an enlargement of the liberties of the Indian nation; but he looked forward to the maintenance of a friendly co-operation between the two peoples. He had interviews with many of the leading personalities of the time, including two who must be regarded as among the greatest—Gladstone and John Stuart Mill. He was received with much kindness by Queen Victoria, and it is interesting to recall that there was present at that conversation one who is still among us—H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll.

Now that his centenary is being celebrated in India, it is well that an echo should be heard here in London; and that here also some of those who care for the cause of spiritual, social and political progress should meet together to pay tribute to the memory of a great pioneer.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN. By P. K. Sen. (Published under the auspices of the Keshub Chunder Sen Birth Centenary Committee, Calcutta.)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

To the student of modern religious movements in India, Keshub Chunder Sen will always remain a figure of considerable interest, round whose positive achievements much controversy has centred. It is undeniable that he found the Brahmo Samaj a united movement, if a movement remarkable more for the loftiness of its ideals than for the wide range of its appeal. He left it split into three sections, the Adi, the Navavidhan, and the Sadharan. The first represented the old Brahmo Samaj, from which he himself split off when he enlarged the scope of his religious outlook beyond the tenets of reformed Hinduism; the last split off from him, when a section of those who had originally followed him into secession objected to his views concerning the force of Divine commands conveyed to a leader, and desired to substitute for his sole authority as judge of matters doctrinal the consent of the majority of the community. The schism became inevitable when Keshub Chunder, for reasons which most impartial persons will consider good and sufficient, consented to the marriage of his fourteen-year-old daughter with the sixteen-year-old Maharajah of Cooch Behar. Actually, the affair represented no breach of the tenets of the Brahmo Samaj; for the Maharaja sailed immediately to complete his education in England, and it was from the first understood that consummation was to be deferred until the parties came of age. But the accusation that Keshub Chunder was a law unto himself became thereafter more difficult to answer; and it is scarcely surprising, though doubtless regrettable, that the determination of the dissidents to secede should have been fortified.

These and other controversies are rapidly fading into the mists of the past; and it is well that the occasion of the centenary of Keshub Chunder's birth has come, to enable us to re-assess, if we may, the personality of the man himself and the value of his message. For it is of the essence of his spiritual genius that he was too great to remain within the four walls of one temple, however liberal its proportions; he needed the free air of Heaven to give full play to the universality that was in him. Of necessity, therefore, his influence was to some extent disruptive, tending to expand, to the point of dissolution, any tenets too definite to include the personal individual inspiration of the moment. Keshub, in fact, was of the line of the prophets rather than of the priests; George Fox would have recognized in him a kindred soul; and he would not have found the "wrestlings in prayer" of the Puritans unfamiliar. Such men have never taken kindly to the recognition of any limitation of the efficacy of direct inspiration, and thus have always chafed at the imposition upon themselves of the restrictions that lesser minds regard as essential. Keshub Chunder, with his boundless charity, compelled no man to anything except to love God and his fellows; yet the mere magic of his personality induced many to follow him into paths



which could only with difficulty be beaten into a high-road for the passage of the multitude. His own account of his early struggle to discover God speaks eloquently of the peculiarly personal character of his revelation:

"English education unsettled my mind and left a void; I had given up idolatry but had received no positive system of faith to replace it. And how could one live on earth without a system of positive religion? At last it pleased Providence to reveal Himself unto me. I had not a single friend to speak to me of religion, God and immortality. I was passing from idolatry into utter worldliness. Through Divine grace, however, I felt a longing for something higher; the consciousness of sin was awakened within me, sin was realized in the depth of my heart in all its enormity and blackness. And was there no remedy? Could I continue to bear life as a burden? Heaven said, 'No! Sinner, thou hast hope,' and I looked upward and there was a clear revelation to me. I felt that I was not groping in the dark as a helpless child, cast away by his parents in some dreary wilderness. I felt that I had a Heavenly Friend always near to succour me. God Himself told me this—no book, no teacher, but God Himself, in the secret recesses of my heart. God spoke to me in unmistakable language and gave me the secret of spiritual life, and that was prayer, to which I owed my conversion. I at once composed forms of prayer for every morning and evening, and used them daily, although I was still a member of no Church on earth, and had no clear apprehension of God's character and attributes. I felt profoundly the efficacy of prayer in my own experience. I grew in wisdom, purity and love. But after this I felt the need of the communion of friends with whom I might be enabled, in times of difficulty and doubt, to receive spiritual assistance and comfort. So I felt that not only belief in God was necessary, but I wanted a real brotherhood on earth. Where was this true Church to be found? I did not know. Well, I established in my earlier days a small fraternity, in my own house, to which I gave the somewhat singular but significant name of "The Goodwill Fraternity." I did not allow myself for one moment to honour sectarianism, but preached to my friends these two doctrines—God our Father, every man our brother. When I felt that I wanted a Church, I found that the existing sects and Churches would not answer my purpose."

The Brahmo Samaj came nearest to his requirements; but, as we know, the dynamic impulse he lent to it disrupted its fabric into three portions.

In very truth, there was no sect or community that could contain Keshub Chunder; and if we are to estimate his contribution to the religious life of India, we must take account of the stimulus he afforded to Vaishnavism, and to Christianity, as well as of the impetus he lent to the Brahmo Samaj. His revival of *Bhakti*, and his adoption of *Sankirtan* accompanied by the traditional accessories of the *Khole*, *Karatul*, and *Ektara*, must be considered his answer to those who argued that true religion was beyond the ken of the unlettered masses. Indeed, it is not without significance that many of the photographs of Keshub Chunder taken subsequent to 1867 show him holding an *Ektara* himself.

It is no matter for wonder that Keshub Chunder, when he visited England in 1870, should have produced upon the religious leaders of almost every sect

the most profound impression. In the words of Martineau, he showed Christian England that the essence of Christianity lay, not in the doctrinal and historical machinery of the Churches, but in the spirituality of which that machinery was merely the vehicle. His contacts with some of the greatest personalities in the land—Queen Victoria herself, Gladstone, Dean Stanley, Max Müller, and many others—produced an indelible impression on the best minds of contemporary Britain. Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that many persons in all ranks of society derived an entirely new conception of India and of her people from their meetings with the gentle, tolerant, yet fearless prophet of Divine and human love. Keshub was far ahead of his age in his conception of the true relationship that should subsist between Britain and India. A staunch Nationalist, he insisted upon the dangers inherent in the policy of encouraging, or even forcing, the adoption by the Indian population of customs, manners and institutions which belong properly to England. Even in the sphere of education, he insisted that what was required was the union of the best things of East and West, rather than the displacement of one by the other. The two countries, he insisted, had been linked by Providence, not that one should be subordinated to the other, but that each should make its contribution to the common whole. He was strongly opposed to such marks of the subordination of Indians as were reflected in contemporary institutions and practices; and his manly assertion of the dignity and antiquity of the culture of his country was as admirable in its temper as it was unimpeachable in its moderation.

Dr. Sen's pious tribute to the great Keshub Chunder is worthy of the occasion that has produced it. The author has collected much useful material, which he presents with dignity and simplicity in compact compass. It constitutes an excellent guide to the study of a life of rare spiritual significance.



## SOME ASIATIC DISPLAYS AT THE GLASGOW EXHIBITION

### I. THE BURMA PAVILION

BY M. MYAT TUN

(Supervisor, Burma Pavilion.)

THE Burma Pavilion, built in the characteristic style of Burmese architecture, entirely in teak, with its red-ochre teak shingle roofs, introduces the colour, charm and atmosphere of Burma to Scotland.

Its intricate and ornamental carved façade, designed and constructed by Burmese craftsmen in Burma, with flower pattern carvings symbolic of Burmese rhythmic dancing; the variety of interesting exhibits, arrestingly displayed; and the collection of valuable ivory carvings, silverware, bronze and lacquer-ware, have earned for the Burma Pavilion a great measure of praise and admiration. By virtue of its architecture and by the assembly and display of the most representative exhibits of its arts and crafts, its industries and agricultural products, it has enabled the public to obtain a correct impression concerning the country, which can be supplemented by means of brightly coloured brochures, posters and leaflets and by conversation with representatives from the country, both Burman and British. Personal contact is a valuable and indeed essential addition to mere display and literature.

To quote from the message of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister: "Throughout the world exhibitions are an accepted medium for displaying in miniature the culture, life and industry of the countries in which they are held. But the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations are in an exceptional position by virtue of the special relationships which bind them together. It is for this reason that we are able to present here a picture of the many countries of the commonwealth."

"The Exhibition has, therefore, a special significance; it has also, I think, a special value at this time. For now, more perhaps than at any other time, there is need for mutual understanding and co-operation between the nations."

"By helping the people of the Empire to know and understand one another, it will strengthen their power of common effort."

The Burma Government and Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute, deserve great credit for the organization of Burma's representation. It is in the spirit of the Prime Minister's message that Burma has participated in the Exhibition. By illus-

trating the progress of Burma, by demonstrating the resources and potentialities of Burma, by fostering Empire trade and a closer friendship among the peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Burma shows her appreciation of the objects of the Empire Exhibition.

The underlying idea of the exhibition work may be summarized as being an attempt to represent Burma as a living reality. The nebulous geography of the public is translated into a living, human story of the culture, life and material welfare of a people. The subject of geography has progressed since it extended its teaching from a collection of disconnected facts of boundaries, rivers, mountains and towns, to the economic life of the people. It has shifted its emphasis to the interdependence of the human and the material environment.

The intention of the Burma Pavilion authorities is to regard Burma much in the way of an economic historian and represent the country in an attractive way which will hold the interest of the public just as the screen and the Press do. The secret of success is similar in both cases—an ability to interest the public in the story that is being told.

At the entrance the Burma Railways Kiosk affords a picturesque introduction to Burmese architecture. It helps to create an essentially Burmese atmosphere. Hexagonal in shape, it is built entirely of teak, in the "pythat" or multi-tiered roof style of architecture, with carved ornamental brackets and eaves, lotus and other floral designs to symbolize the virtues of sincerity and truth. The delicate spire, surmounting the kiosk, with its exquisite hand-carved symbols, evokes appreciative comment both from the visitor and the expert in woodwork.

Close by, the Port Commissioners of Rangoon exhibit a panoramic model of the Port of Rangoon. The motto reads "Dum Defluat Amnis."

Today the modernity of the city of Rangoon is shown by the number of ocean liners, seaplanes, wharves, cranes, trams, railways, modern offices and public buildings.

*Rice and timber* together have helped to build the modern capital of Burma. Rice is given a most prominent display in keeping with the economic importance of rice to Burma. Burma being the world's greatest exporter of rice, it is natural that the Government Agricultural Department exhibit not only the present qualities of rice but also new and improved qualities of grain, the result of research at the Government Research Stations like Hmawbi, demonstrating the potential production of rice in the future. This is done so that the demand for high quality rice, which is the chief feature of the European market, may be stimulated and production diverted to channels where the profit



is highest. Thus it serves the double function of informing the public as to the latest improved grains and the consequent demand, transmitted through the retailers and wholesalers, will have its reaction on the production and the sale of the article.

It provides also a convenient means of collecting essential information by personal contact with the individual buyers, on the important subject of consumers' demand, which is one of the most vital factors in the fixing of prices. To a country like Burma, whose national wealth is almost entirely dependent on the price obtained for the one-crop product of rice, the necessity of publicity and the collection of marketing and statistical information is of paramount importance.

A comprehensive diorama and photographs on rice production, exhibited by the Burma Rice Shippers, ensure both commercial and educative value. Samples of the mineral resources of Burma are demonstrated by the Bawdwin Mines and also the Mawchi mines.

The Shan States have six models dressed in typical costumes, etc., depicting some of the races in that area.

*The Burmah Oil Co.*, by means of a well-detailed diorama of the oilfields at Yenangyaung, an old-fashioned hand-dug oil well contrasted with a working model of a modern machine-dug oil well, and another diorama of the Syriam oil refineries and an illustrated brochure, have vividly portrayed the important part oil plays in the national economy of Burma and the industrial organization and welfare work of the company.

The Irawaddy Flotilla Co., in association with the Bibby and Henderson Shipping Companies, to encourage the public to visit Burma, have had the happy idea of exhibiting original water colours by Mr. Talbot Kelly. The public are thus able to learn to appreciate the beauty of Burmese scenery, the quiet peace of the riverside village with its golden pagoda and monasteries (kyaungs) and rest houses (zayats).

The timbers of Burma are effectively displayed in the Pavilion panellings of padauk (*Pterocarpus macrocarpus*), laurel (*Terminalia tomentosa*) and yinma (*Chickrasy* or *Chukrasia tabularis*). There are samples of flooring of pyinkado, gurjun and teak (*Tectona grandis*).

Teak (*Tectona grandis*), one of the main exports of Burma, is exhibited very adequately. A zayat (Burmese rest house), all in teak, has been built to contain the various teak exhibits.

Many thousands of hand-carved teak elephants, carved ash trays, flower bowls, labelled "genuine Burma teak," have been eagerly purchased by the public. These undoubtedly serve as an excellent advertisement for Burma teak.

Six miniature panoramic models of a hall, garden, library,

railway waiting-room, docks and a bank counter illustrate the uses of teak. Excellent in their detailed work, these miniatures will probably serve as a guide for future exhibits and exhibitions.

Their very smallness makes them popular exhibits. They offer the additional advantages of space, economy and cheapness.

The best of Burmese craftsmanship may be viewed at the Cottage Industries Section, where there are silver bowls, peacocks, graceful ivory sailing boats, complete with sails and ivory chains and anchor, chinthes or leogryphs, Burmese bronzes, and gold, red and black lacquer-ware.

Praise and admiration have been lavished on these products of the arts and crafts of Burma. Hand-woven silks of Mandalay and Amarapooa brighten the Pavilion with their lively colours and original design.

Keen interest in Burma has been shown in the Press. In the words of Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute, "Burma may well be proud of her show at the Empire Exhibition."

Lady Cochrane (the wife of Sir Archibald Cochrane, Governor of Burma), on her second visit, remarked, "Burma has been an unqualified success."

For the Exhibition, as well as for Burma, the Burma Pavilion has achieved in full measure the aims and objects of its creators.

## II. MALAYA

By W. N. SANDS

(Officer in Charge of the Malayan Court of the Colonial Pavilion.)

The natural resources of Malaya, the suitability of climate and soil for a wide range of crops, and the cosmopolitan population have resulted in a multiplicity of industries of varying importance such as perhaps cannot be equalled in many other countries. The task of the Exhibition Committee in Malaya in selecting exhibits which will give the visitors to the Exhibition an insight into the industries and resources of the country and of the life of the inhabitants has been a difficult one; they have had to be content to select as subjects the more important industries and a few examples of native industries, relying very largely on photography to depict the scenic beauties of the country and the life of its varied inhabitants.

Within the limits of the space available in the Malayan Court, it has been impossible to give a comprehensive range of exhibits to show the industrial and social life of Malaya. The organizers have therefore confined such exhibits to these aspects of transport:



Firstly, the Government railways of Malaya; secondly, water transport by a model of the Singapore harbour; and thirdly, air transport by two models of the new million-pound airport in Singapore, which was built on a reclaimed swamp.

#### AGRICULTURE

Malaya has achieved renown by reason of agriculture and mining. While the importance of rubber by far overshadows other crops—for there are over 3½ million acres under this crop—the country has proved suitable for such a multiplicity of crops that it is impossible adequately to do justice to them all in the confines of this Exhibition. Three crops have been chosen for special presentation, while a number of other crops such as coconuts, rice, oil palms, areca-nuts, and spices are dealt with by means of specimens and photographically.

Attention is therefore directed to exhibits concerning the following agricultural industries: rubber, which has made Malaya famous; pineapples, which grow luxuriantly and supply a cheap and absolutely pure canned fruit product; and tea, a young but thriving industry which has developed in recent years by reason of making more accessible the mountainous region in the centre of Malaya.

##### *Rubber*

The large realistic diorama depicts a typical scene on a rubber estate, where Indian labourers of both sexes are seen tapping rubber trees and transporting the latex. The rubber trees in this diorama are real.

Adjacent to this diorama is a scale model of a modern rubber factory, where the milky latex from the field is converted into smoked rubber sheets, in which condition they are shipped.

##### *Pineapples*

Although the pineapple is not the second agricultural industry in Malaya, yet it is of considerable importance. The main areas under this crop are in the State of Johore, where there are also a number of canning factories. Factories and areas under this crop also exist in Singapore Island and in Selangor. Pineapples flourish in Malaya. Some idea of this may be gathered from the fact that normally the wholesale price of the canning pine is from 2s. 6d. to 5s. per 100. At the present time there is a glut of fruit and the price is as low as 2s. a hundred fruits. The fact that pineapples flourish so exceedingly in Malaya and that labour is cheap and plentiful results in the fact that Malayan canned pineapples are the cheapest canned fruit on the market.

The large diorama shows the interior of a pineapple factory in the State of Johore. Great care is exercised to ensure that pineapple canning is carried out under hygienic conditions. The design of the factory must comply with stringent conditions laid down by law. The sanitary requirements to which the factory has to conform prescribe the materials of which floors, walls, pillars and tables in the factory are to be made, and state, *inter alia*, that the walls of all rooms in which the cut fruit is handled shall be lined with white glazed tiles to a height of 5 feet and that there shall be a minimum of 50 square feet of floor space for every operator in the cutting room. The operators must wear clean white suits and caps, and adequate baths and sanitary arrangements must be available. It is also usual for operators to wear rubber gloves when handling cut fruit.

Interesting exhibits which may suitably be mentioned here are canned mangosteen and rambutan, the latter resembling the litchi in flavour.

### *Tea*

There are now a number of tea estates in many parts of Malaya in addition to several hundred acres cultivated on smallholdings. The yields obtained on Malayan estates and the quality of the tea compare favourably with that in other countries with similar conditions.

Malayan tea is exported to the United Kingdom and also finds favour in Malaya, where it is being sold in increasing quantities.

After manufacture the made tea is sorted into the five different grades to meet special market demands. The grades are as follows: broken orange pekoe, orange pekoe, pekoe, fannings and dust.

### *Cutch*

Mangrove bark extract is the tanning substance made from the bark of trees found in the extensive mangrove swamps of British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, and is used chiefly for the tanning of leather and the preservation of fishing nets and sail-cloth. The work of collecting the bark is done by natives, who cut down the trees and strip off the bark, which is then transported to the factories.

To extract the tannin, the bark is crushed by machinery and then leached or boiled at various temperatures through a series of steam-regulated vats. The extract thus obtained passes on to an evaporating plant, where, by various processes of vacuum drying, the liquid is concentrated into a viscous congealed mass and run off into moulds. Air-cooling completes the process, and the solidified contents of the mould are placed in the packing case or sack.



Mangrove bark extract is one of the principal jungle products of British Borneo and is shipped to most countries of the world. The bark from which it is made contains properties which are particularly effective in withstanding the deteriorative action of sea water, and therefore mangrove bark extract makes an excellent preservative for fishing nets. In blend with other extracts it provides a first-class tanning agent for leather.

### MINING

About one-third of the world's tin comes from Malaya. The tin ore is obtained by various methods, from the primitive methods of the Chinese in working the deposits in open wooden pans to modern dredges and hydraulic plant.

The fine working model shown was supplied by the London Tin Corporation and depicts the modern method of tin dredging.

### OIL PRODUCTION

Although no mineral oil is found in Malaya, important supplies occur in the neighbouring State of Brunei, in Borneo, which is administered by the Malayan Government. The Brunei exhibits comprise (a) a scale model of a production block and includes separators, field collecting and storage tanks, and (b) a model showing an imaginary section of a well. The excellent models were made and staged by the British Malayan Petroleum Company of Brunei, who also display samples of the different grades of crude and refined oil produced.

### ARTS AND CRAFTS

#### *Weaving*

The hand-woven silk cloth of Trengganu has been famous for generations. It is a true cottage industry, and practically every village house in Kuala Trengganu town and in the immediately surrounding country districts has its loom. The weaving is done entirely by the women. An excellent diorama shows a verandah of a Malay house in which are life-size figures of women at work weaving gold-thread silk fabric on a native primitive loom, whilst the painted back and side canvases depict typical scenes on the east coast of the country. The natural silk yarn is bought from China and dyed to the required colours. The dyes are synthetic—the art of obtaining the local natural dyes that were once used having now been almost entirely lost. There is a local Arts and Crafts Society which devotes a great deal of attention to obtaining and distributing fast dyes to

weavers. The products of the Trengganu looms command a large sale throughout Malaya, and the extent of industry, which was given a considerable fillip when the textile quota system was introduced, can be gauged by the fact that locally woven silk sarongs and cloth to the value of no less than £35,000 were exported in 1936. This may not appear to be a very large figure, but although the State of Trengganu is large the population is sparse, and the value of silk cloth sold therefore represents a very material and welcome addition to the income of the Malay inhabitants.

An attempt has been made to show the beauty of Malayan design and workmanship and the possibility of adapting these Eastern fabrics in Western dress-making and upholstery.

The Malay woman is also adept at needlework, an art which she has for long used for the adornment of her person. Examples of gold-thread work is evidence of her skill in this direction, while the adoption of gold thread to the decorations of ladies' hand-bags shows that she is prone to adopt Western patterns with delightful results.

#### *Silverware*

The manufacture of articles in silver is an old industry in Malaya, which at one time was especially encouraged by Malay royalty, who kept silversmiths in their employ. In recent years the competition of imported articles of silver perhaps has rendered Malayan silver less popular. The local workman has countered this competition by putting his work into articles for which there is always a demand. Specimens of silverware from Kelantan and Brunei are exhibited, but there are clever Malay craftsmen in most of the other States.

#### *Brassware*

Brunei is famous for the manufacture of gongs, four beautiful specimens of which are exhibited.

#### *Walking Sticks*

Although less fashionable than formerly, the Malay still finds a market for walking sticks. This trade flourishes in the State of Kedah, but examples of this industry from the State of Pahang and Selangor are also exhibited.

#### *Plaiting in Grasses, Bamboo and Leaves, etc.*

An old-fashioned village industry is that of weaving mats, hats, bags and other useful articles with the dried leaves of the screw



pine and other plants. The designs used in this work, both of colour and of plaiting, are most attractive. Examples of this work were made in the State of Negri Sembilan, Trengganu and Pahang. The work is that of Malay women. More recently the Government has introduced basketry as a handicraft in vernacular schools. Samples of this work exhibit once more how clever the Malay is with his hands. The specimens exhibited were made at the Sultan Idris Training College for Vernacular Teachers in Perak, from which college also came the exhibits of pottery and the stencil printing on silk cloth.

### *Wood Carving*

In olden days Malays carried a wavy kris as a weapon; now it is carried as an ornament. The art of kris-making is dying out, but a few examples are shown of recent workmanship. The blades were made in the State of Kelantan, while the handles and sheaths were made in the State of Negri Sembilan. The designing of blades and fashioning of the handles is beloved of the Malay, who today gives this care to the design of the "parang," a handy knife which he carries and uses for a hundred useful purposes a day—cutting wood, weeding, cutting his path through the jungle and paring his nails! The wood carving of the Malays is of no mean merit, either in design or execution. The art is frequently put to use in the construction and adornment of their homes. This dexterity is also shown by the model of a Malay fishing boat, which also serves to draw attention to the fishing industry. The seas around Malaya abound with fish—and the Malay, a sea-loving people long before they took kindly to the more peaceful pursuit of agriculture, is a clever boat-builder and a splendid seaman.

## TRANSPORT

### *Railways*

The Federated Malay States Railways exhibit consists of two models—viz., a one-sixth scale model of a day and night first-class air-conditioned coach and a one-forty-eighth scale model of the Central Railway Offices in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of the Federated Malay States.

The whole of the work connected with the construction and lay-out of this striking Court, together with the reception and staging of the exhibits, was carried out by the Malayan Information Agency in London.

### *Singapore Harbour*

Our model shows the harbour of Singapore with the premises of the Singapore Harbour Board.

The approach of the harbour of Singapore is one of the most beautiful in the world. The harbour itself is practically landlocked by islands and these afford such protection that until the reconstruction of the wharves was put in hand some 22 years ago, the berthing accommodation consisted only of wooden wharves on wooden piles.

Singapore has been designated "the Crossroads of the East," and a wonderful variety of vessels are to be seen in its harbour: large ocean-going vessels and cargo steamers from many countries to the Chinese junks and native six-oared fishing boats. During the year 1936 merchant ships representing a tonnage of 14,880,561 tons entered the port.

The Singapore Harbour Board controls all the public wharves and dry docks in Singapore, and has over 690 acres of land. Assets and capital outlay of the Board exceeds  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds. The Board has its own Police Force and Fire Brigade fully equipped with modern motor fire floats, motor fire engines, smoke appliances, etc. The Board lights its premises throughout and controls all traffic thereon, does all road making and repairing. It also undertakes the entire sanitation and scavenging of the premises and maintains a medical staff and motor ambulance.

### SINGAPORE CIVIL AIRPORT

The two models depict the site of the Singapore Airport as it was in 1931 before any construction work began and as it is now with the airport completed.

The striking features of this great public work are that:

(i.) Two hundred and sixty-two acres of unhealthy mosquito-breeding swamp have been eliminated.

(ii.) It provides combined land and seaplane accommodation.

(iii.) It is only two miles from the centre of the town.

The main reclamation entailed transporting and consolidating  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic yards of earth. The earth was quarried from hills 5 miles from the site and transport was by a light railway.

The whole scheme was carried out to designs and plans made by the Department of Public Works, Straits Settlements, the terminal building, hangars and other ancillary buildings being to designs by the architectural branch of the Department. The main reclamation, which took five years, was carried out by the Department of Public Works by direct labour; an average force of



1,200 labourers was employed throughout the period. The buildings, slipway and jetty were carried out by contractors, European and Asian, to the designs and under the supervision of the Department of Public Works, while the necessary dredging and other marine work required to provide the seaplane anchorage were carried out by the rural marine branch of the Department, using departmental plant and labour.

There is a tablet in the main hall of the terminal building which reads:

"The site of this Airport was selected by Sir Cecil Clementi, G.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, 1930-1934, whose vision foresaw its possibilities and whose courage and ability secured its adoption."

This pays a fitting tribute to the originator of the scheme.

The airport was formally opened for traffic on June 12, 1937, having cost approximately £1,000,000.

Of interest and pleasing in its decorative effect is the series of flags and crests of the States.

### III. INDIAN EXHIBITS IN THE WOMEN OF THE EMPIRE PAVILION

There are some very pleasing exhibits in this section both from British India and the Indian States.

The Government School of Arts and Crafts in Lucknow displays a series of twelve paintings.

From Bombay comes an embroidered picture, entitled "Repose," on satin sewed in lady's locks.

The Widows' Industrial Home in Rajputana is represented by dolls illustrative of a marriage party procession.

The exhibits of the Bengal Home Industries Association include a golden Muga Kushida of material described as being identical with that used by King Francis I. for lining his pavilion at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. There are also Bhutanese woven pieces.

Madras shows a white shawl of cotton lace.

Among the Indian States Baroda figures prominently. The exhibits in this section include a fan made from glass beads with animal figures, a garland made from cloth, a toran (door decoration), wall-hanging decorations, a sari embroidered with stars, and a kamkha (blouse) with gold embroidery.

Kashmir shows a white shawl faced with gold.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND WORLD PEACE\*

BY H.H. THE AGA KHAN

THE world situation of to-day has struck such blows at the prestige and hopes which in the early years were linked with the League of Nations that many supporters of the institution have lost heart and confidence in its future. It will be appropriate, therefore, in this Peace Pavilion and at an Exhibition so illustrative of the arts of peace as pursued in Scotland, to bring forward some considerations which may encourage us to go forward with the task of upholding the League and the ideals and conceptions of which it is the expression.

The first and most cheering of these considerations is that these ideals and conceptions are themselves imperishable. They are as ancient as the search of man for God. All the great religions of the world have taught the brotherhood of man, and peace and goodwill to all men. Muhammad, indeed, went further and sought to establish a human brotherhood world-state. Great philosophers down the ages have never allowed these ideals and generous impulses to be forgotten. For many years prior to the War there were international discussions on the limitation of armaments and the reign of law instead of force, and a number of successful endeavours to apply the principle of arbitration to international disputes. The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague was planned in pre-war days, and has to its credit the settlement of some international differences. The two Hague Conferences were early efforts to form a League of Nations.

The next consideration is that of the indispensability to human progress of the conceptions on which the League is based. The War threw a lurid light, not yet quenched, on the insecurity from which the most civilized nations of the world have suffered in their relations to each other. Nothing was writ larger on the history of the struggle than the fact that the immense havoc it wrought would be utterly vain unless international life were reorganized on a basis of justice, equality and public law in replacement of the law of brute force. Without such reorganization there was the prospect of recurring wars, each more devastating than the last, on account of the resources of science being increasingly available for both offensive and defensive conflict. The end of such recurrent wars must be the collapse, not only of our modern civilization, but perhaps even of organized society.

\* Based on an address in the Peace Pavilion of the Glasgow Exhibition, July 8, 1938.



Thus the provision of a League of Nations became a necessity. It had to be made in haste, and from its inception there were certain factors which were a heavy handicap to success. Though President Wilson had done so much to shape the Covenant, the United States—the strongest individual sovereign Power in the world and possessing vast resources—refused its co-operation. Further, the attachment of the Covenant to the Peace Treaty led to the German feeling, so fully exploited later, that the new institution was in essence a League of the victors against the vanquished. But the statesmanship of Stresemann brought Germany into the League later on, and in its early years the League handled with success a number of difficult problems, some at least of which would most probably have led to war in pre-League days. These problems included the Upper Silesia and Saar settlements, the regularization of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus passages, the German and Austrian War Debt adjustments, and the admission into the League of Egypt, Afghanistan, Turkey and—last, but by no means least—of Russia.

Unfortunately, however, the outlook changed before the League succeeded in changing the mentality of the generations brought up under the old power politics or to educate sufficiently the rising generation (which had little or no personal recollection of 1914-18) before other voices and ideologies clamoured for hearing and demanded acceptance. In the Far East, in Northern Africa and on the Continent of Europe there were disavowals of the authority of the League, and three great Powers forsook its ranks.

These events led men to question whether the League was endowed with sufficient strength to save mankind from the disaster of another general war. There were in this country Isolationists and men wedded to the old imperialistic ideas only too ready to exploit these doubts. It was suggested that, having failed in the main objectives, the League might limit its activities to the many secondary purposes it has so well served for two decades—those relating to labour, health, social and economic advance, and the suppression of the drug and white-slave traffics.

To such suggestions of abandonment of the primary purpose of the League an emphatic negative must be returned by all believers in human progress. Whatever may be the weaknesses the years have revealed in the structure of the League, whatever desertions there may have been from its ranks, our task is to preserve this instrument, saving the world with loving and pious care. There are chapters in human history which show that later generations have derived enormous benefits from the maintenance of great movements and institutions during phases in which they have been incapable of effecting the good for which they were designed. It is a law of life that men should labour and endure



to uphold ideals and institutions, and that other men should enter into their labours. If this is our lot we may take encouragement from glancing at a period of English history of a not unsimilar kind. During the reign of the Tudors such representative institutions as had existed became merely nominal assenting bodies for registering the will of the sovereign. Yet all the outward forms of their implied authority were maintained. Later, when the Stuarts were on the throne, the internal development of the nation had gone far enough to make the maintenance of such autocracy an impossibility. The institutions themselves were infused with new life, and stage by stage their power grew through generations into the effective sovereignty of Parliament, and thus the ultimate purpose of their establishment was achieved. There can be no doubt that even the formal maintenance of those institutions in the days of autocracy prevented a general decay of the ideas of which they were the symbol.

Similarly to-day the League must not be allowed to renounce the great ideal of being the Parliament of Nations, the supreme authority to ordain peace instead of war throughout the world. Let us carefully preserve those ideals and keep them as a living hope in the hearts of men. The League must be not only a security and defence against war but a recognized fountain of justice which will bring about a new spirit among nations by reducing trade barriers, and by bringing to the needs of all mankind the resources of vast untapped areas in South America, Africa and elsewhere.

In this way the temptations for international dispute would be greatly narrowed, and aggressive nations would find themselves unable to reap the fruits of their aggression. We might go back to the ideas of Briand and Stresemann to form a United States of Europe, if she could be grouped into an economic power unit. Then indeed it would be possible for the nations of Europe to promote the use of the undeveloped parts of the world, bringing in America and such Asiatic countries as were advanced enough to take a hand in this work of making the world a garden for the enjoyment of all races and all nations. This programme would provide an incentive for the pursuits of the victories of peace, and would bring to undeveloped regions the resources of water-power, electricity, and other forms of scientific invention. This would promote both increased consumption and production, instead of the competition of economic nationalism, with its efforts to keep monopolies and to sell to other nations without buying from them.

A necessary alteration in the fundamental constitution of the League would be to allow the inhabitants of a portion of a country—if sufficiently numerous—to have a referendum under League direction. By this they could, through a substantial majority, be



able to leave that State and either remain independent members or join some other country. Of course it would be necessary that the unit to which this would apply should be comparable, in population or area, to those of the smallest States that exist to-day, so as to be not merely a cantonal position.

But, if my main contention has been properly understood, the material motive and incentive to such changes would disappear, and all that would remain would be the desire for cultural and linguistic affinities. If once more the principles of Briand and Stresemann triumph, if the continent of Europe outside Russia becomes a real "united states" with economic union, and if the great world Powers co-operate on a basis of no privilege for the development of backward areas—then indeed nine-tenths of the dangers to civilization would disappear, and what would be left could easily be handled by the central governing body of mankind.

Science has placed at the disposal of man in this generation many forces of destruction. But man, by spiritual progress, can be civilized enough to become the master of such forces and to use them not for destruction but for economic, physical and cultural development. By this term I do not mean religious development alone, but all those things of the spirit and of culture to which insufficient attention is paid when men's thoughts are so insistently turned, as they are to-day, to the menace of war. We have to learn afresh the value of the life of the spirit, and that it can flourish among the peoples only to the extent to which it overcomes by collective action hatred, ill-will and other fruits of selfish ambition in men and nations, building up that single super-State where all races, civilizations and States can feel that they are equal parts of a Holy Whole.

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## INDIA

LAND OF NO REGRETS. By Lieut.-Colonel A. A. Irvine, C.I.E. (*Collins*). 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Colonel Andrew Irvine, whose wit has been enjoyed by all those who had the good fortune to serve with him in India, has produced one of the most readable books of reminiscence which I have had the good fortune to encounter. The author has enjoyed a long family connection with India; and not the least interesting of his chapters is based upon an old diary chronicling a journey made in 1814-15 by his great-grandmother in the train of Lord Moira, better known to history as the Marquis of Hastings. True to this family connection, Colonel Irvine has spent a long working life in India; and has been privileged to take part in many stirring events, his own share in which he modestly chronicles. Gifted from his early years with "a pleasant pen," he imparts to us his own enjoyment of his Indian service; while his extraordinarily intimate knowledge of the country makes him a first-class interpreter of the people he has encountered and the events he has witnessed.

Although the characteristic of the book which will impress the casual reader most strongly is the inexhaustible fund of good stories, there is a serious core of reflection which links all the anecdotes together. Colonel Irvine, who during the war and post-war period enjoyed remarkable opportunities of studying at first-hand formidable subversive movements, is convinced that anarchism and communism still remain serious dangers. He has had the courage to recount in some detail the events of 1919; and his incisive criticism of the treatment meted out to General Dyer deserves to be considered with respect even by those who do not share his point of view. Colonel Irvine was a witness in the libel action brought by Sir Michael O'Dwyer against Sir Sankaran Nair; and is at some pains to defend the late Mr. Justice McCardie against the strictures passed upon him in Parliament. But is not Colonel Irvine in error in stating that the then Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) "was concerned to defend his Minister, Mr. Montagu"? Surely at that later time the Secretary of State for India was Mr. Wedgwood Benn?

Colonel Irvine's gay and good-tempered humour will appeal to many of those who do not always endorse his political convictions. The keynote of the book is, in fact, struck on the first page, when Colonel Irvine explains that Bishop Heber's statement in the well-known hymn that "only man is vile" is to be explained by the fact that when the ship bearing the saintly man was anchored off Ceylon, a gentleman of Sinhalese extraction swam out from the shore and looted the Bishop's cabin! It is tempting to quote at length from Colonel Irvine's collection of anecdotes which are unquestionably fated to be served up in after-dinner speeches for many years to come. There

are magnificent examples of the humour of Tommy Atkins, of which the following may be taken as a fair sample :

"The Coronation Durbar at Delhi furnished one gem for my collection. His Majesty being present in person, the Viceroy occupied a lowlier position than was usual in ceremonial functions. 'Ar,' murmured a Tommy, as the procession passed slowly through the lines of troops standing at the present, 'Ar, we used ter know them Ardinges—onst!'"

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THE WHEEL OF HEALTH. By Dr. G. T. Wrench. (C. W. Daniel Co.)  
6s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CUTHBERT SPRAWSON.)

Probably each of the large continents could show at the same time examples of races who exhibit the features of physical fitness and health and of races of puny build and subject to many forms of sickness. Dr. G. T. Wrench, himself a medical practitioner of long Indian experience and observation, has selected for this purpose India and the people of Hunza. He describes their unusual strength and endurance and their freedom from disease and then makes careful enquiry into the cause of their happy state, demonstrating that it is their food that is the predominant, if not the sole, factor in the Hunza's superiority over their neighbours and over the rest of the world in general. After consideration of the Hunza food, Dr. Wrench goes on to correlate that diet with Sir Robert McCarrison's observations on the relative value of the various diets of the Indian peasantry as shown by giving these articles of food to groups of rats. McCarrison found that "poor food in rats is the primary cause of a great portion of disease in them," and, applying similar conclusions to man, Dr. Wrench states: "The suspicion is that faulty food is the primary cause of such an overwhelming mass of disease that it may prove to be simply the primary cause of disease." The advantage of good housing is admitted, but Dr. Wrench aptly cites M'Gonigle's work at Stockton-on-Tees, where the effect of a slum clearance was to increase the morbidity among those who had moved to the better area simply because the higher rents of the houses allowed them less to spend on food. The primary importance of nutrition as the basis of health is thus established.

Dr. Wrench's whole argument is well stated and philosophically reasoned, and he proceeds then to consider whether any special virtue lies in the Hunza food because of their methods of agriculture. He quotes Sir Albert Howard's work on plant diseases, and on the value of prepared natural manure as contrasted with chemical additions to the soil. The Chinese and Hunza methods of agriculture are contrasted favourably with those of Europe and North America.

The attempt to apply all the conclusions to modern civilized urban life is admittedly difficult, for we seem to be in a morass of evil methods and incorrect adaptations to our surroundings, and, as Dr. Wrench says, "One cannot leap out of a swamp." An attempt is being made, however, in a



few places in England to adopt the methods of agriculture described, and to feed the workers and their families on the products. The experiment will be watched with interest, for, if the argument is correct, the people thereon of the next generation should be all of *A1* physique and health. So far as the man of this generation is concerned, condemned to work in a city and dwell in a suburb, the advice in brief is to eat more raw vegetables and fruit, with their skins, and wholemeal bread, and to eat less meat, to drink more milk and not to eat many different foods at one meal. The advice is as sound as the book is interesting, and it will repay many to read it for the benefit both of their own homes and of the community at large.

But one disturbing thought arises. If the Hunzas are so ideally fit and free from disease, why are there not more of them? In 1880 there were 6,000 Hunzas, and now there are only 14,000, whereas the Indian labourer, of whom the Madrassi type is taken by the author to form a physical contrast with the Sikh and the Hunza, multiplies with such rapidity as to cause some apprehension for the future of India.

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FOOD-PLANNING FOR FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS. By Radhakamal Mukerjee.  
(Macmillan.)

(Reviewed by C. F. STRICKLAND.)

Dr. Mukerjee is a prolific writer and has in recent years produced a series of books on economic subjects, with particular reference to the pressure of population and the means of subsistence in India and the surrounding countries. Not unnaturally, he often covers the same ground, but does not fail to add new matter in each case. In the present volume he discusses in detail the population and productive resources of India, illustrating the lamentably low standard of living and its tendency further to decline as agricultural holdings are ever more subdivided. His reading has been wide, but the references to books or other authorities to support his statements on contentious questions are fewer than is required in a scientific work. In some cases the figures quoted are estimates for which no adequate data are at present available. Such are the totals of the milk and fish supply (p. 24) of India and the assessment of calories (p. 66) in the diet of a Bengali peasant at various periods of the year. Only an exact exposition of the quantity and quality of the data can give value to these figures. The use of very numerous tables and graphs does not compensate for the lack of references.

While, therefore, his treatment of these complicated problems cannot be called scientific, Dr. Mukerjee, having set out an array of correct facts and of suppositions which may be correct, is both constructive and fearless in his proposals with regard to them. The uneconomic attitude of old-fashioned Hindus towards the cow, the marriage of minors, and the neglect of night-soil as manure are roundly condemned, the improvement of crops, of livestock and of popular diets is vigorously urged, and the British

Empire is invited to find space elsewhere for India's superfluous millions. These recommendations point the way to a solution, though the last may not win approval in all quarters; the author does not deal with the effect of Indian immigration on the standard of living in the countries which receive the immigrants. He supports the practice of birth-control.

If Dr. Mukerjee's views were generally accepted—and they are shared by a growing number of the younger generation of Indians—India would be happier than she now is. It must, however, be admitted that he usually confines his recommendations to general terms, and though the defects of prevailing diets and practices are made clear, the precise way of achieving a conversion of public opinion is not explained. There is consequently very little *planning* of the food supply in this book. It contains, on the other hand, a large quantity of material and suggestions which should be examined by specialists, and which should thereafter form the basis of just such general studies as this. Dr. Mukerjee would be one of the most competent persons to collate the conclusions of specialists for the benefit of statesmen. Meanwhile he is a pioneer, seeking a path in a forest which shows few clear landmarks, and not to be blamed if his steps are guided partly by guesswork, provided that he acknowledges the fact. He has nevertheless written an interesting book, to be read with a measure of caution, but certainly to be read.

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BETTER VILLAGES. By F. L. Brayne, C.I.E., I.C.S., Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction, Punjab. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FRANK NOYCE.)

As Sir Sikander Hyat Khan says in his Foreword to this little book, Mr. Brayne's name is a household word in the rural Punjab. It is not unknown in other parts of India, and it is much to be hoped that it will soon become even better known, for his latest book is one which ought to be at once distributed by Provincial Ministries to all district officers and to all officials who hold any position of responsibility in the "nation-building" departments. Its 300 odd pages are packed full of "wise saws and modern instances," wise saws regarding ways and means of making the Indian village a healthier and more prosperous and, therefore, a more contented and altogether happier place of abode than it is at present and modern instances of their successful application in the Punjab. Mr. Brayne does not claim to speak for any Province other than the one he knows so well, and there may be doubts about the practicability of some of the methods he advocates even there, but there can be no doubt whatever that every chapter in the book—and there are nineteen of them—deserves the earnest consideration of all those who are engaged in what he rightly describes as an interesting field of endeavour. It is, of course, far more than that, for there is no field anywhere in the world which offers greater scope for the exercise of wisely directed enthusiasm than the Indian countryside. There is no aspect of village life on which Mr. Brayne does not touch. He has, for



example, something to say, and it need hardly be said that it is well worth saying, about crime and faction in the village, the problem of erosion, occupational sidelines such as the keeping of poultry, goats, bees and silk-worms, the wearing of ornaments by men, women, and especially by children, the destruction of prickly pear and tattooing as a preventive of cattle lifting. He has much to say about the education of women and the consolidation of the fragmented holdings which are the curse of Indian agriculture, for it is perhaps in these two directions, even more than in the co-operative movement generally, though it has had a much less chequered history in the Punjab than in any other Province, that he sees the greatest possibilities of improving the standard of living in the Indian village. The very reasonable price at which the book has been published should do much to secure for it the wide circulation it deserves. A word of praise must be given to the excellent illustrations.

### AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN HYDERABAD

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS. By S. M. Bharucha, Additional Revenue Secretary. (*Hyderabad-Deccan Government Central Press.*) 1937.

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

It is a trite and well-worn saying that one of the main factors in the admittedly low standard of living of the Indian masses is their chronic indebtedness. As one authority has aptly put it, the Indian peasant "is born in debt, goes through life with debts, and dies in debt." This is true alike of Indian India and of British India, and due to a variety of causes, not all of which are economic.

In one Indian State the total indebtedness of the population of 6½ million was estimated, a few years ago, at no less than 35 crores of rupees. Enquires showed, moreover, that the volume of debt, so far from declining, was on the increase, in spite of the gradual spread of the co-operative movement, and that, in a fairly large number of cases, the debt is very nearly equal to, if not greater than, the value of the assets.

It is the fashion, in the East perhaps even more than in the West, to lay almost all the difficulties of the agricultural community at the door of the Government. It is well, therefore, to be reminded that in many villages in Hyderabad, where taxation is exceptionally light, although the volume of indebtedness is conservatively estimated at 64½ crores, the annual interest paid to moneylenders is more than double the land revenue.

The truth, of course, as the author of this instructive report on Agricultural Indebtedness in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions clearly shows, is that, except in periods of acute and protracted depression and falling prices, the tax collectors' demands have little, if anything, to do with the question. On the other hand, there is little doubt, as Mr. S. M. Bharucha says, that the reason why the problem has assumed such vast proportions in India

during the last fifty to sixty years is the big increase in the value of land "owing to security of life and property and the enforcement of law and order under the Pax Britannica. It has become easy for occupants of even small plots of land to get large loans from their *sowcars* on security of land."

The fact that this is still true today, in spite of the big drop in land values during the past, say, fifteen years, goes to show that rural indebtedness will not disappear with a rise in prices. The consensus of opinion, on the contrary, is that prosperity means larger debts, as the illiterate peasantry get greater credit in prosperous years and do not exercise any self-control in their expenditure. No remedy that can be devised for this very real evil can, therefore, be a real remedy unless it ensures that the land, after being freed from encumbrances, is not likely to be mortgaged again or sold.

All of which, in short, helps us to understand why so many of the various measures proposed to help the agriculturist to rid himself of this besetting sin—restrictions on moneylenders' activities, land mortgage banks, conciliation of debts and consolidation of holdings—are all, to varying extent, palliatives. Like Mr. Darling, and the author of the best and most comprehensive study of the problem as applied to the Indian States which has come to our notice, we should despair of a permanent solution had not the co-operative movement shown the way.

At the same time there are two obvious ways, though they may be at best but palliatives, of assisting the uneducated landholders, both of which are given due attention by Mr. Bharucha. The first is the prevention, if necessary by legal prohibition, of excessive subdivision of holdings, whereby the land is so split up and distributed as to render economic cultivation impossible. It is true that such measures have been declared as opposed to the principle of Hindu law; yet their advantages are indisputable.

The second remedy is the restriction on the disposal of land by an uneducated cultivator. It is generally admitted that the land on which the village moneylender will make advances is too easy and tempting a security, and that it is not in the State's interest that its ownership should pass from the genuine agriculturist, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, into the hands of the moneylending class, or that the agriculturist should remain simply as the serf of his creditor. It is also agreed that the relations between the moneylenders as a class and the agriculturists were happier in those days when, either through custom or the absence of civil courts, the land could not be taken by decree from the original holders. Doubtless any such restrictions would be occasionally hampering to the good cultivator, and politically unpopular, but in a progressive State like Hyderabad, they would appear to provide an obvious remedy.

As regards rural finance generally, Mr. Bharucha is obviously right in holding that the moneylender is, none the less, an indispensable element in Indian rural economy. Neither resources of the Government nor those of the co-operative movement, however much the latter may be expanding, can supply all the money required.

Mr. Bharucha and the Hyderabad Government are to be congratulated upon his report, which is undoubtedly a most valuable contribution to a very difficult problem. It is both comprehensive and thorough. It throws new



light on the subject; partly because, perhaps, for the first time, it is treated in a realistic vein, and the approach is both scientific and human.

### HYDERABAD STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK

STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK, 1344 FASLI (1935 A.D.). By Mazhar Husain, Director of Statistics. Price Rs. 5.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS FOR THE YEAR 1344 FASLI. Price Rs. 1. (*Hyderabad Deccan Government Central Press.*)

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER.)

It has long been the ambition of the Department of Statistics to produce an annual Statistical Year Book for H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions on the model of the Statistical Abstract for British India and the similar volumes published by the Governments of Australia, Canada and New Zealand. If, for various reasons, there are some lacunæ in the contents of the first issue of the *Hyderabad Statistical Year Book for 1934 Fasli (1935 A.D.)* no blame attaches to the Director of Statistics, who has acquitted himself well of a singularly difficult task.

The value of such a volume to the Government official, business man, student and, in fact, all who have dealings in any way with the premier Indian State, as Mr. Mazhar Husain truly observes, cannot be over-estimated. With the expansion of education, trade and industry the demand for up-to-date and, we might add, reliable statistical information is steadily growing. The Hyderabad Statistical Year Book meets a need which not even the most comprehensive series of administration and other reports can satisfy, for it contains within the compass of a single Blue Book many figures which, from their very nature, are seldom found in the usual departmental records, as well as obviates the necessity of having to consult a number of different publications.

It is satisfactory to know that the excellent work of the Department of Statistics, now in its nineteenth year, is appreciated both by the progressive Government and the people whom it serves. Even before the appearance of its *magnum opus*—the Statistical Year Book—the department's many admirable publications, according to the administration report for 1334 Fasli (October 6, 1934, to October 5, 1935), were enjoying a wider publicity, both in India and abroad. Not the least interesting and instructive is its Cotton Manual.

It is not perhaps generally realized how important a place the Dominions occupy on the cotton map of India. On an average Hyderabad accounts for 14 to 15 per cent. of the total area under cotton in India. An increasingly large part is, moreover, devoted to the cultivation of the better varieties; and the collection of all relevant facts and figures in a single volume should make the Cotton Manual an invaluable reference book for the merchant and official alike.

Temperature and rainfall charts, vital and trade statistics, a crop atlas and improved crop forecasts are among the many other publications, the importance of which to agriculturists generally can scarcely be exaggerated.

So multifarious are the activities of the State that a closely packed volume of 800 pages can barely cover them all. The inclusion of comparative figures for the three preceding years greatly enhances the value of the first issue. Small variations from year to year in the progress, for example, in finance and education, go unnoticed; only trained statisticians may see the significance of a change in the second decimal place. But such changes are cumulative, and over a longer period they make themselves apparent even to the least discerning intelligence.

The essential facts are shown not only in figures, but also by means of diagrams which illustrate the results in more graphic form which enable anyone who is, perhaps, averse from studying columns of figures to grasp quickly the salient points.

The conclusions to be drawn are undoubtedly encouraging, and should prove even to the most biased critic of the Indian States the force of Sir Akbar Hydari's contention that "the policy of the Nizam has always aimed at the maintenance of stability—not the stability of inaction or reaction, but the adaptation of policy to changing political conditions, so as to ensure continuous progress in economic as well as other directions."

Some idea of the volume and value of the work done by the Statistical Department since its institution in 1919 can be gained from the list of no less than 371 publications, covering every phase of the State's social and economic activities, for which it is now responsible. The department's achievement becomes the more creditable when the difficulties in the way of the collection of the material and the smallness of the staff are taken into account.

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REPORTS OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND ON THE WORKING OF JAILS AND  
LOCK-UPS IN MYSORE FOR 1936.

(Reviewed by SIR AMBERSON MARTEN.)

These Departments do not come under the High Court. They are essentially executive Departments of Government, and therefore High Court experience does not qualify one for expert appreciation of their work. But I may draw attention to the comparative statement showing the relations between grave crime and the prices of the staple food grains for the last six years. This is well illustrated by the diagram or graph at the end of the Report. Roughly speaking, grave crime varied with the price of food. Thus the total cases (including murder) were 6,797 in 1935 against 6,120 in 1936, whereas rice, for instance, was 7.80 seers per rupee in 1935 and 8.50 seers in 1936.

This graph reminds one of the graph prepared by the late Sir Basil Scott when Chief Justice of Bombay to show how, over a number of years, the



number of civil suits brought in the Bombay High Court varied with the rateable value of the City of Bombay. Only this was the converse, for prosperity brought more civil litigation. In Mysore a drop in food prices meant less grave crime.

The Inspector-General of Police also refers to the matter of inadequate sentences, already mentioned in his previous Report. He adds: "As it appears to me leniency in this matter is an incentive to the commission of further crimes."

Attention is also drawn to the abnormal increase in accidents caused by motor vehicles.

There was also an increase in the number of warnings given to parents against juvenile smoking. Truly the lot of the policeman is a varied one.

The Government review of this Report states that the Police Training School and Finger-Print Bureau continued to do good work; that recruits with good educational qualifications were freely available; and that a test of the literacy of the whole force showed that 70 per cent. were capable of maintaining notebooks.

An increase in pay to constables and a redistribution of the police force on a population basis were two important measures sanctioned by Government. The review concludes: "Government noted with satisfaction that with a decrease in heinous cases there has also been an increase in detection."

As regards the Jail Report, Government comments on the delay in its submission.

As to the convicts, one may note that over 65 per cent. of them were illiterate, and over 80 per cent. between sixteen and forty years of age.

The Bangalore Central Jail is stated to require rebuilding. But in general the health of prisoners was satisfactory. Provision is made for their education and also for religious and moral instruction. And various industries are carried on in the Central Jail. The question of establishing a Borstal Institution is under consideration by Government.

The Report ends with many pages of elaborate statistics, and there I propose to leave it.

REPORTS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN MYSORE  
FOR THE YEAR 1936-7.

(Reviewed by SIR AMBERSON MARTEN.)

What do you exactly mean by administrative work? And what work of that description have High Court Judges to do? How often have I been asked that question by barristers in England, and sometimes by advocates in India as well. For the Bar is mainly interested in the lawsuits actually before the Court. Normally it is not concerned with anything else. And yet if the ideal of the true lawyer is to be obtained—viz., sound, speedy and cheap justice—it is vital that somebody in authority should superintend the actual working of the legal machine. The appointments to the subordinate judiciary are as important as a vigilant but sympathetic eye over their

Court work. The large staffs of clerks and the numerous big buildings present their own problems. Improvements in procedure should be never ending, despite the contests between the ideal and the practical. For finance has always to be borne in mind. British Indian High Courts—at any rate in the past—have been given a good deal of latitude in that respect. But that latitude has to be justified, and in India, with its enormous population and corresponding litigation, the annual High Court budget runs into big figures and requires much thought and care by the Chief Justice and judges.

All this is part of the administrative work which in India, as contrasted with England, the High Court Judges have to do. It may sound dull, and yet is really a fascinating subject, and opens up many possibilities for better justice.

Let me illustrate this by the Report on Civil Justice in Mysore for the year 1936-37. Taking the High Court first, a remarkable reduction has been made in the length of time taken to dispose of first appeals—viz., from nearly four years in 1934-5 to less than one and a half years in 1936-7. The High Court comment runs: "At the end of two years under report the only appeals more than two years old were delayed for unavoidable reasons. But the Judges recognize that the position will not be satisfactory while any appeal is pending for more than a year save for some very exceptional reason." A fine standard to set, for many first appeals are of a particularly heavy nature and may each require several days' hearing if sound justice is to be dealt. How one wishes that in old days that ideal could have been obtained in British India, where delays of several years were common in first appeals.

Second appeals in general are of a lighter character, as normally the facts found in the Lower Courts cannot be reviewed. Here the disposals were 403 against 256 in the previous year—another striking figure. And the reason for the large increase in the number of new second appeals instituted is interesting. The Report says: "The High Court has been insisting on district Courts and appellate Courts subordinate to it doing their work more promptly, and the natural result of that has been a temporary increase in second appeals preferred to the High Court as the cases reach that stage."

Turning next to Civil Revision Petitions, their number fell to 481 from 643 in 1934-5. These are apt to depend on the latitude given to Counsel, and so one is not surprised to read, "There had been a tendency in the past, which the Judges have tried to check, to file unjustifiable petitions."

The final paragraph states that there were 1,142 "Periodical Returns and Reports" against 1,074. This makes over three per day, Sundays and holidays included. One cannot help wondering whether they are all worth the time involved. And may we hope that the constantly increasing demands for statistical information made by Government Departments in England will not be too readily copied in India.

The Courts subordinate to the High Court are also of legal interest. As regards the disposal of old suits, I cannot do better than again quote the Report itself: "At the end of the year there were only 622 suits in the Courts of original jurisdiction which were more than a year old. At the



end of the previous year the number was 1,555 . . . at the end of 1933-4 it was 4,901. Great credit is due to the Judges of trial Courts who by steady and more businesslike work have done so much to bring litigation in the Courts of the State up to date. It may now be said that over 98 per cent. of the suits instituted in the State are disposed of in less than a year, a proportion which according to the information available is not approached in the neighbouring Provinces of British India."

How good that is to read. But I venture to think that it cannot all be done by the Judges themselves. The office staffs are entitled to their share of the credit, for bad or careless work in the office can cause all sorts of legal delays. And, with all respect, I think His Highness' Government must have contributed to that result by their sympathetic consideration of High Court needs. There is a natural limit to the daily amount of judicial work which each Judge can dispose of. And it follows that the judicial staff must be adequate in number to cope with the work, particularly if litigation increases. The Judges may provide the speediest of judicial procedures, but if there are not enough Judges to dispose of the suits ripe for hearing, increasing delays amounting in the aggregate to gross injustice are bound to occur. It is, however, for Government and not for the High Court to have the last word in the number of Judges to be appointed. In Bombay, for instance, it has taken nearly twenty years to get the number which three, if not four, successive Chief Justices have asked for.

Another important point is adequate inspection of Courts. The High Court inspected twenty-six Civil Courts and the District Judges the rest. Inspection, however, necessitates the inspecting High Court Judge being absent from his normal work for a considerable time. He has to take with him an adequate staff; acting appointments have to be made in the High Court to do the work of the absentee; and travelling expenses mount up. So finance is often a serious obstacle to regular inspection. And yet how valuable inspections are. The personal touch thus gained between the High Court and the local Court with its individual needs and its individual Bench and Bar, quite apart from the expert investigations of the office books and records, is well worth the money. And it is good to see that His Highness' State is fully alive to this point.

I can only deal shortly with other matters in this Report. In Insolvency—a difficult subject—there is a substantial increase in the gross realization of insolvents' assets and in the amounts distributed to creditors. The post of the Official Receiver for the Bangalore Division has been made permanent from October, 1936. The importance of miscellaneous appeals being heard promptly is emphasized, as otherwise they often obstruct the work of subordinate Courts.

Although the High Court Library is well maintained, recent editions of textbooks are required for many of the subordinate Courts.

Special steps have been taken to prevent delay in Law Reporting. And in the offices the stock and other registers are maintained properly and verified periodically. The security required to be given by officials is also periodically checked.

Well then may the Government order conclude: "Government note with

satisfaction that the administration of Civil Justice during the years continued to be efficient, and that it reflects progress in all directions."

There is a separate Report on Criminal Justice. Normally in this branch there is the minimum of delay, because everybody recognizes that the undertrial accused should have the minimum period of suspense. So if needs be, civil justice has to suffer that justice may be done in criminal matters. But even here one reads: "That the average duration of cases big and small before Stipendiary Magistrates should still be not far short of two and a half months is not at all creditable. It shows that the Magistrates are still very often dilatory in their methods, and that in spite of the directions of Government, District Magistrates are not strict enough in preventing this." And again: "Magistrates who, it must be remembered, do not try the most important criminal cases must realize that to allow cases before them to remain undisposed of for six months without some special justification is a sign of grave incompetence."

In British India delay is often caused by the fact that a subordinate magistrate has revenue or other civil executive work to do besides his criminal work. Nor is the District Magistrate's work by any means confined to judicial duties. So it is often difficult for the High Court to check such delays. Revenue is in general exempt from its jurisdiction: and so are its officers. It must also be remembered that criminal work is not confined to fixed centres. Much of it is done on tour, and sometimes in districts where roads hardly exist, but mountains and rivers do. So if work is not finished in one place, the alternatives are an adjournment, or else a tramp by the parties, their witnesses and lawyers, to the next camp. The latter alternative often led to a protest to the High Court in British India.

It is good to see that the High Court is alive to the injustice of the criminal Courts being utilized for civil disputes. For instance, as regards cases for possession of immovable property, they say: "The figures show that a very large proportion of these cases were unjustified and that an unreasonably large number of them were instituted by private parties. It is clear that the Magistrates are not nearly so strict as they should be in preventing parties from abusing these preventive provisions of the Code for the purpose of civil disputes."

Special attention is drawn to the excessive number of imprisonments of juvenile offenders. The District Magistrates are warned to watch this carefully. And special detailed reports are to be called for from two districts on this point.

The Report also shows the extensive inspection of the criminal Courts, and that all stock registers have been verified.

The Government order concludes: "Government are glad to note that this work of the subordinate Criminal Courts continues to be closely scrutinized by the High Court, and that necessary instructions are being issued from time to time for the speedy disposal of old cases and for an increase in the efficient discharge of work in all the Courts." This is again sympathetic co-operation between Government and the High Court as it should be.

To sum up, these Reports have caused intense pleasure to an old war-horse,



And if in certain respects His Highness' State seems to have outstripped the Courts of British India, is it a vain hope that British Indian Courts will respond in friendly rivalry, and none the less so because many of its present Governments have in their Cabinets eminent Indian lawyers who are fully alive to the possibilities for improvement in the British Indian Courts?

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## FAR EAST

TRIALS IN BURMA. By Maurice Collis. (*Faber and Faber.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The title which Mr. Collis has given to his book embraces three distinct themes. The first is a subjective account of personal tribulations; for the most part arising out of the second, which is a detailed record of the feelings of a magistrate called upon to decide three cases which aroused much local feeling; the third is a description of the critical period through which Burma herself was passing in 1928-30.

It is a sound general rule that those who have occupied official positions and discharged official responsibilities should refrain, when these responsibilities have ceased, to comment freely upon the conduct of colleagues still living. Nevertheless, like all sound general rules, it permits of certain exceptions; and I am inclined to believe that Mr. Collis's book, from its sheer interest, should be allowed to qualify as one of them. The author has certainly permitted himself the most extraordinary latitude in his comments upon governmental policies and personalities; and it is difficult to imagine such a book being permitted to appear in any country where a *droit administratif* exists. As it is, although it will offend purists who take a rigid view of the unwritten laws binding Government officials to perpetual discretion, it seems to me to have been well worth publishing.

Mr. Collis has described with devastating frankness his own psychological reactions to a dilemma in which officials not infrequently find themselves; namely, whether justice or expediency is to prevail. This dilemma occurs more often in Britain's Eastern dependencies than in Britain itself; for the simple reason that the distinction between the Executive and the Judicial Services is, except in the higher ranks, less clearly marked in the former than in the latter. Mr. Collis was responsible for the discharge of judicial functions. But he was also a member of an Executive Service, dependent for his prospects upon the view which his official superiors formed of his conduct. Now it so happened that in three particular cases—two of them involving Europeans—Mr. Collis found himself obliged to walk as delicately as Agag. For while he quite rightly declined to disobey the dictates of his own conscience, he found himself equally unable to ignore the fact that his decisions might produce repercussions of the utmost political importance. I think it will be agreed by the majority of readers that Mr. Collis discharged

his responsibilities both adequately and tactfully; but in admitting us as he does to the inner workings of his spirit, he seems to display a temperament somewhat over-diffident for the satisfactory operation of the "judicial mind." He certainly does not lack courage; but having made up his mind as to where his duty lay, he was unnecessarily racked by subsequent doubts and hesitations.

Those who are unfamiliar with the working of the public services in the East may be surprised at the attitude displayed by executive officials. But from the standpoint of the detached observer, it must be freely admitted that there is no exaggeration in Mr. Collis's picture. It has for long been a cardinal maxim with those to whom power and responsibility have been committed, both in India and Burma, that the upholding of what is conveniently termed "British prestige" ranks high upon the list of their duties. For this reason, when a European comes into conflict with the law, the matter is not always regarded from the purely judicial angle alone. Such an attitude may lend itself to grave errors of judgment; it has certainly done so from time to time in the past. To take a simple example from Mr. Collis's own experience: here we have a young British officer who drove a motor-car in such a fashion as to cause grave injury to innocent people who were obeying a properly worked system of traffic control. The penalty prescribed by the law—a penalty actually allotted by Mr. Collis—would have deprived this young officer of his commission. Had the offender not been a European, the law would have taken its course. As it was, the penalty was modified. The young officer was saved from the blasting of his entire career from the consequences of a moment's carelessness. Was such interference with the ordinary course of justice proper or improper? Such a problem as this raises very important questions which go far beyond the matter immediately at issue. But on one point I personally am perfectly clear; and I imagine Mr. Collis agrees with me. I hold it is a grave psychological error to imagine that "British prestige" is enhanced in the eyes of the inhabitants of our Eastern dependencies by mitigating the rigours of the law in favour of Europeans. Indeed, I believe the exact contrary to be the case. I believe that the prestige of British rule is directly promoted by an inflexible administration of the law, regardless of personal consequences.

It is not alone with problems of this description that Mr. Collis's book is concerned. He takes us into the very heart of Burma during an extremely uneasy period; and he reveals with uncommon directness the inadequacy of the steps which the Government of Burma considered sufficient to placate Burmese Nationalist aspirations. The curiously accidental manner in which Burma received a Constitution broadly satisfactory to herself is disquieting; but this story provides one additional illustration of the supremely important part played at moments of crisis by such detached and influential students of Imperial affairs as Mr. Lionel Curtis.

Many readers will put down the book with a feeling of regret that Mr. Collis is no longer serving in the country which he loves and understands so well. So intimate a revelation of his own personality must no doubt have been distasteful. But the courageous manner in which he has faced his task, through his perception of the profound public significance of his own personal



experience, must commend itself to those who admire self-sacrificing public spirit.

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THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ANNUAL OF JAPAN, 1937. (Tokyo: Government Printing Office.) Price 2 yen (2s. 4d.).

(Reviewed by N. SKENE SMITH.)

This volume of over 300 well-printed pages is good value for money. Nevertheless, like so many statistical abstracts, it contains masses of detail which are likely to be of interest to only a few readers and which tend to smother the essential factors lying behind the economic development of the country. Also the compilers, in their zeal to be complete and beyond factual criticism, give many condensed totals which tell us little and are sometimes positively misleading. For example, in the table on page 3, which shows that some 39,000 foreigners live in Japan, no mention is made of the fact that most of these are Chinese, Russians and other Eastern peoples, whereas the number of Europeans and Americans is extremely small. Yet this is one of the main reasons for the ignorance in the Western world of Japanese problems. Again, in a book of this kind, much more important than a division of rice-harvests into glutinous, non-glutinous, irrigated and upland would be a table showing the production, imports and exports of rice. Four pages of small print are devoted to the Invisible Trade of Japan and her International Balance of Payments, but no general statement is made as to the extent to which the figures can be used to interpret the actual movements of goods, services, securities and gold; nor is any clue offered to the depreciation of the yen exchange from 1931-33 and its subsequent stabilization.

Some of these fundamental facts and trends may be discovered from the *Japan Year Book* (published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan), the reports of the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau and the English edition of the *Oriental Economist*, but there is no book which will give the layman a short analysis of Japan's economic position. One day, perhaps, Western countries may begin to supply the need with a reformed series of consular reports based on information supplied by men on the spot with a knowledge of the language, but set out in a form established by men at home, in touch with the requirements of traders and trained to arrange statistics with a view to their usefulness rather than their completeness and mathematical exactness.

The volume shows us a population of 70 millions, increasing at the rate of about a million a year, with eight cities containing over a quarter of a million inhabitants and four with over a million. Tokyo is the third city in the world. The occupations of these people are not stated, nor is it pointed out that nearly a half are farmers. The statistics given for "factories" leave out of account at least half of Japan's manufacturing labour force.

The figures of national revenue and expenditure are fairly complete and we can follow the steady rise in expenditure and the national debt since 1931. Thirty-four pages of letterpress are devoted to the taxation system and about a dozen to the national debt. There is also an account of the

industrial monopolies and railways, administered by the Government, and some figures are given of loans issued by local governments, whose revenue and expenditure are summarized in a convenient form.

Part II. has figures of agriculture, mining, manufacturing, company finance and insurance. It consists of only forty pages and is not as complete as other sources. Agriculture, though still the backbone of the country supplying the food needs of the whole country, and raw silk, the chief export commodity based on domestic materials, is given only half a dozen pages. Post Office Life Assurance receives four pages.

Part III., on Foreign Trade, gives the totals of imports and exports since 1902, and figures of leading commodities and countries from 1930-36 (Tables 61 and 62). All tables are of values, and not quantities, although quantity figures for most items are collected by Government statisticians. Part IV. supplies useful details concerning bank deposits, the functions of the Special Banks, and foreign exchange control. The tables of price indices are not so good as those given in the Mitsubishi Monthly Circular.

After a few figures on railways and shipping, the last fifty pages summarize progress in Korea and Formosa. The emergence of Japan's colonies from the world depression is remarkable, and it would be instructive to have figures going back for some decades, showing the economic effects of Japanese control. The volume enables us to assess neither the achievements nor the failures of Japan's economy; yet this is one of the most important tasks facing the world today.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LIVING. By Lin Yutang. (*William Heinemann*). 15s. net.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD.)

There is a whimsical, rollicking humanity in Lin Yutang. Having caught the world's ear with a classic satire on his country and its people, he allows himself the relaxation of extending his observation from China to Peru. His experience of thought and life is here set down without pretension to the discovery of eternal truths. He even disclaims objectivity which nearly every writer today puts at once in his button-hole, sniffs at occasionally and promptly proceeds to ignore. He lays no bouquet at the feet of high authority. His philosophy has humble "documents." For good breeding he goes to his family *amah* (nurse); for ethical inspiration a hard-swearing Soochow boatwoman; a Shanghai tram-conductor, a cook's wife, a deck steward, a lion cub, a New York squirrel help him to formulate his unconventional philosophy.

So his net is cast wide. The importance of living is viewed in the approach to life, the cultural heritage of nations, the "monkey epic," human individualism, happiness, leisure or idleness, until the final art of thinking brings the mind to common-sense and reason. Instruction is mingled with a generous measure of entertainment, jest and fancy. What should a reviewer do with such a book? Why, he should firmly tell the reader to



buy it. Obedience would give the best opportunity of justifying itself. Yet it may be permissible for the reviewer to act as a trailer is supposed to act in a cinema—by selecting at random certain passages, the enjoyment of which will inevitably compel the patient to call for the whole bottle.

Interspersed in the essays are some delightful translations. Here is an extract from Chiang Tan's "Reminiscences under the Lamp Light." Chiang Tan is writing of his wife:

Chiufu loves to play chess but is not very good at it. Every night she would force me to play "the conversation of fingers" with her sometimes till daybreak. I playfully quoted the line of Chu Chuchia: "At tossing coins and matching grass-blades you have both lost. I ask you with what are you going to pay me tonight?" "Are you so sure I cannot win?" she said, evading the question. "I will bet you this jade tiger." We then played and when twenty or thirty stones had been laid, and she was getting into a worse situation, she let the cat upon the chess-board to upset the game. "Are you regarding yourself as Yang Kueifei (who played the same trick upon the Emperor Tang Ming-huang)?" I asked. She kept quiet but the light of silver candles shone upon her peach-coloured cheeks. After that we did not play any more.

Then in "Six Chapters of a Floating Life," an obscure Chinese painter, Shen Sanpo, tells of his beautiful wife Yun, and how, under the moon, they started to compose a poem together:

By this time Yun was buried amidst tears and laughter and choking on my breast, whilst I felt the fragrance of the jasmine in her hair assail my nostrils. I patted her on the shoulder and said jokingly: "I thought that the jasmine was used for decoration in women's hair because it was round like a pearl; I did not know that it is because its fragrance is so much finer when it is mixed with the smell of women's hair and powder. When it smells like that, even the citron cannot remotely compare with it." Then Yun stopped laughing and said: "The citron is the gentleman among the different fragrant plants because its fragrance is so slight that you can hardly detect it; on the other hand, the jasmine is a common fellow because it borrows its fragrance partly from others. Therefore, the fragrance of the jasmine is like that of a smiling sycophant." "Why then," I said, "do you keep away from the gentleman and associate with the common fellow?" And Yun replied: "I am amused by the gentleman that loves the common fellow."

For the epigrams of Chang Chao let these be chosen:

Passion holds up the bottom of the universe and genius paints its roof.

Better be insulted by common people than be despised by gentlemen; better be flunked by an official examiner than be unknown to a famous scholar.

When literary men talk about military affairs, it is mostly military science in the studio (literally "discussing soldiers on paper"), and when military generals discuss literature it is mostly rumour picked up on hearsay.

Here, also from Chang Chao, there is a remarkable parallel to Shakespeare :

A man who knows how to read finds everything becomes a book wherever he goes: hills and waters are also books, and so are chess and wine, and so are the moon and flowers.

Lin Yutang's own philosophy finds nothing that is human alien to its ken. He laughs at foreign clothes, which he compares with Chinese garments to the latter's advantage. Foreign dress is all right for young and beautiful women or for men whose waistline can defy definition :

While the graceful woman in foreign evening dress shines and charms in a way not even remotely dreamed of by the Oriental costume-makers, the average over-fed, over-slept lady of forty who finds herself in the golden horseshoe at an *opera première* is also one of the eyesores invented by the West. The Chinese dress is kinder to them. Like death it levels the great and the small, the beautiful and the ugly. The Chinese dress is therefore more democratic.

He considers the art of lying in bed is shamefully neglected. The value of solitude and contemplation is no less ignored. He is as enthusiastic as Barrie over the fragrance of tobacco-smoking, but confesses that he is no drinker only because he has a poor capacity. So, artlessly, he draws his own portrait—a genial lover of ease and, above all, of his fellow men.

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### FICTION

KANTHAPURA. By Raja Rao. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

This is a remarkable book, written entirely from the Congress point of view. To read it fairly one should put aside any personal resentment which might be felt by many readers at its frankly anti-British tendency. It tells of the rise of the spirit of revolution in a South Indian village. The book opens on a subdued note which gradually quickens as the seeds of discontent, inconspicuous at first, are watered and ripened. The narrator of the story is a woman, and through her one gets a vivid picture of the lives and characters of those around her, especially the young Brahmin visionary, Moorthy, who becomes inspired with the teachings of Gandhi. He starts a Congress group in Kanthapura, and preaches civil disobedience and contact with the Untouchables. The force of his personality and idealism gets him many followers. Inevitably the attention of the authorities is drawn to the village, and the story ends in a violent conflict which is painful to read. This is a piece of excellent descriptive writing. Though the style of the book is often confused, there are numerous passages of extreme beauty.

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THE DREAM PREVAILS. By Maud Diver. (John Murray.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

This book raises many problems, and carries a message. Its story is of India, a young social India blossoming out of the old.

The authoress reintroduces us to the Desmond family, this time the third generation, and worthy successors to their famous forbears. We see them in that corner of North-West India which they had served so long. But with new generations come new problems, one being that of mixed marriages. A young commissioned Indian officer, Sher Afzul Khan, meets Christal Adair who is visiting India. They fall in love, but ultimately Christal realizes that marriage means tragedy for both, and they agree to part.

Another aspect of the mixed marriage is that of Sir Roy Sinclair, the dominant character of the book. The son of an Englishman by his marriage to a Rajput princess, and having in his veins the blood of East and West, he is in deep sympathy with the complex difficulties of both races. He comes under the influence of a "guru" in Kashmir, studies Vedic philosophy for a while, and then retires to the mountains to seek solitude and understanding. For six months he is away from the world of men, and when he eventually returns he is fired with the belief that the good of India must be seen with understanding hearts and minds as a common problem for British, Hindu and Moslem alike. Only by devotion to the aristocratic ideal implicit in the hearts of both races can success and harmony be achieved.

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## PERIODICAL

LA REVUE FRANÇAISE D'OUTRE-MER. (Paris: *Union Coloniale*.)

The July number of this review fully maintains the standard of previous issues. M. Jean Guérard writes on recent events in Pondichery. There is a concise and vivid study of recent development in the Indian tea industry, recording the interest in consumption, particularly in India and Iran. In the Empire Notes mention is made of the new regulations for scholars in the Colonial School in Paris. It is laid down that after the first two years of study every candidate must spend twelve months in one of the colonies before entering upon his third and last year at the school. Another innovation of M. Mandel, the Minister of the Colonies, is the allocation of 30 scholarships distributed among leading educational establishments. The recipients are sent on a cruise to one of the colonies during the summer vacation. Lastly, the measures are described by which the penal settlement, popularly known as the Devil's Island, is being dissolved.

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## NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

THE GREEKS IN BACTRIA AND INDIA. By W. W. Tarn, LITT.D., F.B.A., LL.D.  
(Cambridge University Press.) 30s. net.

(Reviewed by H. G. RAWLINSON.)

The object of this monumental work is to give an account of the interaction between the cultures of Greece, Iran and India in the Middle East.

The story of the Greeks in India has hitherto been treated as part of the history of India alone. This, Dr. Tarn considers, is unfortunate. In the history of India the episode of Greek rule has little significance. It really belongs to the history of Hellenism, and that is where its meaning resides. The Greek Empire of Bactria and India was a Hellenistic one, with many of the usual characteristics of such states, and its history was a branch of Seleucid history, just as the Euthydemid dynasty was on the distaff side a branch of the Seleucid line. As such it must be treated, and Dr. Tarn hopes that this book may do something towards bringing it back into the sphere to which it belongs. The period covered is a short but critical one; it extends from 206 B.C., the year when Antiochus III. quitted the East, to the occupation of Alexandria by Augustus in 30 B.C., which coincides with the overthrow of the last Greek Kingdom in India. Dr. Tarn endeavours in particular to reconstruct the reigns of the three monarchs—Euthydemus, Demetrius and Menander. As he points out, the material is not so scrappy as it seems; much of the lost originals is preserved in Strabo, Justin, Plutarch, Ptolemy, Pliny, and there is an almost unique wealth of coins. On the Indian side are the inscriptions, some coins, and references in Sanskrit literature, particularly in works like the *Yuga Purana*. Allusions to the Greeks in Sanskrit and Prakrit are very numerous and throw much light on the subject.

It is impossible even to summarize in the course of a brief review the narrative which fills the four hundred closely packed pages of Dr. Tarn's work. Bactria, with its Iranian barons, its Greek settlers and its serf peasantry, was the great outpost of Hellenism, which held off nomadism with one hand, whilst annexing most of Northern India with the other. Euthydemus, the greatest of the Bactrian rulers, accomplished what Alexander had planned, the creation of a Græco-Iranian state on a basis of equal partnership. Demetrius took the ideas of Alexander the Great to India, and, helped by his army of Iranian cavalry with a spearhead of Macedonian infantry, he invaded the Punjab. Demetrius was the greatest of the Indo-Greek rulers; there is a faint echo of his fame as late as Chaucer. He made Gandhara a second Hellas, and built a new capital at Taxila. Sailing down the Indus in the track of Alexander, he added Sind and Kathiawar to his empire. Dr. Tarn thinks that Demetrius took the side of the Buddhists in their revolt against the attempt of the Sunga king, Pushyamitra, to restore Brahminism, and for this he was looked upon as the "King of Justice" of their traditions. The more conservative Greeks disliked these Indianizing tendencies, and, as a result, Antiochus IV. sent his cousin



Eucratides to overthrow Demetrius. His general, Menander, who married his daughter Agathocleia and succeeded to his Indian dominions, carried on his policy, though Dr. Tarn has his doubts about the popular legend that Menander became a Buddhist convert, and looks upon the famous *Questions of Milinda* as a historical romance. Had fortune allowed Demetrius to consolidate his Bactrian and Indian possessions, the Greeks might even have been able to resist the Kushan invasions; but fate ruled otherwise, and the story is that of one of the last and greatest adventures of the Hellenic race, which ended in a glorious failure.

Dr. Tarn analyses with his usual penetration the influence of Greek rule on India. He shows that Greek was widely spoken in the Northern Punjab, and there were Indians acquainted with Greek literature just as later they studied Persian and English. Conversely, there were Greeks who studied at Taxila University, and read the Hindu and Buddhist classics. Many of them were converts to Hinduism and Buddhism, and their ultimate disappearance was due to the fact, not that they became Eurasians, but that they became Indians. The supreme gift of Greece to India was the Buddha figure. Dr. Tarn is convinced that the idea of representing the Buddha in human form was born of Indian piety using Yavana technique, and was not indigenous in origin. It dates from the Indo-Bactrian period and not from Kushan times. The earliest extant representation of a Buddha statue is on a coin of Maues (80-58 B.C.), and is thus at least a century earlier than the Indian Buddhas of Mathura. The Indian artists of Mathura discarded the old rule of only representing the Buddha by symbols because it had already been broken for generations in Gandhara. One of the reasons why Buddha became a god was that a nameless Greek artist, who had to earn his living, took it into his head to portray him as one. This is just what the primitive Buddhists felt might happen, and tried to guard against.

Dr. Tarn's great work is probably the last word on the subject until the day comes when the archaeologists have a free hand and enough money to carry out really adequate excavations at Balkh and other sites. It represents the mature result of forty years' unremitting research. Our only criticism is the lack of illustrations. There is only one coin plate, and surely the ordinary reader might have been favoured with examples such as the fine portrait bust of Euthydemus in the Torlonia Museum at Rome, the ivory pendant from Taxila with the philosopher's head or the fragment of the Indian vase with a scene from the *Antigone*, even though other admirable examples are already given in Vol. I. of the Cambridge History of India.

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PLANT HUNTER'S PARADISE. By F. Kingdon Ward. With full-page illustrations and 2 maps. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Kingdon Ward has undertaken several expeditions to Central Asia of which records have been issued in book form to the delight of appreciative readers.

In the new volume the author can claim the same knowledge of his sub-

ject as in previous works, and the same skill in describing his journey of 1930-31. Two excellent sketch-maps show the author's and Lord Cranbrook's route covering the jungle between Tibet and Northern Burma. The object was to discover the plants as well as the animals of that region. The results in these respects are carefully noted in appendices; they consisted of mammals, birds, reptiles, and insects, besides plants which have been identified by experts.

Those objects enumerated occur again within the fascinating story of the author's adventurous journey, which is intended for the layman, no less than for the naturalist. The illustrations are of exceptional quality, they are large and clear, showing landscapes with displays of flowers, shrubs or trees, and in addition a few types of men and women.

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MAXIMS OF ALI. Translated from the Arabic by J. A. Chapman. (Oxford University Press.) 2s. 6d. net.

The *Maxims of Ali*, son-in-law of the Prophet and his fourth successor, were translated for the first time in 1717 by Ockley, and now Mr. J. A. Chapman has issued on behalf of Sayyid Abu Muhammad an entirely new rendering in a charming form. The maxims, or sentences, are of that high type which ensures them a prominent place in Arabic literature and will remain of permanent value. The maxims are arranged according to subjects and the words are elegantly chosen, like passages from the Bible, by Mr. Chapman, who is known for his volumes of poetry on Indian subjects. Full acknowledgment is due to Sayyid Abu Muhammad for bringing the work back to light.



## CORRESPONDENCE

## "INDIAN ECONOMISTS IN CONFERENCE"

In his article on "Indian Economists in Conference," published in the April number of *THE ASIATIC REVIEW*, Mr. Edwin Haward has made a few remarks about my Presidential Address at the last Conference of Indian Economists. I must at once say that he has missed the main point of my address and has read into it certain opinions which I do not hold. The sentence on which he has put the worst misconstruction is this: "The most distressing feature of India's economic position is that in spite of the large increase in foreign trade and industrial production in the last seventy years, there has not been any appreciable improvement in the standard of living of the masses" (pp. 1-3). It is surprising to find that Mr. Haward takes this to mean that "stagnation had marked the economic history of India over a period of seventy years" (*THE ASIATIC REVIEW*, p. 363). The true meaning of my statement is elaborated in the body of my address. It is, in short, that while trade and industry flourished in India in modern times, the benefits thereof have been reaped far more by the urban classes than by the rural masses. India's staples fetched high prices in world markets, and this put money into the pockets of the merchant and the moneylender; but the actual producers have remained poor. This, however, was not due to anything done by the Government, but chiefly due to the vicious economic and social system that has long prevailed in this country. I have stated this elaborately, because there has been an inclination on the part of politicians to attribute India's ills to foreign rule. There has also been a growing belief among certain persons that over-population was the cause. In recent times, many have also considered the high exchange ratio as the chief cause of India's ills. The untenability of all these allegations has been made clear in my address.

No one denies that famine has become rare since 1900. It is also true that Lord Curzon was a pioneer in agricultural organization. Everyone admits that since 1920 much progress has been made in rural betterment. In 1935, Sir James Grigg initiated a new policy by making liberal grants to the provinces for rural amelioration, and with the arrival of Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy, a thorough re-orientation of policy has taken place. The new autonomous Provincial Governments are following this up. But all this does not imply that the conditions of the masses have already improved substantially; nor can this take place without an improvement in India's economic system, and this calls for the pursuit of an active policy by the Government. I have therefore made an earnest appeal for such an active policy, especially by the provinces, and have tried to enunciate the principles on which it should be based. And this appeal has not been in vain.

P. J. THOMAS.

*University of Madras,*

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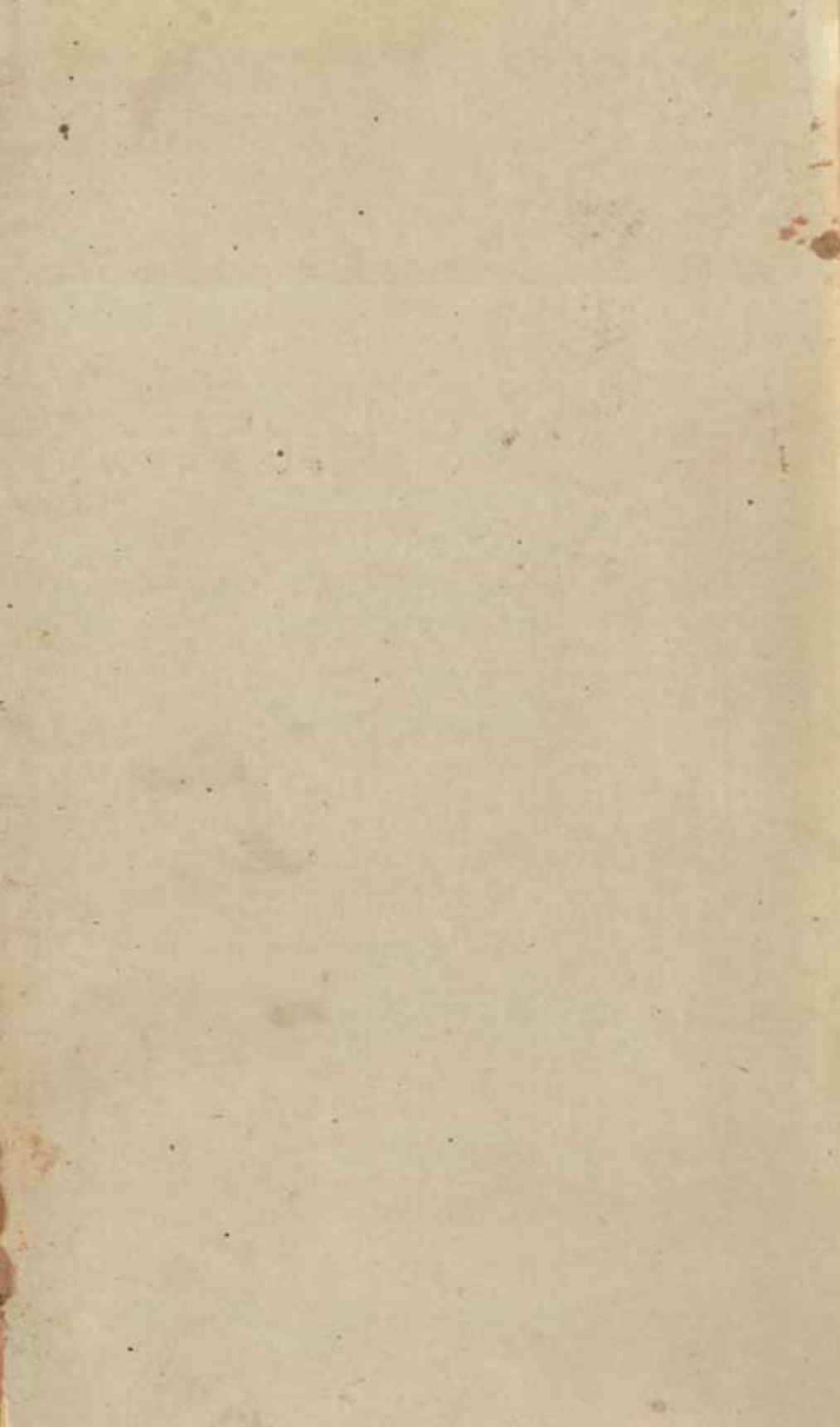
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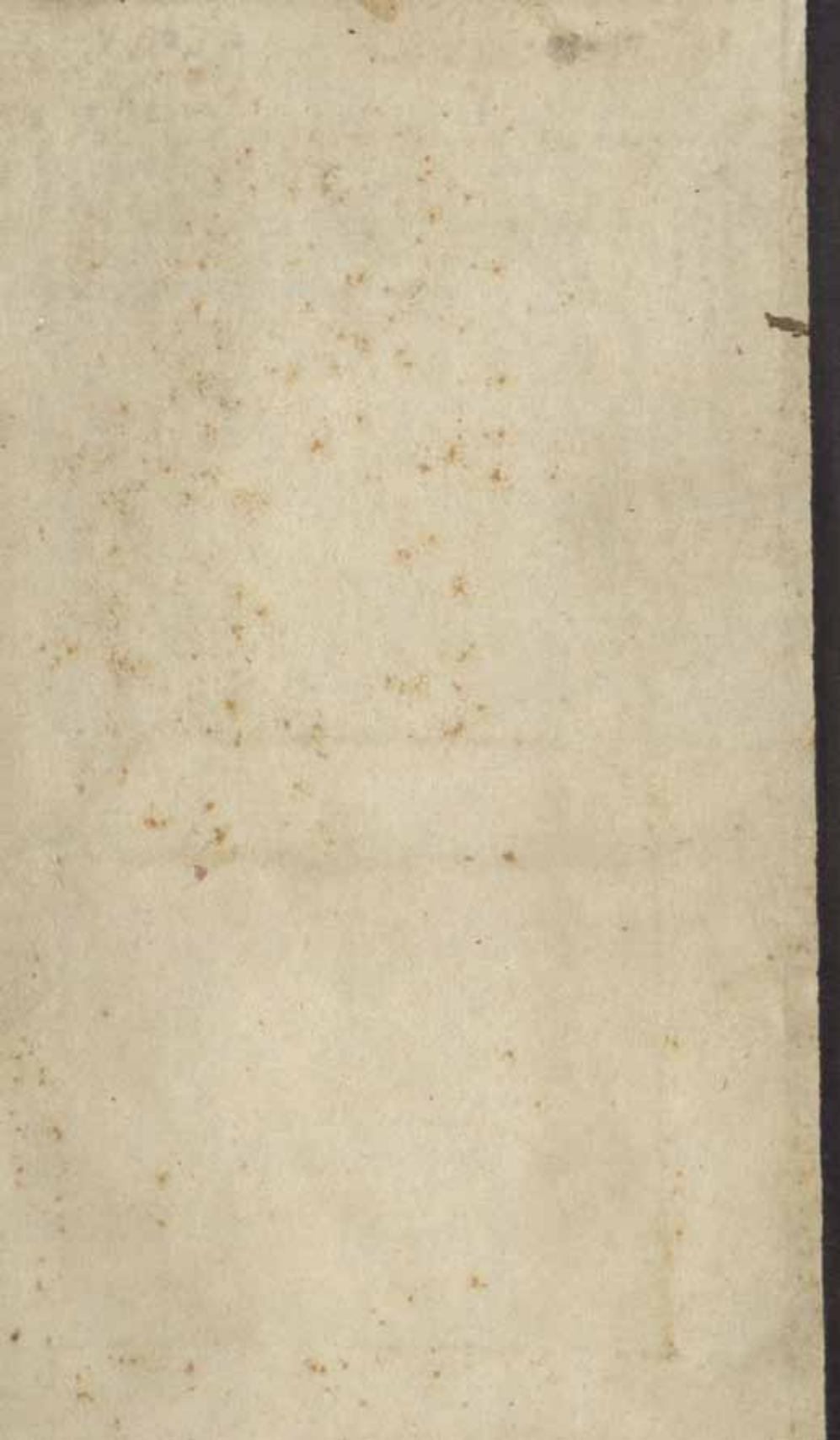
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