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REVIEW



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JANUARY—APRIL, 1913.

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"One hand up Raising, the other to the Moon." — Socrates.



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THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR."

JANUARY, 1913.

FOREWORD

ONE of the most significant facts of recent years has been the increasing importance of Asia in international affairs. The assimilation of Western methods by Japan, the steady growth of a national spirit among thoughtful Indians, the awakening of China, the opening up of Thibet, the unsettled condition and future possibilities of Persia, have all aroused keen interest in European minds, and there has arisen in the West a wider and stronger desire to know more intimately the peoples and the institutions of those ancient Eastern lands, where mighty civilizations once flourished while most of the Western world was yet in a state of semi-barbarism.

European and American scholars have, of course, been long aware that vast treasures of religious thought, philosophy, science, and the arts, lay enshrined in the East, and it has been mainly owing to the enthusiasm and research of such scholars that much of the lore and learning of the Eastern world has been saved from submergence under the floods of Western thought and activities. It is mainly through these scholars that the West has shown its capacity to appreciate the nobler sides of Eastern life

at times when the Asian himself, in his eagerness to adopt and assimilate Western ideas, was not so keenly conscious of his own proud heritage of the past.

To widen the field of knowledge, to encourage the justly-proportioned expression of fact, to extend mutual understanding and appreciation of their respective ideals and possibilities amongst the peoples of the East and West, while endeavouring to check the tendency of either to exaggerate or adopt the mere superficialities of the other—these are, and have always been, among some of the main objects of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

Its chief aim is to provide neutral ground on which Asians and Europeans may meet on an equal footing to present and discuss, with mutual sympathy and respect, whatever is best and finest in the heritage of each; and to afford to both opportunity for the frank and free consideration of all questions which affect their common interests. Its pages are open to controversy, but only so far as such controversy is conducted in a spirit of loyalty, courtesy, and mutual tolerance.

Ex oriente lux; ex occidente lex. No light can be manifested without law; no law is effectual without light. It cannot, therefore, but prove beneficial to Westerners to have their works and institutions considered by Easterns from the viewpoint of truly Eastern ideals, and, on the other hand, criticism by correspondingly ideal standards of the West should be of equal value in modern Eastern development.

The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is essentially non-official in character. It is not connected in any way with party politics, and welcomes as contributors all who are interested in the fostering of goodwill between East and West, what-

ever their political opinions. Its motto is: "A fair hearing and no favour."

In carrying out this programme, its Editors look forward to the same co-operation in the future—as has been freely accorded in the past—of all, both Europeans and Asians, who are in sympathy with the aims which have been set forth above.

THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW: A RETROSPECT

In 1885 the late Sir Lepel Griffin (for fourteen years Chairman of the East India Association and its strongest supporter) founded what was then called the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (commonly known as the *A.Q.R.*), under the Editorship of the well-known publicist Demetrius Boulger, with the collaboration of some very distinguished contributors, amongst whom may be mentioned Colonel Malleon, Sir R. Alcock, Sir William Hunter, Sir R. Temple (for many years President of the East India Association), Archibald N. Colquhoun, Sir Edwin Arnold, Colonel Yule, Talboys Wheeler, Dr. G. W. Leitner, etc., etc., and a number of English, Continental and Oriental statesmen, explorers and scholars, as also Christian, Jewish, Muhammadan, Hindu, Buddhist and other ministers of religion.

In 1891 the name of the Review was expanded into *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*, a somewhat cumbrous title which never supplanted the old and more familiar *A.Q.R.* Its scope under the new régime was widened so as to include the whole of the Eastern Hemisphere.

In 1896, on the completion of its first decade, a third series was started, and the Review was made over by Sir Lepel Griffin to his friend Dr. G. W. Leitner, who, until his death, devoted to its Editorship his prolonged Asiatic experience, his ripe scholarship, untiring industry and unique literary gifts.

Seventeen years have now elapsed, and in consequence of the deaths of Dr. Badenoch and of Mrs. Leitner, new arrangements have become necessary. The Editorship has, accordingly, been placed in the hands of Mr. W. MacCarthy Mann and Mr. Gilbert Lyne.

The older and simpler title by which the Review has always been known has been revived, seeing that, with "the shrinking of the globe," Asia has now become closely associated with all the world and all the world with Asia. Incorporated with the Review will be found the proceedings of the East India Association.

THE ULCER OF EMPIRE.

BY IGNOTUS.

"I CAN see nothing dangerous in the condition of India. . . . East and West are meeting, not with clash and discord, but in harmony and amity."—Mr. Montagu, M.P., in his Indian Budget speech, July 30, 1912.

Putting the telescope to his blind eye, Nelson declared that he could see no signal. Our official optimists have little resemblance to Nelson except defective vision which amounts, in their case, to judicial blindness. The pronouncement just cited is an alarming symptom of this ailment. A Ministry of lawyers—the Under-Secretary speaks for his colleagues in this matter—can see nothing dangerous in the condition of India.

Exactly a week before the date of this statement—that is to say, in its issue of July 23 last—the leading journal, referring to a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, asserted that "the working of the High Courts of India, and more particularly of the Calcutta High Court, has been a secret ulcer in the Indian administration for more than a century."

We propose to show that there is no vestige of rhetorical exaggeration in this description; but that, on the contrary, it is justified to the letter.

Our first witness is James Mill, the historian of British India. Writing in the year 1810, he declared that "although

we possess force sufficient to exterminate every human being in a district where dacoit robberies are rampant, it is impossible to obtain convictions owing to the loopholes found by lawyers." Mill's statement is quite general; but the High Court of Calcutta has long achieved an unenviable notoriety, even among other offenders, in thwarting the course of justice.

In a speech in the House of Commons in the year 1833, Macaulay said: "Everybody who knows anything of the early history of the Supreme Court is aware that, during a considerable time, it was the terror of Bengal, the scourge of the native population, the screen of European delinquents, a convenient tool of the Government for all purposes of evil, an insurmountable obstacle to the Government in all undertakings for the public good; that its proceedings were made up of pedantry, cruelty, and corruption; that its disputes with the Government were at one time on the point of breaking up the whole fabric of society; and that a convulsion was only averted by the dexterous policy of Warren Hastings, who at last bought off the opposition of the Chief Justice for £8,000 a year. It is notorious that while the Supreme Court opposed Hastings in all his best measures, it was a thorough-going accomplice in his worst; that it took part in the most scandalous of those proceedings which, fifty years ago, roused the indignation of Parliament and the country; that it assisted in the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude; that it passed sentence of death on Nuncomar."

Seven years later, in the year 1840, we find the same great authority discussing this all-important subject of the administration of justice in India with a passing allusion to the administration of justice in England. "There are few Englishmen," he says, "who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as might be desired. Still, it is a system that has grown up among us. In some points it has been fashioned to suit our feelings; in others it has gradually

fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and therefore if we do complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which we suffer here; it has them all in a higher degree, and it has other vices compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles."

A noteworthy deliverance assuredly, whether as regards this country or our Eastern dependency. It is with the latter that we are now concerned. During the four decades following the year 1840 there was, no doubt, an immense improvement on the condition described in Macaulay's speech in the House of Commons. But it was unfortunately more in appearance than in reality. If cruelty and corruption on the Bench had disappeared, pedantry had increased owing to the interaction of Oriental astuteness and Western formalism. Accordingly we find Mr. S. S. Thorburn, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, in his "Musalmans and Money Lenders," writing as follows: "Over-technicality and refinement of the law as now administered in the Chief Court have caused widespread harm and tended to bring the law and the Chief Court into contempt." Mr. Thorburn's book appeared in 1886.

Skipping two more decades, we find M. Chailley, a friendly witness, testifying on the same side with the utmost frankness. In his important work, "Administrative Problems in British India," we read: "Inexplicable acquittals encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race. . . . The Magistrates are indignant, and the Executive, at least in some of the Provinces, asks for remedies. It is supported by the bulk of the natives, but not by the Babus—the men of the University and the Bar—and the evil will constantly increase."

This prediction has been amply justified. Last year the able Correspondent of the *Times* in Calcutta told us on

August 26, that "there were 8,000 appeals pending in Calcutta on the civil side alone. It is certain," he concluded, "that the heavy cost and intolerable delay in obtaining judgments in the Calcutta High Court amount to a denial of justice."

During the present year things have gone from bad to worse in the proceedings of the Calcutta High Court. The Khulna gang of eighteen, against whom there was grave evidence, pleaded guilty and were acquitted. Defending this unparalleled course in the House of Lords, Lord Morley said: "The trial would have lasted a long time and would have created a bad impression throughout the country." Here we note with apprehension the emergence of a novel feature. In the impotence of the High Court, recourse is had to the political lecturer from whose services the happiest results are apparently expected. "The accused, on their return to their villages," Lord Morley informed the House, "were sent for by an eminent Hindu gentleman, who gave them a severe lecture on loyalty."

But if the Calcutta High Court is powerless to punish evil-doers, it is extraordinarily vigorous in harassing European magistrates who have been under the necessity of taking prompt measures during outbreaks of sedition. A course which obvious duty dictated in circumstances of the greatest perplexity has been characterized time and again, after the event, by the High Court in its wisdom, as an error of judgment. Those much-enduring magistrates have been distracted between anxiety to carry out their arduous duties efficiently and fear of financial ruin. They have been put to enormous expense by vexatious actions-at-law during the hearing of which the wildest allegations have been made against them unsupported by a tittle of evidence. Their authority has suffered to the detriment of the Empire and the delectation of disloyal factions. The High Court of Calcutta, whose Bench is occupied by learned, upright, and honourable men, has made itself the instrument of an unhallowed association of all that has

hitherto been imagined as the most abject enslavement to the letter in the legal traditions of the West, sharpened to the keenness of a razor's edge by the super-subtlety of the East. Never before has chicane proceeded so unblushingly to the dismemberment of Empire.

A brief survey of two notorious cases cannot fail to fill our readers with astonishment that the Under-Secretary can see nothing dangerous in the condition of India.

The Mymensingh case attained the dimensions of a public scandal. After a history of nearly five years, the end was reached by the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on July 18 last. Their Lordships decided in favour of Mr. L. O. Clarke, the District Magistrate, who was fined by the Court of first instance for instituting a search in the house of a suspected person during a seditious outbreak. That judgment was confirmed on appeal by the appellate side of the High Court. In reversal of that decision the Judicial Committee finds that Mr. Clarke acted with discretion, and confined himself well within the powers conferred upon him by law. It declares further that there has been a grave miscarriage of justice, aggravated by obstacles being placed in the way of a reference to the Privy Council, and rendered inexcusable by the fact that the High Court misinterpreted enactments which they ought to have understood. There is the crux of the situation. The Judges ought to have understood the enactments; but the obvious and natural meaning of words is overlaid by a rank growth of hair-splitting refinements springing in luxuriance from the Bar as its natural soil, to the effectual entanglement and confusion of the Bench, which is a product of the Bar.

The Midnapur case is on somewhat similar lines to the Mymensingh scandal, the chief difference being that the former is only a year old. A Judge of the High Court, who had no experience whatsoever of the difficulties with which Magistrates have to contend, was pleased to hold that Mr. Weston had exceeded his powers in ordering a

search during a period of grave disturbance. The Magistrate was accordingly fined £66. This judgment carried very heavy costs, said to amount to no less than £26,000. Whatever the exact sum may be, we can well imagine that it is very large from the fact that the case lasted 192 days; that the evidence filled 11 volumes of nearly 1,000 pages each; that the hearing of the case on appeal lasted 48 days; that one advocate spoke for 20 days; while another required 17 days in handling an extremely simple case which the resources of professionalism had invested with an encyclopædic character.

The reading of the judgment of the Appellate Court in this case, begun on August 15 last, was concluded on the 17th. The Court unanimously exonerated Mr. Weston, and dismissed the suit for damages with costs. According to one correspondent, the Court subjected the findings of the Judge in first instance to strenuous criticism, and sternly condemned the conduct of the plaintiff's advocate. This decision revokes a judgment which, if upheld, would have worked most disastrously on the administration of justice in India.

The case is highly instructive as an illustration of the vagaries which are possible in Courts when the weakness of the barrister Bench gives a free hand to the dialectical extravagance of the Bar. This latitude will be appreciated when we cite the telegraphed report of the *Times* Calcutta Correspondent: "The issues," he wired, "were continually shifted, and extraneous charges were made prejudicing the defendant unsupported by evidence. This constant shifting of ground increased the bulk of the suit, and Mr. Justice Fletcher was led to find a different case from that in the pleadings or in counsel's opening."

Therein is the true inwardness of the situation. The creeping paralysis of justice in India is due to an orgy of advocacy. Nowhere has the Bar achieved such ascendancy as in Anglo-Saxon countries, and in no Anglo-Saxon country has that ascendancy been con-

ducive to such phenomenal prolixity as in India. Nowhere in India is the Bench so completely hypnotized by plausible sophistries and interminable refinements as in Calcutta. Out of his intimate personal knowledge of Bengal, Macaulay will enlighten us once more: "Large promises," he says, "smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons offensive and defensive of the people of the lower Ganges." As for those whose vital breath is the atmosphere of the Calcutta High Court, he tells us that "as sharp legal practitioners no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them."

The crowning triumph of the Bengali *vakeel* is achieved when he has manœuvred the Bench into fining and discrediting the European Magistrate, the truest friend of the dumb millions of India. There is much more in such a victory than is seen at a first glance. Professional laurels and filthy lucre are not to be despised, but more precious than either is an opportunity of paying off old scores; for it must be borne in mind that in the rapacious exploitation of his fellows by the oppressor, the *vakeel* is too frequently the agent, while the Magistrate, or civilian Judge, is everywhere an uncompromising opponent. He has never breathed the atmosphere of the Bar; he has a short way with sophistry; he has an intimate knowledge of native life and character; he speaks the leading languages of India; he is an invaluable check on the eccentricity or duplicity of the interpreter. "Traduttore, traditore," says the Italian proverb. The penalty of this equipment is the rankling hostility of the sharks who, in Lord Curzon's phrase, "prey upon the unhappy people."

Moreover, when the *vakeel* is in sympathy with the disaffected faction, which is too often the case, he takes the keenest delight in surpassing his teachers, who have made his "calling" and election sure. They have provided him with an immense assortment of daggers, masks, and disguises, and never did pupil more readily assimilate the

methods, or more effectually mend the instructions, of his master. He has the keenest enjoyment of the bubble-blowing which is intended to amuse the laity. He has the shrewdest insight in the interpretation of noble sentiments. He rolls "the efficiency of the Bar in the service of the public" like a sweet morsel under his tongue, knowing full well that it means "the gullibility of the public in the service of the Bar." When he reads that "the duty of the advocate is to aid the Judge in ascertaining the truth," he turns with a smile from the transparent insincerity of Sir John Simon to the plenary indulgence of the great Lord Chancellor sahib: "The advocate must not regard the suffering, the torment, or the destruction he may bring upon others: he must go on reckless of the consequences, if his fate should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion for his client."

It will now be perceived that both nature and fortune have smiled on the *vakeel*. His peculiar gifts insure proficiency in a fascinating game which offers splendid prizes. Nor is he to be blamed for "not playing the game" if, keeping well within the rules, he employs his talents in vanquishing with his own weapons a barrister-Judge whom he is professedly "*aiding—splendide mendax*"—to ascertain the truth." It would be churlish to begrudge him the further triumph of using his power of dialectical superiority over a friendly Judge for the occasional discomfiture of a Magistrate whom he regards as an interloper on the Bench, and an irreconcilable enemy of ignoble actions and the grandiloquent phrases which defend them. We cannot repudiate the *vakeel*. We are responsible for him. He is the spoilt child of our legalism. We must look facts in the face. In the legalist world nothing is what it seems. The British régime in India is in very truth the *raj* of the *vakeel*. Into his hand the greatest of Chancellors and special pleaders has thrust a comprehensive absolution.

Nor is it the circumstance of least significance in the brilliant fortunes of the *vakeel* that, for reasons less unworthy

than his own, the English Bar, and that portion of the High Court Bench (namely, two-thirds), which is a product of the Bar, agree with him in regarding Magistrates drawn from the Civil Service and civilian-Judges as trespassers on the preserves of the Bar. Observe that the ascendancy of the *vakeel* is part and parcel of the ascendancy of the Bar. Not without intention does M. Chailley associate the Babus and the Bar in opposing remedies for legalism. In defiance of Mr. Kipling's dictum, East and West have met and collaborated "in harmony and unity" according to the Under-Secretary. There is no meeting to which that description applies with such accuracy as that between the Babus and the Bar. We shall appreciate the perfection of that harmony when we are told what the Calcutta Correspondent of the *Times* wrote on July 8 last respecting the proposed establishment of a High Court at Patna, "The main objection urged is that such a Court would not be so free from civilian control or influence as the Calcutta High Court, since Judges in a *mofussil* town will necessarily associate daily with local officials."

It is manifest that the High Court of Calcutta is an ideal institution from the professional point of view—that of the Babus and the Bar. Close association with civilians is deprecated lest the habit of interpreting the natural meaning of words should prove contagious and find its way into rulings and judgments to the disadvantage of the legal profession. This attitude ear-marks the Eastern and Western branches of a caste whose harmony and amity are of evil augury for the public welfare.

Nor have we to wait long for a still more convincing proof of the common cause made by the Babus and the Bar. We read that on July 26 last, a mass meeting was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to consider the Privy Council's judgment in the Mymensingh case. The meeting was addressed, amongst other speakers, by two barristers (not *vakeels* or native barristers, observe). The proceedings of this egregious meeting concluded with a vote of confi-

dence in the High Court; expressed appreciation of its efficiency, according to the cabled report in the *Morning Post*; recorded an expression of gratitude for its services; "declared the High Court to be the greatest gift of British rule in India, and manifested strong disapprobation of the agitation against its composition which consists for the most part of barrister and *vakeel* judges the strongest element in the Court. The meeting was of opinion that the existing status and position of the High Court should remain intact."

We ask our readers, in all confidence, whether their reading, experience, or imagination can picture a more striking instance of unconscious cynicism. The parasite, mistaking itself for the host, has the superb assurance to dictate his policy! To the parasite the rodent ulcer of Empire is an asset; it is England's greatest gift to India! It has established the "*raj*" of the *vakeel*. And yet the Under-Secretary sees no danger ahead!

We learn that a second meeting was held subsequently; the Babus and the Bar raged greatly together because, as they alleged, the High Court had been overawed by the Privy Council judgment in the Mymensingh case, and as a consequence Mr. Justice Fletcher and Mr. Dutt, the plaintiff's counsel in the Midnapur appeal, had been treated with gross unfairness.

As a reaction from these parasitical extravaganzas there is a demand made in certain organs of the Press at home and in India for the resignation of Mr. Justice Fletcher. We hold no brief for Mr. Justice Fletcher, but we desire to dissociate ourselves completely from the movement directed against him. The deep-seated paralysis of justice from which India is suffering will not be cured by lopping off a limb. We have been satisfied with such tinkering at symptoms for centuries past, and the result is that we are a full hundred years behind our neighbours in the vital domain of law. The long-continued prevalence and final ascendancy of the Bar-habit has contributed to the progressive widening

of the gulf between law and justice, while our neighbours across the North Sea have spared no effort to bring them into closest harmony. That happy consummation has been achieved chiefly by training judges for judicial duties, instead of recruiting the Bench from the Bar. That admirable system obtains as regards one-third of the occupants of the High Courts in India. Their record confirms the experience of our neighbours. In hardly a single instance during the last quarter of a century has a civilian-Judge been concerned in the deplorable succession of blunders which have amounted to grave scandals. And yet this innovation has encountered the open or covert hostility of the Bar, and received indifferent treatment at the hands of the Government of India, in which the legalist element is not less predominant than at home. Thus we find that the antidote to the ulcer is known, and its efficacy demonstrated by our neighbours, but it is only applied in homœopathic doses in India, because our political Panglosses see no danger—which, being interpreted, means that they are themselves too much a part of the peril to be able to perceive it.

There are those who think that because we have no grievous scandals in the administration of the law in this country, therefore all is well with us. If they will be persuaded to look beneath the surface, much of this optimism will vanish. The marked diminution in the number of suits affecting the serious interests of men, and the striking increase in actions of a speculative character, in which litigants, in a hunt for damages, back a favourite counsel as they put money on a horse, prove the increasing emergence of a gambling element in litigation which must make the judicious grieve. Furthermore, the triumphant success of codification in France and Germany, more especially, perhaps, in the latter country, combined with the abolition of the jury system in civil cases, has rendered justice accessible to an extent that presents a most favourable contrast with the conditions unfortunately obtaining in this

country. To our sages belongs the credit of proclaiming the truth that "where there is not cheap justice, there is no justice." Seven centuries ago that principle was affirmed in Magna Charta in these words: "To no man shall we sell or deny or delay Right or Justice." That fundamental law of the realm and the Empire has been continuously outraged, and now Nemesis has overtaken us. Persistence in a vicious style of recruiting the Bench has infected it with the Bar-habit. If the Bench has not actively opposed codification it has not moved a finger to bring it to accomplishment; it treats the jury system as sacrosanct; it has no word of protest against the Assize system, which involves the detention in prison of accused persons for many weeks before trial, while our neighbours have a High Court in every large town.

If we direct our gaze to the United States we find that our system of recruiting the Bench transplanted there is producing results not less disastrous than in India. Although there is practically no disaffection to envenom the Bar-habit, there is an all-devouring commercialism which finds a warrant and justification in the vagaries of legalism. Two groups of phenomena are the result. Looking downwards we find lawlessness increasing, and crime unpunished; we find "murder, multitudinous and rampant." Looking upwards we find the same sinister influence invading the most exalted quarters. Treaties are regarded as a means of providing lawyers with subterfuges, and after two such demonstrations as the Panama Canal and the Fur Seal questions, we may well despair of arbitration (which is being assassinated in the house of its friends), and doubt whether it is possible henceforward to participate in a square deal with the Government of the United States. The Bar-habit is the ulcer of Anglo-Saxondom.

In the Empire the Prime Minister, and in the Republic the President, is a barrister. Both are melancholy examples of the Bar-habit. Does anyone imagine that one will take a vigorous step to diminish lawlessness in America, or the

other to abate the ravages of "vakeeldom" in India? That were, indeed, a vain hope. But no more than Mr. Justice Fletcher are Mr. Asquith and President Taft to blame. The fault is in the system, and in the public of Anglo-Saxondom for tolerating it. Anglo-Saxondom found advocacy the most despised of all avowable professions. We do not inquire how Anglo-Saxondom is leaving advocacy, but rather how advocacy is leaving Anglo-Saxondom. In neither Empire nor Republic is there a Department of Justice worthy of the name. It has been captured by the Bar—that triumph followed the capture of the Bench. The crowning mercy was the capture of the machinery of Government.

As the patience of a long-suffering public seems inexhaustible, the arrogance of the predominant caste increases. The Attorney-General has recently given us a striking illustration of professional spread-eagleism. In a speech at Reading, delivered on August 1, he threw down the gauntlet to all nations in these words, as reported in the *Times*: "He challenged anyone to assert that the law of any country, or any human machinery, ever treated an accused person with greater fairness or greater chivalry than was done in the Courts of this country."

"De l'audace, encore de l'audace et toujours de l'audace," is a counsel that has long been followed by the shining lights of the Bar. It was a piece of splendid audacity when the Attorney-General expressed his readiness, some months ago, to prove that our most acute and vigilant Judges were the oldest men. Going from triumph to triumph, his latest peroration is, if possible, still more audacious, but it is an effort in mere histrionics. The Attorney-General is our representative specimen of the actor-advocate, and we shall show that his challenge is more becoming to a mime than a statesman. Our readers are well aware that it is a recognized habit of the special pleader to seize every opportunity of magnifying his office by pompous assertions that English law is a boon and a blessing to the community.

But we observe that even the audacity of the Attorney-General is unequal to the task of championing our civil law, which is from six to eight times more expensive, and from sixty to eighty times more uncertain than civil law among our neighbours. For good and sufficient reasons, then, the criminal law is chosen as the subject of a panegyric. Its climax is a challenge, the terms of which are highly significant. The association of chivalry with the treatment of accused persons is incongruous and theatrical to the last degree. We venture to remind the Attorney-General that justice comes before chivalry. And, truth to tell, this boasted chivalry savours more of pride in the triumphs of advocacy than of satisfaction with the administration of justice. When professional laurels are to be won, we say nothing of huge fees; chivalry to accused persons is carried to such lengths that all sense of fair play to the community is forgotten.

To take an instance from among many in our recent legal history: An unnatural parent was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for the manslaughter of his child. There was not the slightest doubt or difficulty in the case. But the slayer escaped because the prosecution blundered. It proved that the unhappy child had been the victim of a previous assault by the same hand. The Judge, in first instance, forgot to warn the jury that they must dismiss the first assault from their minds because it was perpetrated more than "a year and a day" before the death. What an opportunity for a display of "learning" before the Court of Criminal Appeal! The point was taken. The Barrister-Bench sustained the objection, and the chivalry of the Court was established by letting loose a brutal ruffian who, for all their Lordships knew, might proceed to send another child down the *via dolorosa* of their short lives. Did the Court in its chivalry consider whether other people's children would fare better if the craving for the infliction of torture became once more irresistible? No. Bench and Bar are one and indivisible. Hence the triumphs of advocacy at

the expense of justice. Is this a fit subject of boasting in a well-ordered State? Now we understand why this Ministry sees no danger in "vakeeldom" in India. We are suffering grievously from a variety of the ailment in England.

In vaunting the cosmic excellence of our criminal law, the Attorney-General is well aware that the public have short memories. They will not read history. Otherwise they would learn what the criminal law was under the Stuarts, and more especially under the last Stuart. Macaulay tells us that: "In the State trials the license given to the witnesses for the prosecution, the shameless partiality and ferocious insolence of the Judge, the precipitancy and blind rancour of the jury, remind us of those odious mummeries which, from the Restoration to the Revolution, were merely formal preliminaries to hanging, drawing, and quartering."

The whirligig of time has brought round a condition which is ideal in outward seeming; but if we penetrate beneath the fair surface of things, we shall find that the interest of the community, like that of justice, is relegated to the second plane. In "Known to the Police," Mr. Holmes makes this grave statement: "I have seen a large number of prisoners acquitted about whose guilt there was no manner of doubt." The extreme of mistaken chivalry is as far removed from justice as the extreme of tyrannous injustice. Our readers have seen what our boasted fairness and chivalry—exploited by a powerful Bar and tolerated by a weak Bench—are doing for India and America. Obviously the difference between those countries and this, in the legal domain, is one of degree, not of kind. Their legal systems are closely allied to ours, which is the parent. A sense of the fitness of things would find sackcloth and ashes more appropriate than boastful challenges in regard to such a parent and such offspring.

But if the valour of the challenger is akin to that of another knight in attacking a whole host of men in buckram, the better part of valour is less conspicuous in the special

pleader than in the swashbuckler. Supposing the public have short memories, it is surely a little indiscreet to presume that these do not extend as far back as a couple of years. In the case of Cadet Archer-Shee the fairness (we leave chivalry out of the question) to an accused person—and that person a mere stripling—was so deplorably lacking that a sum exceeding £7,000 was paid to the parents as compensation. The community, like Issachar, is stooping down between two burdens—the sea-lawyer and the land variety. The Admiralty held an inquiry and adjudged the lad guilty, on insufficient evidence. The first attempt of the justly indignant parents to lay the case before the Law Courts was successfully opposed by the law officers of the Crown on a technicality. Recourse to the Court of Appeal was necessary. Leading counsel had to be briefed: his efforts (secured, it goes without saying, at great expense) were successful, and justice was finally done. The boy's character was cleared of what would have been, in the case of a poor man's child, an indelible stigma. He would have been pointed at as a thief during the rest of his life.

With such a recent illustration that the door of the Palace of Justice is barred with gold and opens but to golden keys, the full measure of the audacity of the Attorney-General will be appreciated. But that is not all. Effrontery is a more accurate description of the challenge, if our recollection is correct. Our impression is that it was the Attorney-General himself, and no other, who successfully opposed the hearing of the Archer-Shee case, thereby inflicting untold suffering and anxiety on the parents and costing the country a large sum in compensation. Our impression is, further, that it was the Attorney-General himself, and no other, who expressed his entire satisfaction in the House of Commons at the triumphant rehabilitation of the youth. That happy result had been effected despite the utmost efforts of the law officers of the Crown. Mr. Facing Both Ways, who made the congratulatory speech, was one—the

senior—of these law officers! The versatility of this legal *pundit* is a record in quick changes. He has nothing to learn from his colleague, the Bengali *vakeel*; he has demonstrated his proficiency in the profitable game of hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. Again we must remind our readers that the idiosyncrasies of an individual are less in question than the vices of a system.

But it may be urged that we are attaching an undue degree of importance to an exceptional blunder; that chivalry, on our own showing, even if divorced from fairness and justice, is, as a matter of fact, characteristic of the criminal law of this country.

We must remind our readers, once more, of the method of interpretation which prudence applies to the utterances of the special pleader. Fairness and chivalry are a convenient disguise for the triumphs of "vakeeldom" over justice. But we shall now show that methods of barbarism, absolutely oblivious of all fairness, are perpetrated and defended in exalted quarters when the interest of advocacy is thereby subserved.

When the doughty champion of "vakeeldom" flings his brief into the arena and challenges all countries and all human machinery in the asseveration that this country holds an exclusive patent for the mills of God, is it possible that he has forgotten how accused persons are treated under the circuit system? The late Mr. Justice Wright declared that the long detention of prisoners in Assize towns waiting trial was a disgrace to the country. Lord Brampton was outspoken in condemnation of this abuse. In his "Reminiscences" he says: "I have known both men and women confined in gaol before trial when their guilt was unproved, for eight, ten, or twelve weeks. Some of them were acquitted, altogether, while others had suffered before their trial more punishment by detention in gaol than any Judge with a spark of humanity would have awarded on conviction."*

* Since the date of the Report referred to in the text a Commission has been appointed to enquire into the detention of accused persons before

To our astonishment the circuit system was chosen as the subject of enthusiastic eulogy on a recent occasion by a shining light of legalism. Let our readers judge for themselves whether he and the Attorney-General are more trustworthy witnesses than Justices Wright and Hawkins. Here are the figures for the year 1907; they happen to be the latest available at the place of writing. That year was not exceptional in any respect whatsoever.

No fewer than 5,961 persons were detained in prison for periods under four weeks awaiting trial; 1,965 from four to five weeks; 962 from eight to twelve weeks; 334 from twelve to sixteen weeks; 96 above sixteen weeks, but we are not told how long. All these were convicted.

Taking another category during the same year, 782 persons were detained for periods under four weeks awaiting trial, and all were acquitted. The same remark applies to 225 who were detained from four to eight weeks; to 90 who lingered in durance from eight to thirteen weeks; to 43 who were confined from twelve to sixteen weeks; and to 9 who had the misfortune to be immured over sixteen weeks—but again we are not told how long. Out of very shame the worst horror is not disclosed. We are not informed whether a penny piece was paid to any one of these unfortunate people, whereas compensation is paid in Germany to an accused person if he has suffered imprisonment for even a short period if the charge against him turns out to be false. But it is extremely rare that a claim for compensation on account of long detention can be made in Germany, barring cases of alleged espionage, which are quite exceptional. We have it on the authority

trial. It does not appear that any improvement has been effected up to the time of writing. The following extract is from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 16, 1912, under the heading, "Innocent Men Detained": "Lord Harris, presiding at Canterbury Quarter Sessions yesterday, commented on the long detention of persons awaiting trial, and instanced a case in which two men, charged with stealing sailcloth, valued at five shillings, had been in custody for three months. At the subsequent trial the men referred to by Lord Harris were acquitted."

of Lord Gorell that "in Germany there is a local High Court for every 250,000 of the population; in Holland there are 23 local High Courts; in France there are 375 tribunals of the High Court covering the whole country."

Owing to the apathy of the public and the ascendancy of the legal caste, we are denied our neighbours' advantages. On the present scale of emolument this country, although one of the richest in the world, cannot afford to pay Judges in sufficient numbers for our needs. These spoilt children of the State receive remuneration on a scale which is between three and four times that of their *confrères* on the Continent of Europe, and double that of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. We may mention, parenthetically, that the office and dignity of Lord Chancellor is now costing the country no less a sum than £20,000 a year—£10,000 in salary and two pensions of £5,000 each. For a sum little in excess of this our neighbours have a real department of justice, of which the function, indispensable in a well-ordered State, is to exercise the closest control over the judiciary, who are graded in one continuous chain from the junior Judge of the "*Schöffengericht*" to the Judges of the Supreme Court. Any waywardness in judgments is suitably noticed, and promotion is only granted to ability plus seniority. This system has a single eye to the public welfare; ours considers solely the interest of a caste. Judges receive princely emoluments; they are pitchforked into the highest positions without the smallest guarantee of fitness—the duties of Bar and Bench being dissimilar, and, in the opinion of other communities, antagonistic—often for purely political or party exigencies. So potent are vested interests in legalism that, as an indirect consequence of caste ascendancy, accused persons must pine in captivity sacrificed to the circuit system. Oh, fairness and chivalry to accused persons! Ask the unhappy people who are even now languishing within four walls for weary weeks, compelled to eat their hearts out while their homes are desolate and their children starving. Upwards of a

tenth of them will be acquitted.* Some will leave the Court without a stain on their characters after an incarceration of sixteen weeks, and whatever addition the reports conceal.

A small detail has a significance all its own in this connection. There is a large vested interest in the perpetuation of the circuit system. Under its shadow a small plant has grown up akin to the great tree of privilege. The following extract is from "A Chance Medley," p. 50: "A writer in the *Times* of June 14, 1905, mentions the fact that 'a few years ago the High Court Judges received an augmentation of their salaries by an allowance of £7 10s. a day while on circuit.' The history of this stipend is curious. As a result of the great Judicature Act of 1873, the Chancery Judges began to go circuit . . . they naturally put in a claim for travelling expenses. This was admitted, and, as the Common Law Judges were put to exactly the same expense, they too were held to be entitled to the same augmentation, although circuit had, so to say, been part of *their* contract from time immemorial." [The italics are the author's.] The reader will draw his own inference, and discount the braggadocio which has occupied our attention too long. It is intelligible on this supposition—centuries of privilege have fostered the delusion that the ascendancy of a caste is synonymous with the welfare of the public. History is not without instances of similar self-deception. A less favourable hypothesis finds not even the palliation of overweening conceit for blatant insincerity and rhodomontade; these are a measure of our legalists' belief in the illimitable credulity of the public. It matters little which view is the more accurate. What concerns the nation is to realize the fact that in the struggle which is before us we suffer from conditions absolutely excluding equality of opportunity with our neighbours and rivals. To the unprejudiced observer it is a problem of deep psychological interest that a race which boasts of being

* 11·4 per cent. were acquitted in 1907.

among the first to break the shackles of clericalism should still hug the fetters of legalism, although it lays no claim to supernatural sanction, but, ministering mainly to the advantage of its own exponents, tickles the ears of childhood with high-salutin' phrases which break the word of promise to the hope. Is our legal nonage merging into second childhood?

ITALY'S PRIZES IN THE ÆGEAN.

BY HUGH HOUSTON,

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1. THE SANJAK OF CHIOS.

IN 1830, after the termination of the Greek War of Independence, an endeavour was made by the European Powers to delimit the frontiers of the newly born kingdom of Modern Greece. One of the most difficult parts of this task was to decide the fate of a number of the Ægean Islands. Although belonging to Turkey, these islands were inhabited almost exclusively by people of Greek descent, who, having jeopardized everything in the fierce battle for liberty, protested against being handed back to their old masters.

After long deliberation it was decided to divide the islands between the two belligerents. Up the centre of the Ægean an imaginary line was drawn, all the islands to the west of this being assigned to Greece, with the exception of Crete, those on the east being given back to Turkey. The natives of the latter group received a promise of protection from England, France, and Russia.

Since these revolted islands were returned to the power from which they had temporarily broken away, their inhabitants have never ceased to cherish the hope of being some day united to their Greek kindred. The Turkish authori-

ties, on the other hand, sedulously endeavoured to seclude them from European influences, lest the disposition to revolt should, perhaps, be encouraged. Owing to this exclusiveness of the Turkish authorities, the islands are not much known, and the desire for information about them which recent international events have created is not easily gratified. The following particulars may, however, go some way in that direction. They have been gleaned from the most reliable authorities, and from official reports issued by the island authorities themselves.

The Ægean Islands which were returned to Turkey lie in a long, irregular string off the coast of Asia Minor, from which some of them are separated by a very short distance. They were divided by the Turkish authorities into four administrative divisions called "sanjaks," each of which is named after the principal island in the group. The most northerly of these sanjaks is that of Lemnos; the next in order, coming south, is the sanjak of Mitylene; after that the sanjak of Chios; and, most southerly of all, the sanjak of Rhodes. The two northerly sanjaks, Lemnos and Mitylene, which embrace little besides the islands from which they derive their name, did not come within the scope of the Italian operations, and therefore do not call for special consideration. But between Rhodes and Chios lie scattered a large number of islands whose natural features are of the most varied character, and among whose inhabitants strange and interesting customs still linger.

The political destiny of the numerous small islands lying between Chios and Rhodes has nearly always depended upon the fate of the latter island, and in mediæval and recent times whatever power managed to wrest Rhodes from its owners became, by a kind of natural law, mistress of all the rest.

The climate of these islands is one of the most delightful in the world, snow being practically unknown, and the summer heat tempered by fresh breezes from the sea. The larger islands are generally fertile, and yield magnificent

crops of grapes, olives, and figs, besides producing peaches, pears, melons, and almonds in abundance. Most of the larger islands are mountainous in the interior, and possess valuable forests of oak and pine growing on the higher ground. The smaller islands are, as a rule, sterile, being endowed with neither soil nor water, and the inhabitants live either by fishing or diving for sponges. The latter abound in the sunlit waters of the Ægean and the Mediterranean, and after being gathered from the bottom of the sea by the young men, who alone are able to bear the physical strain of the prolonged immersion, are prepared for the market by the older people and exported all over the world. The finest specimens of sponges sold in the shops of Europe and America are brought from these islands.

As most of the islands seized by Italy belong to the sanjak of Chios, a short description of that island may be appropriate, although individually Chios has not been interfered with by the Italians.

In the northern part of Chios the soil is rocky and planted with vines and forest trees. The middle portion of the island is low-lying and fertile, and covered with extensive plantations of orange-trees, which, at a little distance, look like dense forests. The southern part is given up to the cultivation of the *Pistachia lentiscus*, a tree which exudes from its trunk and larger branches the resinous gum called "mastic," which the ladies of the Turkish harems are continually chewing, thereby scenting their breath and sadly disfiguring their teeth. This gum is also one of the principal ingredients in the famous "raki" brandy, a beverage in great favour throughout the Levant.

In spring, when the orange groves of Chios are all in blossom, the traveller can scent the delicate perfume while the ship is still several miles from the island, and it has been asserted that the odour is quite perceptible on the mainland of Asia Minor, a dozen miles away. The plantations or gardens in which these orange-trees grow number over 1,200, and each is fenced off from its neighbours,

possesses its own irrigation canals, and usually contains the mansion of its owner, who is as often as not a wealthy merchant in the neighbouring town.

From the closeness of their contact with the continent of Asia, the Chiotes, as the natives of the island are called, developed a love of luxury more pronounced than that of any other natives of "voluptuous Ionia," and in the Levant the phrase to "live like a Chiote" means as much as, and perhaps even more than, is expressed in the English phrase which refers to the manner of living characteristic of a lord.

Notwithstanding their love of luxury, the Chiotes have always been well able to take care of themselves in business matters; so much so, indeed, that although there is no reasonable doubt of their Greek origin, the impression is general in the Levant that they are the descendants of a colony of Jews. Others, again, differentiate them from the Jews by the superior keenness of their business instinct, and quote a proverb which asserts that "It takes seven Armenians to make one Jew, but seven Jews to make a Chiote."

The island of Chios is one of the few places in which begging has been elevated to the dignity of an honourable calling. Every year a considerable number of the male inhabitants, and these by no means of the poorest class, set out for Constantinople and other cities in Asia, to ply the trade of professional beggars. At the close of the season they return to the island to enjoy at leisure and with dignity the fruits of their enterprise, the knowledge that their means are obtained in this peculiar manner in no degree lessening the respect in which they are held by their fellow-citizens.

The area of Chios is about 750 square miles, and the population a little over 70,000. Nearly a hundred years ago the islanders numbered over 100,000, but about two-thirds of these were massacred by the Turks for having taken part in the War of Greek Independence, and although

in recent years the population has been gradually increasing, it is still far short of the old figure. The valuable crop of mastic produced in the island is claimed by the Turkish authorities, who only permit the natives to retain the inferior qualities as a kind of wage for tending the plantations.

About forty miles from Chios, coming south, is the smaller island of Nikaria, named after the great original of our modern race of "bird-men," Icarus, who, neglecting to put into timely execution the manœuvre known as "planing down," met with disaster in these regions, and tumbled headlong into the neighbouring Icarian Sea.

The traveller who voyages from Chios to Nikaria will soon be made aware that he is sojourning in a region of strong contrasts. Unlike the Chiotes, the natives of Nikaria are devoted to the simple life, and although claiming descent from the Royal House of Porphyrogenitus, they live in a manner quite the reverse of luxurious. Even the use of such a common article of furniture as a bedstead is scorned amongst them, and when they retire to rest they simply wrap themselves in sheepskins and lie down upon the ground. The food of the islanders is also of the simplest kind, the family meal generally consisting of an unleavened cake made from flour ground in a hand-mill as it is required, and baked on a flat stone set over a fire. In accordance with the laws of Greek hospitality, the stranger or guest who is present when this cake is cut up is given a double portion.

Owing no doubt to this strict regimen, the Nikariotes are proverbially healthy people, and live to a great age, centenarians being common among them. The young men of Nikaria have earned the reputation of being the most expert divers for sponges in all the Ægean, and they will often fetch up a haul of choice specimens from a depth of 40 fathoms, although the depth-regulator in common use indicates 25 fathoms as the greatest depth to which a diver should ever venture. So greatly is this skill prized

that the island maidens modestly but firmly refuse to marry any youth who is not an accomplished diver.

Nikaria is about twenty-six miles long and eleven broad, mountainous and wooded, and imports no commodities of any kind.

A few miles to the south of Nikaria lies Patmos, the island to which St. John the Evangelist was exiled by Domitian in the year A.D. 95, and where he wrote the Book of Revelation. The island is naked and sterile in the extreme, and in direct contrast to Nikaria with its groves of fine trees. About halfway up one of the mountains of Patmos is a cave in which the Evangelist is said to have seen the vision. At the summit of the mountain a great monastery has been established, and to this is attached a college which is famed as a seat of learning throughout the Levant, receiving students even from Greece. The population of Patmos and the neighbouring island of Leros is about 8,000 Greeks, and less than fifty Turks.

Almost touching the southern end of Leros is Calymnos, an island about equal to Leros in point of size. This was among the first to be occupied by the Italians. Before dispatching an expedition to the island the Italians sent in a destroyer to reconnoitre. At the sight of this little vessel the caimacam, or governor, ran away and hid himself in the interior. When the destroyer had departed again, the courage of the worthy man revived, and, returning to the town, he sought out all the inhabitants who had welcomed the Italians, and thrashed them soundly with sticks, declaring that if the Italians came back he would serve them the same. The Italian warships then appeared, whereupon this latter-day Falstaff again endeavoured to decamp, but was seized by the irate islanders, who, after executing summary justice upon him for the indignities they had suffered at his hands, delivered him over to the Italians as a prisoner.

The population of Calymnos in 1911 was 19,855, all Greek, with the exception of the valiant caimacam, several

tax collectors, and a few soldiers. The sole industry of the island is fishing and the sponge trade.

In these islands one is always meeting with strange and interesting customs, and in the island of Cos some survive which are probably the remnants of an ancient matriarchal regime. The ladies of Cos do not require to wait for the advent of leap year in order to obtain the privilege of asking for the honour of a gentleman's hand in marriage; that is their right at all seasons, and a gentleman is expected to wait until advances have been made to him by a lady. The ladies are, moreover, relieved from the embarrassment of making their proposal in person, ancient custom having decreed that the lady's father shall be the bearer of his daughter's love-message. If "Barkis is willin'" the arrangements for the marriage are made by the lady or her people, and they are generally very different from those with which western people are familiar. When it is the eldest daughter of a family who has made up her mind to marry, the prospect is rather a serious one for the unlucky father, who is expected forthwith to relinquish his dwelling to the young couple and seek another for himself where and how he can. As if to complete the humiliation of the "mere male," it is the daughters and not the sons who inherit property when the head of a family dies in Cos.

The greater part of Cos is very fertile, the island producing splendid crops of delicious fruit. Amongst its products are the famous sultana raisins, of which the island has almost a monopoly, there being some property in the soil which suits the plant, which will hardly grow anywhere else. In olden times the natives of Cos concocted a beverage which achieved a tremendous reputation under the fanciful trade-name of "Sea Foam." It was, however, nothing but the excellent wine of the island mingled with a certain proportion of common sea-water!

The public square of the town of Cos is quite overspread by a hoary plane-tree, the ponderous branches of which are propped up by marble pillars, affording a grateful shade.

Under this arboreal patriarch the famous physician Hippocrates is said to have held consultations in the fifth century before Christ. In the Castle of Cos there is also a tiny chamber which the inhabitants strenuously assert to have been the residence of "the Father of Medicine," in wilful disregard of the fact that the castle was constructed by the Knights of St. John, and cannot possibly be older than the fourteenth century A.D.

The population of Cos numbers 10,000, who are nearly all Greeks.

A very little way from Cos, in a southerly direction, lies the islet of Nissyros, which is simply the cone of a volcano pushed up above the surface of the sea. The subterranean forces to which the island owes its existence frequently give warning that their mighty force is not yet exhausted. A column of smoke is continually emitted from the crater; streams of boiling water gush from the sides of the mountain; and the island is frequently shaken by loud explosions. The last eruption occurred in 1887, when fierce detonations threatened to split the island, and great volumes of boiling water were spouted up and fell like rain over an extensive area.

The existence of Nissyros as a separate island is fabled to date from the war waged by the Giants against the Gods. In that struggle Neptune, looking around for a handy weapon, seized one end of the island of Cos, and tearing off a mighty fragment, hurled it at the enemies of Jove. The rock, falling into the sea, became the island of Nissyros.

One of the most beautiful islands in the sanjak of Chios is Astypalea, which Nature has placed among the Isles of Greece, although it was returned to Turkey by the Convention of London. From its administrative centre at Chios the distance is about a hundred miles. Owing to its fruitfulness and beauty it received in ancient times, among other names, that of Theontrapeza, "Table of the Gods." The scene presented by the island in spring is one of

exquisite beauty, the greater part of its surface being carpeted with the loveliest blossoms. The island measures only twelve miles by ten, and contains about 1,900 inhabitants, who are all Greek.

Astypalea possesses two of the finest harbours in the Ægean, and when Britain was looking for a naval station close to the mouth of the Suez Canal this island was almost selected instead of Cyprus. The British Mission which inspected the islands in 1879 reported that they were delighted with Astypalea, which could be transformed into a coaling station for any number of warships, while its harbours could shelter a whole fleet. Had the report of Admiral Egerton been acted upon, and Astypalea selected instead of Cyprus, Britain would have been considerably in pocket over the transaction, for the indemnity to be paid to Turkey for Astypalea was only £120 a year, instead of the £92,000 paid annually for Cyprus.

The Italians have now discovered the strategical advantages of Astypalea, and have made it the headquarters of their naval strength in that region. In the summer of 1912 there were as many as thirty-four Italian war vessels stationed at the island, with crews totalling 15,000 men.

The remaining islands in the sanjak of Chios are barren rocks, and, with one exception, are unworthy of special mention. That exception is Psara, which, though small, and containing only 565 Greek inhabitants in 1911, has had a singular and mournful history.

Nature, who lavished her treasures so prodigally in the Ægean, seems to have looked coldly upon little Psara. Suidas states that in his day the vine, which sometimes flourishes where little else will grow, steadfastly refused to live on the island. But what Nature of her own accord declined to do for Psara the inhabitants effected for themselves, and by their energy and enterprise transformed this miniature wilderness into one of the loveliest spots in the Ægean. Before the War of Greek Independence in 1821, the bare rocks of the island had been covered

with soil brought with great labour from considerable distances, enchanting gardens were laid out along the shores, and in place of rude huts splendid mansions had arisen, decorated with the artistic taste which is one of the attributes of the Greek race.

When the War of Independence broke out, Psara was one of the first places to embrace the cause of freedom, and the islanders fought with the greatest determination on the side of their Greek kindred. The Sultan, exasperated by the frequency with which the name of the island was mentioned in connection with disasters to his arms, called for a map to satisfy himself as to its whereabouts. "What!" he exclaimed in wrath and astonishment when it was shown to him, "that Psara! that . . . speck! Wipe it from the map. . . . Here!" he called to one of his officers, "tell my Admiral to fasten this rock to his ship, and drag it here to me."

The Sultan's command to wipe Psara from the map was executed with almost literal thoroughness. On July 2, 1824, Topal Pasha concentrated an enormous fleet upon the tiny islet, his ships, according to one historian, almost filling the thirty-five miles of water between Psara and Mitylene. The Psariote vessels were first of all taken or destroyed, so that the doomed inhabitants should have no means of escape. Then an army under Khorsev Pasha was let loose upon the island, with orders to burn and slay and give no quarter. The days that followed witnessed an orgy of bloodshed, the islanders being massacred without respect to either age or sex. When at last, after seven days, the carnage ceased, the island upon which so much expense and care had been lavished was nothing but a heap of smoking ruins, amid which lay 17,000 corpses of the Christian population. All that was left, said the poet Berenger, was Liberty roaming mournfully over the ruined land, and strewing bitter herbs upon the graves of the dead.

Psara never recovered from that terrible act of vengeance. The population, which was over 20,000 before the massacre,

has dwindled to 565, and after the lapse of nearly a century the island is still a desert, a monument of what one outburst of passion can do to obliterate the life-work of tens of thousands.

II. THE SANJAK OF RHODES.

Across the mouth of the Ægean a semicircular chain of islands is stretched as if to protect the rest of the Archipelago from danger. On the extreme west is the large island of Crete, till recently administered by the "three Protecting Powers"—England, France, and Russia—under a Governor appointed by the King of the Hellenes, but now formally annexed by Greece. On the extreme west, Rhodes, the "rich and glorious isle" of the ancient writers, lies bathed in brilliant sunlight. Between Rhodes and Crete is the lesser island of Carpathos; and around all three the sea is dotted with numerous islets, which seem to float upon the surface of the sparkling waters. Of these isles there are only five which are of sufficient size to merit individual mention; these are Casos, Symi, Telos, Khalki, and Castellorizzo.

The traveller who sails from Cos to Rhodes will find in his way the first two islands of the sanjak of Rhodes—Nisiros and Telos—the first lying about nine miles from Cos, and the second about the same distance from the former. About twenty miles further on he will come upon the little island of Khalki, between which and Rhodes there is only about ten miles. These three islands are all bare and arid, and the inhabitants depend upon the sea for their livelihood. This is a condition common to the islands which are comprised in the group, for besides Rhodes there is only one, Carpathos, which can be regarded as fertile. In olden times it was different, and there is plenty of historical evidence to show that islands which are to-day quite sterile were formerly most fruitful. Regarding Khalki, Pliny says its fertility was so great that the inhabitants were able to reap two crops of barley every year.

Another island which has passed from fertility to barrenness within the historical period is Symi, which lies about fifteen miles to the north of Rhodes. According to the old writers this island produced a large quantity of excellent wine, besides sustaining an immense multitude of goats and other animals. As a token of its fertility the coinage of the island bore a representation of the head of Ceres, along with sheaves of corn. At the present day Symi is a rocky arid spot, utterly destitute of anything resembling vegetation.

For its size Symi maintains a very large population. In 1911 it was 18,639, although the island is only thirty miles in circumference. The islanders are all Greek, and very poor. But, although almost destitute of worldly possessions, the Symiotes are by no means deficient in spirit, as is proved by the way in which they have led the inhabitants of the Sporades in resisting the encroachments of the Turkish Government.

The Sporades are twelve of the smallest and most barren of the islands comprised in the sanjaks of Chios and Rhodes. Owing to their poverty they were exempted by Soliman the Legislator from all the ordinary taxes paid by his subjects, and from the necessity of furnishing recruits for the Turkish army. The sole burden imposed upon them was the payment of a single tax called the *Maklou*, and this exemption from further burdens was confirmed to them by charters and firmans extending over a period of 300 years. They governed themselves like little republics under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

But in 1867 the views of the Turkish authorities underwent a change, and an attempt was made to exact from the Sporades the full amount of taxes paid by other parts of the Empire, and to enlist as recruits the young men who alone could engage in the sponge-fishery. The inhabitants of the Sporades, whose chief means of livelihood was the sponge-fishery, saw themselves faced with ruin unless the threat of the authorities to take away the young men were

successfully resisted, and under the leadership of Symi they united in refusing the demands. The Turkish authorities endeavoured to apply methods of coercion to the islanders, but Symi appealed to Great Britain, whom these people had always regarded as their natural protector, and as a result of British representations at the Porte the demands were withdrawn.

Two years later the Ottoman Government renewed their encroachments upon the liberties of the Sporades, and again Symi took the lead in offering resistance. This brought down upon her the Governor of the Archipelago with a fleet and an army, and many of the leading citizens of Symi were thrown into the dungeons of Rhodes. But delegates had already been sent to London to lay the matter before the British Government, and Lord Clarendon instructed the British Ambassador at the Porte to ask for an explanation. The Turkish Government replied that there was no intention on their part of infringing the liberties of the Sporades or interfering with their finances: their only object was a benevolent one, and was concerned with the improvement of the administration.

With this assurance the islanders returned gratefully home, only to find Customs and Public Debt offices set up in the islands, and taxes imposed upon a number of articles, including their chief means of livelihood, the produce of the sponge-fishery.

In 1886 pressure was applied still more strenuously to the Sporades, and again little Symi pluckily took the lead in offering organized opposition. On this occasion, to punish her for her temerity, she was blockaded by a Turkish fleet, and the inhabitants entirely cut off from supplies of food and drink. When this had lasted for twenty-two days the island was starved into submission.

After the revolution which dethroned Abdul Hamid and established a "Constitutional" Government in Turkey, the inhabitants of the Sporades found themselves little better, indeed somewhat worse, off than before. The Young

Turk Party, who were virtually masters of Turkey, not only renewed the demand for recruits and imposed heavier taxation than previously, but ordained that Turkish should become the language of islands in which Greek had been spoken for more than two thousand years, and in many of which there did not reside a single Turk.

At this fresh inroad upon their chartered liberties the spirit of the islanders blazed out afresh, and Symi, undeterred by the starvation to which she had been subjected in 1886, again placed herself at their head. This time, however, the Governor of the Archipelago, Reshid Pasha, was himself convinced of the justice of their claims, and went to Constantinople to lay their case before the Administrative Council. After deliberation this body pronounced in favour of the islanders, and the claims of the Government were again withdrawn.

The inhabitants of Symi have always enjoyed the reputation of being expert boatbuilders. The island is known to the Turks by the name of Sumbeki, "the Isle of Skiffs," and is said by Homer to have furnished three ships for the historic expedition against Troy.

Two of the Ægean islands which afford a remarkable contrast are Casos and Carpathos, lying close to one another out in the Ægean between Rhodes and Crete. The former is small, rugged, and bare; the latter, large, pleasant, and fertile. The inhabitants of Carpathos do not, however, make full use of the island's fertility, preferring to gain a living upon the sea, either in fishing or diving for sponges and corals. The latter are especially plentiful in the warm, shallow waters of the island, and some of the specimens obtained here are much prized.

There is very good grazing in Carpathos, and large flocks of domestic animals are reared in the island. At some distant date hares were introduced, and these have now become as great a plague as the rabbits introduced into Australia by the early settlers. Carpathos has nearly ten thousand inhabitants who are all Greek.

The little island of Castellorizzo, though included in the sanjak of Rhodes, can scarcely be reckoned one of the Ægean islands, for it lies about seventy miles outside the natural barrier of islands separating the Ægean from the Mediterranean, and almost touches the coast of Asia Minor. The island possesses the advantages of a good harbour and a plentiful supply of fresh water, the latter being unusual in that region in an island so small. With these advantages Castellorizzo might have become very prosperous, as its inhabitants were industrious and enterprising; but lying as it did in the very cockpit of the struggle between East and West, the unfortunate islanders were made the sport of conflicting empires and nations in their struggle for supremacy, and when under Christian rule were plundered and harried by the Turks, and by Christians when the Turks were their masters. One of the occasions on which the island was completely sacked was in 1659, when the Venetian fleet, being beaten by the Turks, revenged themselves upon little Castellorizzo, which they ravaged mercilessly, and carried the Christian inhabitants off as slaves. At the present time there is little industry in the island but the sponge-fishery.

Quite in contrast with the barren little islands by which she is surrounded is the capital of the sanjak, Rhodes herself. By wealth, beauty, and importance she is the chief island in the eastern portion of the Ægean, being in fact the official capital of the "Vilayet of the Isles," as the Turkish islands were collectively called. In point of size she is only surpassed by Mitylene.

From ancient times Rhodes has been famed for its glorious climate and boundless fertility. Helenissa, "the Friend of the Sun"; Telchinissa, "Enchantress"; Makaria, "the Blessed," are only a few of the expressive names which have been bestowed upon the island in the course of its history. The first of these appellations is certainly well merited, for probably upon no other spot in the civilized world does the sun smile so consistently and benignly as

upon Rhodes. Throughout the year there is never a day in the course of which the sun is entirely hidden, and Apollo himself is said to have raised the island from the deep. That Rhodes was duly grateful to its protecting deity is apparent from its coinage, which bore upon one side a representation of Apollo, and on the other a symbol of fertility in the shape of a sheaf of corn. In honour of Apollo, too, was raised the colossal bronze statue which stood beside (not astride) the entrance to the harbour, and was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

The climate of some of the Ægean Islands has changed in the historical period, as has been pointed out, but that of Rhodes remains unaltered. The sky always blue, the perpetual sunshine, the sparkling sea, and the balmy air evoke the admiration of modern visitors quite as readily as they stirred the imagination of the ancients. Lamartine, who knew as much about these matters as most men, says that he could not conceive of a more beautiful situation, a more glorious atmosphere, or a more fertile soil than those of Rhodes.

The works of the historians of classical times contain abundant references to the ancient city of Rhodes, which was built somewhere about 400 B.C. It lay in the form of a crescent around the great harbour filled with richly laden vessels, and is said to have been as "strong as a fortress and beautiful as a palace." All that pertained to this "Queen of Cities" has now disappeared, and the oldest existing remains are those of the city built by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who took up their quarters here when driven by the Turks from the Holy Land. Under the Knights Rhodes rose to a great height of power and splendour, both as a military and commercial centre, and it presented a firm front to the Moslem power, and delayed its advance for centuries. The siege of Rhodes by Soliman the Legislator in 1522, and its brilliant defence by Villiers de L'Isle Adam, is one of the most notable events in history, as the fall of the island not only placed the rest of the

archipelago in the hands of the Turks, but opened the way to conquest on the mainland as well. The final siege lasted over six months, and cost the Turks nearly 100,000 men. The number of the defenders is said to have been little over 5,000.

After Rhodes passed into Turkish hands her history became one of gradual decay. No effort has been made to preserve the imposing buildings erected by the Knights of St. John; as they crumbled, their places have been taken by cheap and mean-looking structures, while the few that remain are put to base and ignoble uses. The Palace of the Grand Master is now a prison, and the Hospital of the Knights has become a store. Worst of all, perhaps, the once splendid harbour has been allowed to get choked by sand, and the agriculturists of the island often have the mortification of seeing ships sail past without calling, while upon the quay their hampers of perishable fruit, intended for export, are left rotting in the sun. The island was formerly one of the greatest centres of the silk industry in the East, but little silk is now manufactured in Rhodes. In most of the great museums of the world are to be seen beautiful examples of the Rhodian potter's skill; the pottery now produced in the island is of the coarsest and commonest description. The Rhodian merchant fleet once traded far beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and had their depots even on the slopes of the distant Pyrenees; in these later days the merchantmen of Rhodes are small sailing vessels, trading only to the nearer ports. Truly it may be said of Rhodes that "the glory has departed."

But while Rhodes retains her exquisite climate, fertile soil, and abundant supply of fresh water, which comes tumbling down from the mountains in numerous streams, there is one branch of industry which will scarcely forsake the island—that is agriculture, or, perhaps more properly, horticulture. Where the rich valleys are not covered with dense banks of rose-laurel and other beautiful flowering plants and shrubs, they are planted with vines, figs,

oranges, and olive-trees, which, with little attention, yield abundant crops of luscious fruit. In the year 1910 the greater part of the £100,000 worth of merchandise exported from Rhodes was composed of fruit, and, large as this sum is, it represents only a very small part of the value of what the island could produce under an efficient administration and improved methods of cultivation. If these were assured, with a great and growing market like Egypt almost at her doors, the prosperity of Rhodes would advance by leaps and bounds.

Perhaps the most singular thing about Rhodes is the marvellous persistency with which her population have preserved their national characteristics and feeling unchanged throughout long centuries—indeed, millennia—of foreign domination. Peopled by Greeks at a very remote period, Rhodes formed part of the Athenian Confederacy in the sixth century B.C. Since that time she has been in the hands of Persians, Romans, Saracens, Venetians, Genoese, Crusaders, and Turks, some of whom have not only dominated the island but even attempted to colonize it with people of their own race. Yet, in spite of all these influences, the islanders remain to-day in language, religion, national spirit, and ideals as thoroughly Greek as at any period of their history. A glance at the official figures for 1911 will show the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Greeks in the island, although the numbers of the dominant race are swelled by those of the garrison, and other nationalities include both Jews and the Christian descendants of Latin colonists. The figures are: Muhammadans, 5,854; Greeks, 37,777; other nationalities, 2,845.

There is one matter in which the Greeks of Rhodes, and indeed the Greek population of all the islands on the Turkish side of the Ægean, lag behind the people of free Greece and their kindred in other parts of Turkey—that is, education. Though the Greek in other parts of the world has a natural avidity for learning, here he regards education with surprising indifference. Various theories have been

put forward to account for this phenomenon, most of them premising the apathy or actual hostility of the Turkish authorities to such a powerful weapon as education being placed in the hands of a subject race. Whatever the explanation, the fact remains that education is at a very low ebb in islands which were formerly notable seats of learning, and from which culture radiated to the surrounding regions. The following figures show the number of pupils attending, during the year 1911, the schools of the different dioceses into which the islands are divided, and the relation which these bear to the total number of the inhabitants :

	Number of Children at School.		Total Population.
Diocese of Rhodes (including Khalki, Telos, Nissyros, and Symi)	5,337	...	77,304
Diocese of Patmos (Cos, Leros, Calymnos, Astypalea)	2,556	...	47,849
Diocese of Kasos-Carpathos	1,121	...	16,227
Diocese of Samos (Nikaria)	7,715	...	65,677
Diocese of Chios	8,935	...	75,624

It will be extremely interesting to note whether the conditions normally prevailing in the islands will be maintained, in what particulars they will be varied, after a period of domination by Italy. Where Persians, Romans, and Turks have failed to alter the racial characteristics of the population, it is not likely that Italy will effect much change, but the economic status of the inhabitants will probably alter for the better.

CONTACT AND COMPREHENSION.

BY J. D. ANDERSON.

No one can doubt that untravelled Englishmen wish to know something about India. This natural desire is shown by the vogue of books of Indian travel, and novels the scene of which is placed in India. Whether the wish for information extends to more serious studies of Indian life is doubtful. After all, statistics and historical and ethnological investigations need a mind prepared for their assimilation, and the ordinary man has little leisure for prolonged and deliberate inquiries into Indian affairs. Novels give us the impressions of Europeans who have lived in the East, books of travel supply the keener, if more superficial, views and feelings of those to whom the always romantic and exciting panorama of Oriental life is a novelty. But obviously there is something lacking in these two means of learning what India is like. The novel, as a rule, frankly describes some portion of India from the European's point of view; the cold-weather visitor's impressions are usually a rapid synthesis of many varied observations of many races. The picture in each case is probably true enough so far as it goes, but it is of necessity incomplete. Is there no means by which the average Englishman can get nearer to the actual life of the peoples of India, can catch a glimpse of their homes, can learn something of their habits, hopes, aspirations, beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving, talking; of

their manner of feeling and expressing joy and sorrow, pain and pleasure; of their humour, their romance, their philosophy, their poetry, so far as these things enter into the life of ordinary people? Of course there are big books that deal with such matters, but they are not always very attractive in form or manner. They are apt to assume a gravely scientific aspect, and there is plainly a more cheerful way of studying our fellow-humans than by means of statistics and general statements.

What should we do if we wished to make a study of the life of France or Germany? Should we not try to read the sort of books that Frenchmen and Germans read, and especially, perhaps, their plays and novels? The better plan is to read such books in the original, but we are not all linguists, and a fairly good translation, read with sympathetic comprehension of the appalling difficulties of the translator, can yield much of the satisfaction to be derived from reading the original. Surely this is also a profitable and pleasant way of studying Indian life, since in Indian books we see Indians described from within, by themselves, as they appear to one another, in their everyday clothes, using their everyday language—as they are, in short, and not as they would like themselves to be, or as foreigners see them. Many of the Indian races have now a copious and prolific modern literature in all the forms of literary art known to Europeans—plays, novels, essays, lyrics. These literary works, being written in the vernacular, have the merit of being vivid representations of local and provincial—in other words, of national—life, instead of being mere reflections of the cosmopolitan Indian created by British rule, and existing only in the great commercial towns which are the most striking external result of English dominion. Is it possible for Englishmen who are not specialists in Indian matters to get some idea of the spontaneous and unconsciously veracious account of Indian life contained in the vernacular literatures of the various Indian races?

If this were possible, it would be a great boon, since it would leave Englishmen free to form their own judgments without prejudice in favour of or against their authorities. When a Member of Parliament or other conspicuous person gives us his impressions, it is difficult not to determine the amount of credit we yield him by our knowledge of the man and of his well-known opinions as to our own domestic affairs. But an Indian novel, written for Indians, is as exhilarating a means of comprehending Indian society as the tales of Lucian and Apuleius are of understanding what certain phases of Greek and Roman life were. Indeed, Indian novels are more valuable than the surviving fragments of ancient romance, since they have the stamp of contemporary approval, and tell a tale of continuous social development in the thrilling and interesting period in which contact with the West has produced developments the full significance of which is probably still veiled from contemporary observers in East and West alike. Is it possible to tap this rich, this inexhaustible spring?

Most of us know that some of the best Indian novels have been translated, and can even be found on the shelves of circulating libraries. For instance, Messrs. Mudie will supply you with quite adequate and readable translations of the famous Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's tales—"Kopal Kundala," "The Poison Tree," and "Krishna Kānta's Will." Read them by all means. But I fear you will be disappointed. Bankim is a great master of Bengali style, and his humour especially is expressed by cunning turns of phrase which could only be rendered into English by a translator whose command of our language were comparable with the novelist's mastery of his vernacular. The translations require to be read aloud by someone who knows the vernacular, and can express pathos and humour by tones of voice and traits of expression which may faintly replace the vanished verbal dexterity. Take, again, my friend Mr. Rajani Ranjan Sen's vigorous version of Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri's "Triumph of Valmiki."

Here, once more, an effort has been made to reproduce in ordinary English a work whose fascination consists largely in an apt use not only of the music of words, but of the associations, pathetic or humorous, that they convey. No dictionary equivalents suffice for the rendering of such a book. It needs to be rewritten in such a way as to move men of a Christian nurture to tears and laughter. It is not that Mr. Sen's translation has been too literal: it is simply that he, a Hindu, read into English words and phrases a magic of Hindu allusiveness which they do not possess for us. An inspired paraphrase is, I suppose, the only way of conveying the effect of such a work to alien minds. Perhaps it would be not only an easier but a more useful task to translate tales of a simpler and less ambitious sort. In these we might get glimpses of the ordinary life of the people at various periods. Such things have been done in the past with remarkable social and political effect. Most of us who know anything about India know what striking consequences, social and political, resulted from the Rev. J. Long's translation of Dina Bandhu Mitra's once famous drama, "The Mirror of Indigo." It can hardly be claimed for Dina Bandhu Mitra that he was a great dramatist, but he had lived among the peasants of Nuddea, and his play is still worth reading as a description of rustic life in Central Bengal. My point is, briefly, that works of little literary pretensions may give a fuller account of local life and society in translations than romances and dramas whose style can only be rendered into foreign tongues by the rare translators whose versions are practically works of original genius. Sometimes we get such books written in English by their authors, who perform a mental translation. Such is Mr. S. B. Banerjea's "Tales of Bengal," edited by Mr. F. H. Skrine for Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co. in 1910. Such, too, is the Rev. Lal Behari Dey's "Folk-tales of Bengal," which has recently been given the honours of a sumptuously illustrated edition. In both these cases the fascination of the

picture is due to its simple and unforced veracity, and not to any subtlety of allusiveness or charm of style.

Perhaps I can best explain my meaning by attempting a plain and straightforward rendering of a simple passage from a quite ordinary and popular novel, the late Tara Nath Ganguli's admirable little tale "*Svarna-Lata*." The title is the name of one of the two altogether delightful and fascinating heroines of the book, to make whose acquaintance is to be admitted behind the *pardah* of a Bengali family of some fifty years ago. I insist upon the date (though I am not sure that I have got it accurately), because such readings in popular literature do show social changes as nothing else can. Let me choose a passage which clearly indicates such a change. The novel was plainly written soon after Keshav Chandra Sen founded the Brahma Samaj, and while its practices and doctrines were still regarded with suspicion by orthodox people, and especially by the orthodox of little education. I suppose the Samaj of that day, of about 1868, is regarded nowadays as is the Evangelism of that period in England. The hero, Vidhubhusan, has left home in the hope of earning his livelihood as a musician in Calcutta, having neglected more reputable means of winning food and wages. He is going on foot, and on the road has picked up a queer, half-witted acquaintance called Nilkamal, who has a quite unjustified belief in his own powers as a singer and a player on the violin. The two friends are benighted in a little roadside bazaar, and seek the hospitality of a small grocer's shop, the nearest approach to an inn to be found in such places. And now to attempt a straightforward and nearly literal translation.

* * * * *

The grocer was away from home, having gone to a neighbouring fair on business, and his plump wife was in sole charge of the shop. Vidhubhusan addressed this lady, and asked her: "My good woman, is there room for two wayfarers here?"

The grocer's wife promptly asked: "Of what caste are you?"

Vidhubhusan replied: "One of us is a Brahmin, the other is a Sudra."

The grocer's wife said that if both had been Brahmins the thing might have been arranged, for there were other two Brahmins in the shop. And, of course, a Sudra could not share a lodging with such people. "But if your friend," she went on, "does not mind sleeping under those trees, I will see what can be done."

Vidhubhusan glanced at his companion, and asked: "What do you say, Nilkamal?"

Nilkamal said: "Why, look, there is room in the veranda there. Why should not I stay in the veranda?"

The hostess said: "That is where I put my cow."

Nilkamal asked: "Why should not the cow be put under the tree?"

The grocer's wife exclaimed: "What! I put my cow under a tree to make room for the likes of *you*! Deary me! the gentleman thinks he is my family priest, no less. He is bold enough to go travelling among strangers, and cannot sleep under a tree!"

Now, Nilkamal, though good-natured, was a touchy fellow, and took high offence at these words. Addressing Vidhu, he said: "Come along; let us find a lodging in the village somewhere; we won't stay here."

But Vidhu was footsore and tired, and said simply: "I am going to stay where I am. You go."

At this Nilkamal was still more offended.

"Very well," he said, "stay if you like. But if we part, we part for good. I take my leave of you. I shall not see you again."

With these words, Nilkamal departed, and Vidhu entered the shop.

* * * * *

I omit a passage which shows how Nilkamal came back,

explaining mendaciously that he did not like to leave his companion among strangers, and took up his position with his fiddle under the tree, with the mental determination to make night hideous with his music for the benefit of the luckier people in the shop. Vidhu discovered, to his annoyance, that his hostess treated him with scanty courtesy, seeing that his clothes were shabby and wayworn, and devoted all her attentions to the two young Brahmins, members of the then new Brahma Samaj, and undergraduates of the Calcutta University, returning to their studies after the Christmas vacation. They were good-looking young fellows, and attractive to their hostess's matronly appreciation of youthful charm. For them she cooked and slaved, bidding Vidhu contemptuously to dig a fireplace for himself in the mud floor of the shop, and telling him where to get firewood and an earthen pot for his cooking. Finally Vidhu lost his patience, and asked angrily what was the good of his seeking public entertainment if he had to do everything for himself. Here I continue my attempt to translate.

* * * * *

The grocer's wife answered, with a cheerful grin: "If there is no good in being here, suppose you go somewhere else. If you come to think of it, I didn't send you an invitation to take up your quarters here."

Vidhubhusan remembered that, in fact, he was not in his own house, and that no one cared a whit whether he lost his temper or not. So, hiding his smouldering wrath, he said, somewhat ruefully: "Come, come! what is the good of being so hard on a poor fellow? What is to become of your clients if you treat us like that?"

But the good lady was as little to be mollified by soft words as she was afraid of hard ones.

"None of your soft sawder for me," she said. "Cut your fireplace and cook your food, if you like, or else be off with you."

At this Vidhu fairly lost control of his temper.

"What! you think there is no other place than your miserable shop! I am off!"

So saying, he was about to depart, when, as luck would have it, the grocer himself arrived, and, putting down the load on his head, asked: "What is all this noise about?"

His wife replied: "Ah, you may well ask! Here is a customer come from goodness knows where, a regular *nawab*, who is too fine a gentleman to cut his own fireplace and cook his own food!"

The grocer turned to Vidhubhusan, and, finding that he was a Brahmin, made due obeisance.

"Don't you mind my old woman," he said; "I will make your fireplace presently. Be seated, sir, I beg."

* * * * *

All this while the two lads were saying their evening prayers, one with real devotion, the other, a wild lad, with a wandering eye for the plump hostess's mature charms, a circumstance of which that lady was complacently aware. The first wept silently as he prayed. "And that," says our author, "is the worst of converts to the Brahma faith. At first the fire of devotion burns brightly in their bosoms, but, alas! those who should keep it alive are wont to extinguish it with overmuch weeping. Just before the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University the flame burns bravely, but in the course of two and a half years it grows dimmer and dimmer, and finally goes out with a flicker, extinguished by too tearful a worship."

When the grocer saw the two young men (more or less) absorbed in religious practices, he asked who on earth these fellows might be. His spouse replied proudly: "These are Brahmins. They are students at college. Don't say anything to them now. They are reciting the praises of God."

On this the grocer burst out angrily: "Who gave these people room in my shop? Who told you they are

Brahmins? Can't you see for yourself that they are practising unorthodox rites? Have fellows like that any caste?"

Then, turning to the two young men, he cried: "Be you Brahmins, or be you common folk, out of this, I say! I have no place for the likes of you. I am just a simple Hindu, and don't understand new-fangled ways of worshipping. Come, out you go!"

The devotions of the undergraduates were rudely disturbed. Opening their eyes, they saw before them the towering and infuriated form of a muscular grocer. And yet—the night was dark, the roads strange. Where were they to go?

With one accord they said in a piteous voice: "Who told you we were reciting unorthodox prayers? We were simply saying our college lessons by heart."

But the heartless grocer was not to be moved. "Prayers or lessons," he cried, "it's all one to me. All I can say is that there is no room for you here."

It seemed to the better-looking of the two, the one whose attention had wavered during their devotions, that the grocer's wrath was more particularly addressed to him, and that his angry looks while speaking were turned in his direction, so he wisely kept his own eyes downcast. When both showed a disinclination to move, it was his arm that the grocer seized, as he said: "Look here, my sons, it is in your own interest that I bid you begone before worse happens." And as he spoke the grocer glanced significantly at a corner of the shop, where reposed a sturdy bamboo staff. The two youths followed the direction of his eyes, and without another word left the shop.

When the shop was cleared of their unwelcome presence, the grocer turned to his wife and said: "Fine preparations, forsooth, for two young rascals! As if you had had a visit from honoured relatives! Who on earth are they? Your elder brothers, I suppose, that you neglect the

shop and offend two valuable customers in order to do reverence to two fellows like that, as if they were the family gods!"

The grocer's wife answered not a word. It is not impossible that, while her husband was addressing her, he cast another significant look at the stick in the corner.

* * * * *

I need not continue to translate, since this very roughly rendered version may serve to show a reader who will make excuses for the difficulty of reproducing the simple but spirited language of the original why "*Svarna-Lata*" is one of the most popular novels in Bengal. My own copy belongs to the fourteenth edition, and I understand that a fifteenth is now in the press. The passage I have extracted above was selected, not on account of any literary merit, but because it is a faithful record of a phase of feeling which has, thanks to kindly Time, become quite obsolete. The Brahma Samaj is now placidly accepted, by Hinduism, the most practically tolerant of all religions, and is in the way of being superseded by even more advanced results of the clash between Eastern and Western morals, ethics, and speculation. There are passages in the book of kindlier and more spontaneous humour, varied by episodes so tender and pathetic that they would require the most careful and delicate translation. One interesting and significant feature is the fact that there is nothing from cover to cover to show that this book is a description of life in a country which is under foreign rule. So far as I remember, it contains no mention of Englishmen or the British Government of India.

In truth, even now, when rural India has been awakened up by the spread of education to take a keener interest in what we call politics, local and imperial, there are still many families where domestic interests and other such minor matters as love and marriage, birth and death, religion and speculation, count for more than the questions of administration which have so incessant an appeal to

men of Western races. Things have changed enormously in the last sixty years, and it would be possible to cite extracts from contemporary books which would show more vividly and convincingly than any books of travel how profoundly even rural Bengal has been affected by Western influences. If so, I may claim the fact as a proof of my tolerably obvious thesis that, if we would know what India is thinking and saying, we must read Indian books in the original or in translations, and not merely books about India. Educated India reads English literature with avidity, with profit, and also, sometimes, with results which are perhaps due to imperfect assimilation of foreign ideals and unfamiliar conventions of speech and sentiment. If we are to know India we must return the compliment, especially as we can read Indian literature without much chance of acquiring ideas and principles hurtful to our own natural evolution in social and political life. We see much, in London and the University towns, of young India and young India's remarkable powers of adapting itself to Western ways. Our appreciation and understanding of the change that Western example is working will be vastly increased if, by reading vernacular literature, we can see what the real nature and extent of the change is.

In conclusion, may I recommend those who would like to have some idea of what Bengali literature was like before it was affected by English education and British rule to procure my friend Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's admirable "*History of Bengali Language and Literature*" (Calcutta, 1911). It is the work of a typical poor student, an enthusiast for his native literature, and one who has set down an impartial, candid, and exhaustive account of the works of the medieval poets of Bengal. It was they who created the language which, in our own time, has become the most copious, subtle, and expressive vehicle of literary art in India. Mr. Sen is now at work on an anthology of Bengali literature, which, we may hope, may some day attract some more skilful and competent translator than

the writer of this article, composed, in haste, at the request of the editors of this *Review*, to give some idea of what may be done by translations of the modern literature of India. I might have chosen a finer and more representative specimen, but perhaps my purpose is best served by a quite homely and unlaboured rendering of a perfectly simple and popular piece of vernacular writing.

"PEOPLES AND PROBLEMS OF INDIA."*

By R. H. SHIPLEY.

WE laugh when we read of the little boy in *Punch* who objected to the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, on the ground that it meant "more geography to swot up"; but we cannot laugh at the indifference of the English people at large to that momentous change. Their apathy is almost tragic, for it springs from an ignorance that is a national disgrace. To them Calcutta and Delhi are just two names, and the transfer excites them as little as when Smith changes his name to Robinson. All they know about Calcutta is that it is a large town on the east coast of India, situated on a river called the Ganges, or the Hoogly (they are not sure which); and Delhi is chiefly famous (or infamous, as the case may be) for its Ridge, for Nicholson, Hodson, and Lord Roberts. Of course they "know all about" India. It is to some "the brightest jewel in the British crown"—like the Koh-i-noor. To others it is a country which we hold down by force of arms, and which we drain disgracefully, though whether the drain is an economical or a sanitary operation they are not quite certain. Of the real India, of its glories and its tragedies, they are profoundly ignorant. What do they know of its past? What do they know of its rebirth, its

* "Peoples and Problems of India," by Sir T. W. Holderness, K.C.S.I. (London: Williams and Norgate).

risorgimento, under British sovereignty? They have never heard of Job Charnock; they cannot imagine the ghostly tears which his shade lets fall as he sighs "Ichabod, Ichabod!" over the city he founded. Nor can they fancy to themselves the feelings of the shades of dead and gone Mogul Emperors, witnessing the revival of the glories of Delhi under an alien and infidel Government. Yet what an enthralling romance is disclosed by even a superficial study of the history of India!

Recent events have no doubt partially dissipated the mists of apathy, but the fog of ignorance remains almost as dense as before. This ignorance is constitutional with Englishmen. Quick-witted Frenchmen and ponderous Germans have often been sarcastic about it at our expense; it has frequently been satirized by our own writers—as, for instance, latterly by Colonel "Maori" Browne in his "Lost Legion of New Zealand"; but in these so-called democratic days such ignorance ceases to amuse, because it becomes dangerous. History teaches us that "the people" is often even more suspicious of leaders risen from its own ranks than of those chosen from the class above it, and the most fruitful breeding-ground of suspicion is ignorance. For this reason, if for no other, it is most desirable to stimulate national interest in our great Dependency, and it seems to us that this little book is admirably designed to provide such a stimulus. In the small compass of only two hundred and fifty pages, the author, a distinguished Anglo-Indian official, gives a remarkably concise, yet withal clear and interesting, account of the continent of India, its physical features, its peoples and their history, religions and customs, together with a succinct account of the methods of our administration, its difficulties and problems. The volume is one of "The Home University" series, and we could wish that no home should be without it. But this is perhaps a counsel of perfection, besides being slightly reminiscent of a popular pill.

The chief value of a book such as this lies, perhaps, less in what it actually tells us—though that is very valuable—than in that it makes us ponder upon the cause and effect of what we read about. It acts as a spur and encouragement to further study. It cannot but prove interesting to the superficial reader, as well as to the earnest student.

India is the land of violent physical contrasts, and where a country exhibits such striking differences as we see there, it is inevitable that the inhabitants also should show a very great diversity. For, as Sir Thomas Holderness says, a country makes its inhabitants. The highly intellectual Bengali and the Soura of the Eastern ghauts are immeasurably farther apart than are the most cultured aristocrat and the humblest stonebreaker in England. The one is the product of a 2,000-years-old civilization, the other is much what he was 2,000 years ago. Immigration and invasion have no doubt in most cases modified the original differences between the peoples of India; in others they have intensified them through the caste system. Of this system the author gives a good description, and the student of this little book can scarcely help seeing that if it is foolish of "the man in the street" to generalize about European nations, of whose modes of thought and life he is only partially ignorant, it is a thousand times more foolish to generalize—out of a plenary ignorance—about matters Indian.

To take one simple illustration. "Colour prejudice," theoretically—that is to say, superficially—considered appears indefensible and silly. But in practice it is one of the most deeply rooted of human sentiments; and nowhere more than in India, and among the Indians themselves, does this sentiment flourish. For the whole caste system is built on it; the Sanscrit word for "caste" means "colour," and this little word thus lets in a flood of light on the history of the system. Our student will see that the Aryan conquerors of India came from the North, and were therefore of fairer skin than the original inhabitants, and

that the generally accepted theory of the caste or colour system is that it was invented in order to preserve the purity of blood of the immigrants, who formed but a small proportion of the population whom they ruled and among whom they settled. He will understand how the ascendancy of the Brahmins and of the "twice-born" castes was thereby solidified and perpetuated, and how such a system was even necessary for the progress and well-being of the country in those far-off days. He will see that colour prejudice even in Englishmen is not altogether to be condemned, though he will (with us) deplore the indiscriminating kind that gives rise to regrettable incidents in railway carriages and elsewhere; for he will understand that to the English this prejudice, if rightly controlled, is a defence against moral and physical degradation, because (in a manner of speaking) the English are the highest caste in India.

Further, what he learns about the caste system will perhaps cause him to doubt whether a democratic form of government is suitable for a country of which such an anti-democratic system is the very life and religion. For caste is essentially aristocratic, and the pathos of the peregrinations of certain Labour leaders through India was that they were shepherded by members of its most aristocratic class, who shrink with horror and physical disgust from contact with those of their countrymen who represent in India the class from which those well-meaning Members of Parliament sprang in England. Our student may, then, well wonder what room there is in our Indian Legislative Councils for Indian members of a Labour party.

He will also learn that this caste system is an integral part of the modern Hindu religion. Every Hindu hopes to be born again into a superior social status by the process of transmigration. The Pariah cherishes this hope as ardently as do the higher castes. It is within the knowledge of the present writer that a riot was nearly caused by a Brahmin Tahsildar who entered, in the course of his

official duty, into the house of a Pariah. One would have thought that a Pariah would have been highly honoured by such an incident, but the inhabitants of this particular "parcherry" (Pariah's quarters) took it very much amiss. Their belief was that they had to live, as Pariahs, through a certain number of æons of degradation, and that a visit from a Brahmin, though an honour and even a blessing for the time being, yet in the long run retarded their upward progress. Whether such a belief is common among Pariahs in other parts of India the present writer cannot say; it was certainly till then unknown to this Brahmin Tahsildar.

The chapter on "Economic Life" is one of the most interesting in the book. Sir Thomas Holderness says: "Few subjects have been more discussed or have led to sharper controversies than the economic condition of the people of India," and we may add that in few discussions have there been such deplorable exhibitions of ignorance and prejudice. It is almost impossible for those who have not lived in India to realize that you cannot compare English with Indian conditions. In England a man is not too well paid at a wage of three shillings and sixpence a day; therefore (it is argued) an Indian coolie must starve on fourpence a day. Such *à priori* reasoning leads to the gravest errors. It takes no account either of the price of food or of the standard of comfort. Without a knowledge of local economic conditions even trained and impartial observers like Sir F. Treves go hopelessly astray. When we find such a one writing of "the multitude of men, women, and children," being "a little below the most meagre comfort and a little above the nearest reach of starvation," of the country "looking homeless," and "leaving an impression of poorness and melancholy," we can no longer marvel at the gross exaggeration of partisans, who only see in India what they went there on purpose to find. But Anglo-Indian missionaries and officials alike know that there is nothing in that country, from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, that can com-

pare with the hideous misery in England. Roughly speaking, except in times of "famine" and outside the bigger towns, there is in India hardly any misery, as we understand the word in England. Even the poorest have, as a rule, sufficient food for one full meal a day, and, owing to the warm climate, their need for clothes, even in winter, is as slight as that of the immortal Gunga Din :

"The uniform 'e wore
Was nothin' much before,
An' rather less than 'arf of that be'ind ;
For a piece o' twisted rag
An' a goatskin water-bag
Was all the field equipment 'e could find."

But volumes have been and will be written on this subject, and we cannot do better than refer our student to the pages where the author goes to the root of the matter. After reading them, he will be better able to understand the question of "the drain," and to judge between the Government of India and Mr. Hyndman, to whom, we regret to see, old age has not, in this matter at least, brought wisdom.

We have left ourselves scant space to notice the concluding chapters, which are also pregnant with interest and information, especially those on "Native States" and "Administrative Problems." As regards the States, our student will probably be surprised to learn that they form one-third of India ; and this chapter will give him a good idea of their political value. One of the most difficult of our administrative problems is how to make full use of the wisdom and experience of the Native Princes, and how best to associate them with ourselves in the Government of India. This problem is still unsolved.

By the time our student has reached the end of the last chapter, that on "Political and Social Movements," he should be well equipped for understanding and sympathizing with some of the difficulties that beset our Indian Government, and for admiring the manner in which it

discharges its task. The question of "the Unrest" is too intricate to touch on here, but this book gives us a clue to the curious fact that the two parts of India in which it is most active are the east and the west of the country—the Bengali and Mahratta regions. Like the continent of India itself, the question of "the Unrest" is as broad as it is long.

In conclusion, to the well-deserved praise of this little book we must make one exception—the index is quite unworthy of it.

APHORISMS OF THE FIRST FOUR CALIPHS OR SUCCESSORS OF MUHAMMAD.

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY THE LATE DR. WORTABET.

APHORISMS OF ABU BEKR.*

HE deserves the favour of God most who trusts Him most.

The most obedient to God is he who hates most to disobey Him.

God has joined His promises to His threats so that men may seek to do good and fear to do evil.

There can be no affliction when there is patient endurance.

Death is easier than that which follows it (God's judgment), and more difficult than that which precedes it (life).

Three things, if they be in a man, are against him—
injustice, violation of a pledged word, and deceit.

* Abu Bekr was the first Caliph (successor) of Muhammad. He was elected to the caliphate when he was about sixty years old, reigned two years and three months, and died in A.D. 634. He was truthful, just, mild, and gentle in character, simple and austere in life, and diligent, wise, and impartial in the administration of his royal duties. Sir William Muir, the distinguished Orientalist, says of him: "At his court, Abu Bekr maintained the same simple and frugal life as Mahomet. Guards and servitors there were none, nor anything approaching pomp and circumstance. . . . Abu Bekr never spared himself, and he personally descended to the minutest things. Thus, he would sally forth by night to seek for the destitute and oppressed. Omar found him one night inquiring into the affairs of a poor blind widow, whom Omar had himself gone forth to help" ("The Caliphate," chap. xi.).

Be clear in what you say when you forgive or punish,
and be not boisterous in your promises.

God has appointed many eyes to observe you.

Court death, and you will live.

God will have mercy on him who helps his fellowman.

When words are many they forget each other, and what
men remember of what you say is all that you get out of it.

Conceal nothing from him whose advice you seek.

Seek advice from men who fear God.

Be just to yourself and men will be just to you.

Keep your secret carefully or it will leak out.

When you have an option of two things you will hate the
one which is best for you.

Contend not with your neighbour, for the goodness of
patience abides and men pass away.

God accepts no work of supererogation until the duty is
performed.

One of the best of men is he who rejoices over a penitent,
prays for a sinner, and aids a charitable man in his good
work.

Accurate scales show how heavy is truth and how light
is falsehood.

OMAR.*

The most miserable governor is he whose subjects are
miserable.

Fear him whom you hate.

* Omar was the second Caliph—a man of the firmest character and sternest justice, who showed no favour to the strong, and took no advantage of the weak. During his caliphate, which lasted about ten years, Syria, Egypt, and Persia were invaded by the Moslem Army, and annexed to the new Arabian Empire. The immense booty in money, women and children, and objects of great value was sent to Omar, who had it divided according to the strictest rules of the laws of war. But of it all he took nothing for himself, and he lived as Muhammad and Abu Bekr had lived before him, in utmost simplicity of court, dress, and food. Preaching one day in the Mosque he said, "Let him who seeth in me anything crooked, make it straight." A man cried out, "Yea, by God, if we had seen in you anything crooked we should have set it straight by the edge of our swords." To this

He who keeps his secret has the choice of doing in his hand.

Defer not the work of the day to the morrow.

Scare away serpents before they scare you.

He who knoweth not an evil is likely to fall into it.

Unmixed wine is not more destructive to reason than greed.

Rarely does a thing return after it had gone.

I complain to God of the weakness of a faithful man and of the unfaithfulness of a strong man.

Relatives should visit each other, but not be neighbours.

There is no excuse to the man who wilfully follows an error because he deems it to be a truth, or who forsakes a truth because he deems it to be an error.

It is useless to utter a truth which has no transpiercing power.

God bless the man who shows me my faults!

Beware of gluttony, for it makes man slothful in prayer, corrupts the belly, and brings on disease.

When a man is asked about a thing which he does not know, let him say, "I do not know."

When men speak secretly among themselves about religion that which they do not wish the common people to know—this is the origin out of which error grows.

He who gives up hope in a thing is freed from the need of it.

A true lord is he who is generous when asked, who forbears when he is deemed ignorant, and who is kind to everyone that comes in his way.

Omar exclaimed, "I thank God that He hath put men in this Arab nation who would straighten the crookedness of Omar by their swords." He was also mild, tender-hearted, and very charitable to the poor. "Journeying in Arabia during the famine he came upon a poor woman and her hungry weeping children seated round a fire, whereon was an empty pot. Omar hastened on to the next village, procured bread and meat, filled the pot, and cooked an ample meal, leaving the little ones laughing and at play" ("The Caliphate," chap. xxiv.).

He is a great gainer who keeps his heart from greed, anger, and evil passions.

A boy attains youth at fourteen years, his full height at twenty-one, and the limit of his understanding at twenty-seven, except in the matter of experience, which has no limit and no end.

OTHMAN.*

To everything there is a blemish, and to every favour a blight.

It is a sufficient punishment to him who envies you that he grieves when you are happy.

The grave is the last halt on earth and the first on the way to the world which is to come.

I prefer to be killed before than after the shedding of blood.

ALI.†

Education and Knowledge.

It is better to seek a good education than wealth.

A liberal education is better than gold.

The wealth of learning saves and endures, and the wealth of money destroys and vanishes.

* Othman was the third Caliph, during whose reign of twelve years Cyprus was reduced to Moslem rule, and the conquests in Africa, Asia Minor, and Armenia were enlarged and consolidated. He was a mild but weak man, and some of his acts were so objectionable to the Moslems that they conspired against him and put him to death when he was eighty-two years old—A.H. 35. He was so unpopular that he was buried in silence, and as he was carried to the grave his bier was pelted with stones.

† Ali was the fourth Caliph, and to these four a separate and distinguished rank is given by Moslem writers who call them "Al-Rashidin" ("they who have followed the right way"). He was the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and had, according to the Shæeites, a prior claim to the caliphate—the first three being unlawful and detested usurpers. This division of Islam into Sunnites and Shæeites continues to this day—the latter being a small minority, and living chiefly in Persia and India; and the dissension between them has always been a cause of violent hatred, though their other differences on religious points are small and unimportant. Ali was assassinated by a fanatic in the fifth year of his caliphate, when he was

Men should vie for superiority in knowledge and mind, not in wealth and ancestry.

Seek the company of learned and wise men ; for if you are ignorant they will teach you, and if you are learned your knowledge will increase.

A good education covers a low ancestry.

No man is dead who has contributed something to learning.

No learning availeth if common sense goeth not with it.

Eyesight has no value when reason acts.

The friend of every man is his reason, and his enemy is ignorance.

The wealth of a wise man is in his wisdom, and the wealth of a fool is in his possessions.

A man with a weak sight stumbles.

The loss of sight is a lesser evil than the loss of reason.

The stumble of a wise man is a serious thing.

When a learned man makes a mistake he is like a foundering ship which sinks and sinks others with it.

The blemish of learning is boasting.

The highest knowledge is knowledge of ones' self.

The realm of knowledge is boundless.

Man is adorned by education, woman by jewelry.

Speech.

What a man does shows what kind of a mind he has, and what he says shows how much learning he possesses.

Be well-informed and speak, or be silent and learn.

Silence is an ornament to the learned and a cover to the ignorant.

The silence of a man is a covering to his ignorance.

A man's words are the scales in which his mind is weighed.

sixty years old. He was a good, wise, and learned man, and to him are attributed the following aphorisms, but how many of them are authentic is uncertain. How far also he is indebted for them to the older Arabs is equally uncertain.

No words are good unless good deeds go with them.

He who refrains from speaking will not regret his silence.

To say nothing when a fool speaks is the proper answer to him.

A wise man should speak to the ignorant as a physician speaks to the sick.

Prolivity is the bane of speech.

Beware of speaking much, for error in what you say is as harmful as when you are right it is profitable.

By what you say you will be known for what you are, for a man is hidden under his tongue.

A man's folly is known by these two things—speaking of matters which do not concern him, and answering questions which are not put to him.

A sharp tongue cuts all bonds of union.

The crime of evil words is greater than the crime of knife-stabs.

The plague of a man is his tongue.

A man who embitters his life by his tongue holds himself as a worthless thing.

Say not all that you know.

Your silence until you are asked to speak is better than your speaking until you are told to be silent.

The good principles of a man are shown in his conversation.

A man's words show what is in his heart.

Give out from what you have and you will be found out what you are.

(To be continued.)

NIZĀMĪ'S "HAFT PAIKAR."

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

THE "Haft Paikar," or "The Seven Pictures," is the fourth of Nizāmi's quintet of metrical romances, and was completed in August 1197 (14 Ramzān 593 A.H.). Some writers have described it as his last work, but the mention of it, as a finished work, in the introduction to the "Sikandarnāma" shows that this is a mistake.

The phrase, "Haft Paikar," has various meanings, and in addition to the rendering of "The Seven Pictures" may also be translated as "The Seven Beauties"* and as "The Seven Planets," that is, the five planets known to the Orientals, plus the Sun and Moon. The title indicates that the poem is not of one texture, but is, like Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," a collection of stories. These are told to Bahrām Gor, a famous Persian king, and a mighty hunter, who was of the Sassanian dynasty, and belonged to the fifth century A.D., by seven princesses on the seven evenings of the week. Hence, though the poem deals at some length with the life and adventures of Bahrām, and ends with an account of his mysterious death, it is wanting in a central interest, and, with perhaps one exception, there is no character in it which excites our sympathy. Certainly,

* In Sir Gore Ouseley's "Biographical Notices of Persian Poets" (London, 1846) there is an analysis of this poem under the title of "The Seven Faces."

there is little to attract us in the character of Bahrām, who, like nearly all Eastern kings, is a self-indulgent tyrant. But the stories are well told, and the book is the most popular of Nizāmī's poems, and the one which has been most frequently imitated. It is, in fact, a rhymed Arabian Nights Entertainment, and is centuries earlier than that collection. The introduction, too, is interesting, though rather prolix, and even more crabbed in expression than are Nizāmī's prologues to his other poems. There are lines in it, indeed, over which one puzzles for weeks, and which, as the various readings in the manuscripts show, have presented great difficulties to the copyists.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the writing of a poem was suggested to Nizāmī by some king, or other patron, and it seems probable that some story from the "*Shāhnāma*," or at least some account of one of the old Persian kings, was proposed to him as a subject for his verse. He had already in his second poem treated of the loves of *Khusrau* and *Shirīn*, and it was natural for him to follow this up by a poem about Bahrām Gor. The account which he gives in his introduction is that a secret message was brought to him by a courier from the Court of Solomon, by which, I presume, is meant the Court of *Alāu-d-dīn* Sultan. The message directed him to call forth the new moon from the eve of the *Īd*, that is, the festival which follows the month of fasting, when she was yet too young to be visible, and to adorn her with the magic of his verse. He was, in Eastern language, to throw red pepper on fire, to raise a brisk flame, and to set forth the royal treasury in his pages. By this last phrase, either Persian history, or its presentation in Firdūsi's "*Shāhnāma*,"* seems to be meant. He was delighted, he tells us, when he got this message, and proceeded to study historical works. One of them, he says, was especially rich in information, and it seems certain

* In the same canto Nizāmī has an allusion to *Mahmūd* of *Ghazni*'s treatment of Firdūsi, and speaks of the avarice (*bakht*) of the Sultan and the liberality (*baght*) of the poet. He also mentions the poet *Asadi* of *Tūs*.

that Dr. Bacher is right in seeing here an allusion to the "Shāhnāma." Nizāmī tells us that he also studied other historical works, both Persian and Arabic, such as the Chronicle of Tabarī, and the work of a writer whom he calls the Bokhārī,* and whom I am not able to identify. All these materials, he says, he treated like a skilful jeweller. Where the workmanship was good he left them as they were, but where a pearl was only half bored he fully pierced it. When he had erected, as it were, a fire-temple, he placed in it seven brides such as that the brides of heaven, that is, the stars or the planets, might regard with favour.

Nizāmī dedicates his poem to a sovereign called Alāu-d-dīn Karb, or Kart Arslān, whom he styles as the prop of the Aqsankar Dynasty. In his catalogue of Persian manuscripts Dr. Rieu says that no record has been found of him, but in the supplement to his catalogue, p. 154, he says that Alāu-d-dīn was Lord of Marāghah (in Persia), and was besieged there in 602 A.H., and he refers to the Kāmil for an account of him. But the Lord of Marāghah seems too insignificant a person to be the subject of such exalted praise as Nizāmī bestows, and may not the Alāu-d-dīn of the dedication be the King of Khwarzīm—i.e., Kashgar, who is known by his title of Takash, and of whom d'Herbelot has a long account? He was the son of an Alp Arslan—not the Seljūk prince of that name immortalized by Gibbon—and the grandson of Atsiz, who had been cup-bearer to the famous Sultan Sarjar the Seljūk. Takash defeated and killed Tughrail III., the last of the Seljūk line, in 1194, and died in 1200. He was the grandfather of the gallant Jalalu-d-dīn Mankbarnī, who opposed Chingez Khān, and escaped by swimming the Indus. Nizāmī celebrates Alāu-d-dīn's defeats of the Georgians, and his successes against the Greeks and Russians. The statement in the dedication that Alāu-d-dīn had made the fifth climate prosperous seems to make it probable that the King of

* One or two manuscripts have Hijāzi instead of Bokhārī.

Khwarzīm is meant, for that territory was included in the fifth climate. There does not seem to be any evidence that the "Haft Paikar" was dedicated to Nasrata-d-dīn of Azarbaijan, as stated by Dr. Bacher. Nizāmi also celebrates in his dedication Alāu-d-dīn's two sons, Nasrata-d-dīn Muḥammad and Aḥmad, and he takes occasion to pay a high compliment to himself. Four kings, he says, had four great ornaments of their courts: Alexander the Great had Aristotle; Nushirwān, Buzurgmīhrn; Khasrau (Cyrus), Barbad the musician; Malik Shah, Nizāmu-l-Mulk. You, he concludes, have the eloquent Nizāmi. It can hardly be doubted that Nizāmi means himself here, though if Alāu-d-dīn be Takash (Tacasch of d'Herbelot) there may also be an allusion to the Nizāmu-l-Mulk whom Takash appointed to be vizier to his son.

The dedication is followed by a long discourse which is entitled "In praise of speech," but which diverges into other matters. To this succeeds a homily of advice to the poet's son Muḥammad. The discourse contains some striking lines and shows that Nizāmi was a vigorous thinker, and also that he had great powers of expression. It begins by saying that the Mother of Being has produced no more excellent child than Speech (Sakhn).

"Say not that the masters of speech die,
That they perish beneath the waters of language.
Though you may erase their names,
They uprear their heads again, like fishes."

The poet Faiḡī seems to have had these lines in his remembrance when he wrote his elegy on the Ḥakim Abn l-Feth.

ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE.

"Whoever knows himself as he really is
Lives and keeps his head up for ever;
He passes away who does not read his own record,
He enters by one door, and goes out by the other."

The first two of these lines recalls to us Swift's saying that no man made a bad figure in the world who knew

his own talents, and the fourth is paralleled by Omar Khayyām's

"evermore
Came out by the same door where in I went."

ON SELF-CONCEIT.

"Every one is deceived about his own cleverness.
No one will say that his curds are sour,
Boys newly come from their lessons
Think twice two are four poles (*aghtāb*).
The mature, whose studies have gone further,
Have no respect even for the square roots of surds;
The hoopoe who shelters under the eagle's wing
(Says) I carry off the ball for speed from all other birds."

The line about curds is an obscure one. The poet himself seems to have liked it, for he has it in his "Laili and Majnūn." The lines about newcomers from school are wanting in several manuscripts. There is a curious manuscript in the British Museum which is described in Dr. Rieu's Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 156, or 4730. It is a copy of the "Haft Paikar" in Hebrew characters, and is imperfect. As it stands the first line is the transcript of the line about surds.

ON THE DUTY OF IMPARTING KNOWLEDGE.

"Whoever possesses wisdom and does not impart it
Is in form a man, but in disposition a demon."

ON WORK.

"Work ever, for labour in hell
Is better than idleness in paradise."

ON PHILANTHROPY.

"Strive to help humanity,
Be good like a flower
Which diffuses fragrance."

The poet then proceeds to inveigh against the times, saying that men of Faith do not exist, that Josephs have become wolves, and ascetics drunkards. There are only two ways of living nowadays—namely, by being bad, and by approving of badness.

Dr. Bacher quotes a passage from the introduction to the "*Sikandarnāma*" in which Nizāmi declares that he has never stained his lips with wine, but there is a passage in the discourse under consideration which seems to say something very different. There he says, so far as I can make out, that, as long as he lived in the world, he regarded the wine-flask as an ingot of gold. Possibly, however, he means by wine, as he explains in the "*Sikandarnāma*" passage, the spiritual wine of Sufistic talk. The discourse ends with a debate with himself as to whether he should not abandon the world and human society. He decides that he shall obey the inner voice, which exhorts him to finish the poem he has commenced, lest "sleep overcome you, as it has overcome others." The address to his son, which follows, contains some good advice, but it is so darkly conveyed that one thinks the boy must have been very clever if he understood what was said to him.

After this introduction, which also contains the usual invocations of God and of His Prophet, Nizāmi begins his narrative, and tells of Bahrām's birth and education. His father had an evil reputation, and was known as the "Sinner." Heaven's balance, says the poet, has two scales, and in one there is a jewel and in the other a stone. So also in the balance of the particoloured world there is sometimes a stone and sometimes a jewel, and this applies to the progeny of kings. In the case of Bahrām he was the jewel, and his father, Yezdajīd, the stone. There was a fortunate conjunction of the planets at his birth. Jupiter was in Pisces, and Venus was conjoined with him like redness in the ruby; the Moon was in Taurus, Mars in Leo, the Sun in Aries, while Saturn was leaving Aquarius, and was driving off all the young prince's enemies. Yezdajīd had reaped what he had sown, and lost during the past twenty years all his other children, and now, by the advice of the astrologers, he sent Bahrām to be educated away from Persia. For this purpose he entrusted the child to his Arabian governor Naaman. This Naaman was the

ruler of Hira, and eventually became a Christian, and retired from the world. His name signifies the anemone, and so, says the poet, Yazdajid sent his budding tulip to the anemone-garden that there it might be fully blown. Naaman built a splendid palace for his ward, and then killed the Greek architect, Samner, by having him flung off the roof of the building, lest he should erect a finer palace somewhere else. The unfortunate man had been greatly pleased at the liberality with which Naaman rewarded him, after the palace had been completed, and was so foolish as to say that if he had known beforehand that he was to get so much he would have erected a finer building. On this Nizāmi remarks that kings are like a fire, and best seen from a distance. Or they are like the tendrils of the vine, which do not entangle anything at a distance, but if a tree or branch come within their reach they destroy it utterly. Royal favour, too, is like a flower which he who receives may find to contain a thorn which pierces his breast.

In this palace, which is called Khavarnak, Bahrām finds, after he has grown up, a secret cabinet containing the portraits of seven princesses, all daughters of emperors and kings. He falls in love with all seven, and when his father dies, and he becomes King of Persia and a mighty potentate, he sends ambassadors and presents to their parents, and obtains them all in marriage. But before this happens he has to overcome the fears of his people, who think that this young man from Arabia will not know their ways, and will be as bad a ruler as his father. He has also to show his courage by snatching the crown from between two famished lions. There is also the interlude of his adventure with the flute-player Fitna (Saucy). He had early distinguished himself as a hunter, and was especially addicted to the chase of the wild ass; hence his title of *Gor*, *i.e.*, wild ass. The word also means a tomb, and is probably the origin of the story that he finally disappeared into an abyss while following a wild ass. He was often accompanied in the hunting-field by a favourite concubine and

musician of the name of Fitna. One day he performed a feat of archery at her request, and then, when the girl, with the charming inconsequence of her sex, reproached him for his cruelty in transfixing a gazelle with his arrow, he rode over her and killed her. Such is the brutal story as told by Firdūsi. Nizāmi softens it a little by representing the girl as impertinent, and by making Bahrām not kill her himself, but only order his officer (Varhang) to do so. She induces the man to spare her, saying, "Do not kill me, only say to the King that you have put me to death. If, when he hear this news, he express satisfaction, kill me at once, but if he show himself grieved, preserve my life." The King was grieved at the intelligence, and so the girl was kept alive, and was eventually restored to the King's favour. She had excited Bahrām's wrath by disparaging his feat of archery, saying that it was only the result of practice. When, after three years, she met the King again, she showed what practice could do by carrying a fully grown bullock on her shoulders up a staircase. She had practised daily with it since its birth, and so, says the legend, she was able to carry it when it was no longer a tiny calf. The story is a favourite subject with the illustrators of the manuscripts of the "*Haft Paikar*." Madame Dieulafoy also found a panel representing the story in the house which she occupied in the East. The story appears to be an improvement on the Greek legend of Milo.

The poet describes Bahrām as being an exalted King, and praises him for his liberality and justice. As usual, there was a famine during his reign, and the distress was such that cannibalism prevailed, and men became like wolves to their fellow-men. Historians tell us that similar enormities occurred during the reign of Akbar, but there can be little doubt that Nizāmi is describing what he himself had seen.

Bahrām's first achievement after becoming King is to make a night attack on the army of the Emperor (*Khāqān*) of Cathay, and to defeat it with great slaughter. Then,

after an address to his nobles, he sets about building a seven-domed palace for the accommodation of his wives. One of these ladies is named Fūrak, and is the daughter of the Raj of India, who rules at Kananj. It is curious that in his poem Nizāmī makes no reference to the most picturesque of the legends about Bahrām—that, namely, which makes him visit India incognito and obtain there his bride, Supinūd. This episode is described at length in the "Shāhnāma," and, whether true or false, probably gave rise to the legend about the Emperor Bābur's visiting India in disguise during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Firdūsi makes Supinūd, which is, I presume, derived from the Sanskrit word "Sūpanda" (beautiful body), the daughter of Shankal, King of Kanauj. According to him there were two Kings in Indian history known by the name of Shankal. One was a contemporary of Rustum and Afrāsyāb, and the other was later, and became Bahrām's father-in-law. The legend is mentioned by Tabari, though he does not give the King's name. The legend is also mentioned in the Kāmal of Ibn al Athir, an author who lived in the thirteenth century, and was later than Nizāmī. But the earliest authority seems to be Masa'ūdī, who visited Multan in 912 (300 A.H.). He mentions the story, and calls the King of Kanauj Shaburma. It is curious that neither the name Shankal* nor Shaburma occurs in the lists of Indian kings, and that Kanauj does not seem to have been the capital of a great kingdom till the sixth or seventh century. Yet it seems impossible to doubt that Bahrām married an Indian princess, and that she became his queen, and was converted to the national religion (Fire-worship) of the Persians. Bahrām is not a mythical character, as his coins are extant. It seems probable that Nizāmī has said nothing about Bahrām's Indian adventures because he had been anticipated by Firdūsi, who tells them at length. Probably when Nizāmī says that when he found

* Possibly both names are abusive epithets. *Shankal* means "a brigand" in Persian, and *Shabiru-l-Misān* means "a thief" in Arabic.

incidents in Bahrām's life to have been well told he left them as they were, he means that he omitted them.

Bahrām began the visits to his brides on the Saturday, and the lady whom he first visited, and who told the first story, was Fūrak, the daughter of the Rai of India. Her apartments were coloured black, as India belongs to the planet Saturn. Fūrak tells a story of a flying basket, and of a city where everyone dresses in black, but there does not seem to be anything specially Indian about the tale. The second story is told on the Sunday by the Greek princess. Her apartments are yellow—in compliment to the sun. The story she tells is about a beautiful slave-girl who has the courage not to yield to an amorous prince till she is satisfied that he really loves her. It is, I think, the most interesting of all the stories, though the Tuesday story, that of the cruel Russian princess who allows many of her suitors to be slain, is the one best known in Europe. Abstracts of the seven stories will be found in Hammer-Purgstall's "*History of Persian Literature*." The sixth story, that of a good youth and a bad one, is told on Thursday evening by the Princess of China, and is translated in Sir Gore Ouseley's "*Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*."

After seven days of enjoyment Bahrām has a rude awakening. He finds that his vizier has been oppressing the people and that he is about to be attacked by the Emperor of China. This gives an opportunity for Nizāmi's telling the story of the shepherd and his unfaithful dog. It had been told before by Nizāmu-l-Mulk in his "*Siāsatnāma*," and Nizāmi has borrowed it. Seven oppressed ones tell their sufferings to Bahrām, and he punishes the vizier and reforms the administration. He also abolishes the seven-domed palace—we are not told what becomes of the fair occupants—and makes the buildings over to seven priests, who convert them into fire-temples. Bahrām continues to rule with justice and benevolence, but when he arrives at sixty years of age, and finds his hair turning white—in the

poet's language, "the jessamine flowering above the violet"—he devotes himself to religion. But the love of hunting still continues, and he goes out to hunt the wild ass. The animal, being hard pressed, leaps into an abyss, and Bahrām follows, and neither he nor his horse is ever seen again. In vain does his mother expend much time and money in clearing out the well or abyss. Her son's body is never found. This is a different ending from Firdūsi's, for he makes Bahrām die in his bed at the age of sixty-three. Firdūsi, forgetful of his own story of the barbarity of Bahrām to the Greek harper Azāda (the Fitna of Nizāmī), has a lament for Bahrām, in which he prefers him to fifty Cyruses. His good name, he says, will last for ever, and then he passes to a strange and touching regret for his own life. Bahrām, he says, is not like me, the despised and ruined one, sent to hell, and without hope either in this world or the next.

Sir John Malcolm tells, in his "History of Persia," an interesting story of Bahrām's son, Yezdajīd, which, as he remarks, much resembles Dryden's tale of Cymon and Iphigenia.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR."

"INDIA AND THE SUGAR BOUNTIES."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW,"

SIR,—

As my old friend Sir Roper Lethbridge has done me the honour to hold me up to public obloquy in your issue for October 1912 as a specimen Cobdenite, I hope you will allow me to enter a few pleas in arrest of judgment.

To begin with, I neither know nor care whether I am a Cobdenite or not, though I fancy Mr. Cobden was not such a fool as some people nowadays like to make him out; and, however that may be, *jurare in verba magistri* has never been my motto.

Sir Roper begins (p. 237) by quoting some remarks of Sir Anthony Macdonnell (as he then was), to the effect (1) that it was "of much more importance to the United Provinces to preserve their sugar industry as it is than to have cheap sugar supplied to the consumers of the refined article"; and (2) that "there is no prospect of native processes being so improved that refineries could hold their own against foreign competition *assisted by bounties*," and says that this last remark is "quite a delightful anticipatory answer to (my) stock argument that when the Indian producer is beaten by the *unfair* competition of the protected and subsidized Germans and Austrians and Japanese

(Javanese?), it is simply due to the stupidity of the Indian grower and the faulty methods of the Indian manufacturer," adding that this is a "most unjust and ungenerous argument."

Now, I don't think I ever said that "India was beaten by Java owing simply to the 'stupidity' of the Indian cultivator." I never considered the ryot I knew best (and I lived in a paddy field for about twelve years) a "stupid" cultivator: quite the contrary; but everyone knows that his appliances, being often very antiquated and his methods very faulty, require "urgent reform," etc., as Sir Roper himself says, and I don't understand why it is "unjust and ungenerous" for me to say exactly what he says in other words. Why is it "mere pretence" when I say so, and gospel truth when he says the same thing? As I have said elsewhere, I have no objection to countervailing duties so calculated as to equalize the competition of foreign countries. I like such duties much better than what I have ventured to call the "quixotically *just*" excise duty on Indian cotton goods. Instead of finding an answer to my argument in Sir Anthony Macdonnell's second paragraph quoted above, it seems to me to corroborate my view that India cannot compete with Java even without any bounties, or if protected by fairly calculated countervailing duties alone; and the reason to me is obvious.

On p. 244 Sir Roper says: "When India is beaten all along the line, even in her own markets, mainly because Cobdenite prejudices in England forcibly prevent her from taking the necessary measures to defend herself, it is adding insult to injury for English Cobdenites to lay all the blame on the faults of Indian cultivation and manufacture." One would like to ask him if he means that India should protect her sugar by absolutely prohibitive duties? Nothing short of prohibition would be effectual. If so, I must demur to the remedy as worse than the disease so far as the non-sugar growers are concerned.

Sir Roper carefully avoids telling his readers that Java produces four tons of sugar to the acre against one and a half in India, though he knows from our correspondence in the *Times* that that is the pith of my argument. Nor does he allude to the great increase in the demand for sugar in India, owing partly to the increase in the population, and partly to the greater consumption of sugar per head owing to the increased prosperity of the country (as shown by the Trade Returns)—a prosperity brought about, I think, by—he would say *in spite of*—tolerably free trade.

No doubt India *ought*, as he says, to produce all the sugar she wants, and would actually be doing so now if her production per acre were anything approaching that of Java. That it does not do so may be partly the fault of the Government, as he suggests; but I don't think this can be the case, because there are places even in India where the crops are not surpassed by any country in the world. "Fiscal conditions" have nothing to do with those crops, though the land on which they grow is naturally the most highly assessed of all the land in India, thousands of acres running up to thirty shillings an acre *over whole villages*.

Why the Javanese are so much more successful in growing sugar-cane I am not aware, never having been in Java; but I feel quite sure that for some time sugar has been neither "the greatest, most popular," or most lucrative of India's industries, though I hope it may be so in time. As things are, it almost looks as if it might be better to put sugar on the scrap heap, and grow jute, or wheat, or even rice instead.

Sir Roper throughout his article continually begs the question by complaining of "unfair" competition, when the real question is what fair competition is. He also assumes that the decrease in the cultivation of sugar-cane is entirely due to this "unfair" competition, whereas it is probably far more due to inferior methods. If, as Dr. Leather says, it pays the ryot better to grow other crops, why shouldn't he grow them in preference to sugar?

Would Sir Roper deliberately bolster up a decaying industry, (if it is decaying), of perhaps 1 per cent. of the population at the expense of the other 99? The sugar industry is no more "important" to the people of India who don't grow sugar or "to the revenue" than any other crop. Sir Roper, in his last sentence, speaks as if the whole agricultural population of India and its revenue were in immediate peril if the producers of sugar, who occupy, say, 2 or 3 million acres out of some 250 millions, are not protected by almost prohibitory duties from foreign competition. It is only foreign competition and the example of Java which will sooner or later compel them to adopt a better system.

As one of my friends, (*not* a professor of Political Economy,) says: "Why should we tax the Indian in order to compel him to consume his own sugar?"

Yours truly,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

P.S.—I am not fond of the use of strong language in controversy, and would not have ventured to say what Mr. Macphail (Fellow of McGill University) says in the following passage; but then he has suffered from Protection, as we, more fortunate, have not suffered yet. Writing in the magazine of the International Free Trade League for July last, p. 177, he says: "Protection in any country is a government of the Government. It creates a class *bound together by self-interest alone*, armed at all points and ready for instant action against any party which threatens to curtail its privileges. It is without political creed, without principles, without private or public honour, unless indeed the mutual fidelity of a band of mercenaries may be considered an honourable sentiment."—J. B. P.

ENGLAND AND THE MOSLEM WORLD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Forrest, in his interesting article "England and the Moslem World," says: "The Pope of Rome blessed the outgoing Italian troops" (in the late Turco-Italian war). I was abroad just at that time, and did not see many newspapers, but certain things I read—I cannot remember accurate details—left me with the impression that the Pope had refused to give the Papal Blessing to the troops, since he did not approve of Italy's action in this war. Moreover, I was staying with a devout Roman Catholic, who was very interested in the war and took the side of Turkey, telling me, quite independently of anything I had read, that the Pope had refused to bless the Italian army.

I find that Mr. McCullagh, himself a Catholic, writes in his "Italy's War for a Desert":

"As for the position of the Church in this war, the Vatican is impartial and even opposed to it," and he quotes the following pronouncement—called forth by a patriotic speech of Cardinal Vannutelli—from the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican:

"No small number of Catholic newspapers and several ecclesiastical and political speakers, who have recently discussed the Italo-Turkish conflict, have expressed themselves in such a way as to lead the public to believe that the war is a holy war, undertaken in the name and with the support of the Christian religion and of the Church.

"We are authorized, however, to declare that the Holy See is not responsible for such interpretations. Moreover, wishing to remain outside the present conflict, it cannot support it and even deploras it."

Mr. McCullagh continues:

"Again, when a 'patriotic' subscription was got up for the troops in Tripoli, the Pope forbade the bishops to

contribute to it, and the Bishops forbade the priests. The Vatican also condemned the preaching of anti-Islamic sermons in the churches."

I only bring this forward because I do not know the true facts myself, and I think the question—especially to students of the psychological and social aspect of history—of sufficient interest and importance to be definitely settled.

Yours faithfully,

H. M. HOWSIN.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

More than forty years ago the Madras Board of Revenue made an abortive attempt to put a stop to the slovenly practice of using vernacular terms in English correspondence without any explanation of their meaning, thereby rendering the records and reports of one part of India quite unintelligible in other parts. The Board actually circulated a list of sixty-eight words which might be used in such correspondence without any explanation, and of these some fifty are now to be found in any good modern English dictionary, whereas the rest would hardly be understood outside Madras except by specialists. Such, for instance, as "Chuttram," "Curnam," "Maistry," etc., certainly ought not to be used in correspondence intended for people not acquainted with the vernaculars, without a clear explanation of the meaning attached to them by the writer, because it sometimes happens that the same, or a very similar, word is used in different parts of India with a slightly different shade of meaning—e.g., "Banghy," "Maistry" (*cf.* Mistri).

It would add greatly to the usefulness of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* if writers therein would avoid the use of any vernacular term without some explanation of its meaning, unless (like "Lakh,"* "Lascar," etc.) it has found a place in the latest English dictionaries. In point of fact, no vernacular word should be used without explanation, unless it has become a dictionary word.

It is also very desirable that the spelling of all vernacular words should be as uniform as possible, and it will be the Editor's duty (and pleasure) to bring them into conformity with the most generally accepted spelling—i.e., the one commonly called the "Hunterian" system.

* Only to be used in speaking of rupees.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW DELHI.

By E. B. HAVELL.

VERY rarely since the sixteenth century, when Akbar laid the foundations of Fatehpur-Sikri and of the modern city of Agra, has there been any city-building project of so much interest and importance, not only for India, but for the whole Western world, as the building of the new capital for the Government of India at Delhi. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the present scheme touches much larger questions of State policy and of architectural practice than those with which Akbar had to decide in the building of his capitals. In the sixteenth century there was not such a wide difference between architectural practice in Europe and in India as there is at the present time, and if Akbar had chosen to send to Europe for experts in the Renaissance style, as understood by Italian builders, they would not have found as much difficulty as British architects of the present day experience in bridging over the architectural gulf between the East and the West. Craftsmanship, and not archæological learning, still held in those days the foremost place in the art of building; and the craftsmen of the Renaissance, with the Gothic and Byzantine traditions behind them, would soon have made the Indian craft tradition their own.

Unfortunately, very few architects of the present day are craftsmen, so that the most vital issues in all archi-

tectural questions are generally lost sight of in a perfectly irrelevant discussion of what is called "style." The immensely important building project which the Government of India has now in hand has already brought out this fatal weakness in modern European architectural practice very clearly. The British and Anglo-Indian press, including the professional architectural journals, have for a long time past been fighting the battle of styles, according to the rules of modern warfare, quite oblivious of the fact that India still has a living building tradition much more closely related to the classical architectural practice of Europe than that of modern "architects' architecture." The India Office has not yet seen fit to publish the Report of the Committee appointed to advise on the site and planning of the new Delhi; but the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which seems to possess official confidence in this matter, printed, some months ago, a very full summary of it, from which it appears that the Committee have not only made recommendations upon the laying out of the city, but argue at length the question of style. If the special correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* may be believed, the Committee recommend that the principal buildings shall be in the style of the Italian Renaissance, and have supported this recommendation by setting up and knocking down a long row of archæological ninepins, leaving the practical architectural issues quite untouched.

It is quite easy to understand why the Committee, as constituted, should shrink from facing the real issues. None of the members have had any practical Indian experience; only one is an architect. They were called upon to form an opinion in three months upon a question which the Government of India has had before it for fifty years, but has never attempted to consider seriously, as a matter of State policy, from an Indian point of view. The strongest influences, departmental, professional, and commercial, are against the Indian aspects of the question being fairly presented. The chief permanent architectural adviser of

the Government of India, while admitting that he has never had time to study the Indian building craft of the present day, has not hesitated to express his contempt for it. No professionally trained architect in Government employment has ever attempted to Orientalize his Western professional methods, and though several self-taught European architects have done so to a certain extent, the results have not been so completely satisfactory as to encourage others to experiment in the same direction at a few months' notice.

This professional or technical Committee could hardly be expected to consider the question from any other than a professional or technical point of view, in the light of their European experience; and the great haste with which preparations for the building of the new Indian capital are now being pushed forward would, in any case, have prevented them from conducting a proper inquiry into Indian architectural conditions, even if they had felt competent to undertake the task. It must now rest with the Government to consider the risks of impatient idealism, and to decide whether a new Washington-while-you-wait, or a glorified Whitehall, is the most fitting architectural symbol of the new era of deeper sympathy and closer understanding between the rulers and the ruled which the Coronation of the King-Emperor was to usher in, or the fulfilment of His Majesty's desire that "the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city" (Delhi). His Majesty's Government cannot, even if they desired to do so, shelter themselves behind the Committee and their yet unpublished Report, for the importance of this architectural question for India's intellectual as well as economic interests is so great that it cannot be regarded as a mere technical matter which experts must decide.

I myself claim to speak in this matter as an expert with European as well as a long Indian experience. I have

received what may be called an orthodox or academic European architectural training. I have perpetrated designs for public buildings in the Renaissance style, and but for the saving grace of Providence in sending me out to India as an art-specialist, I might now be an official architectural expert expatiating on the suitability of that style for the new buildings at Delhi, instead of endeavouring to put the case for Indian art and craft in the light of twenty years' close study of the subject.

Let me first deal with the arguments of the Committee as summarized in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. If they are not correctly reported, they are certainly arguments which have been used again and again, both by experts and non-experts, to defend the policy of the Indian Public Works Department. First and foremost we are told that the Renaissance style is to be preferred on economical grounds. It is declared to be not practical or judicious to build in an Indian manner because it is so expensive to build in that way. This bare assertion is not supported by proofs of a serious expert investigation, but by superficial archaeological arguments. The Committee had no time to test the question practically for themselves. They looked at Shah Jahân's buildings and saw that they would be expensive to build. But when extravagant people are building, every architectural style becomes expensive—the Renaissance has no especial claims for consideration on economical grounds, especially when marble is recommended as the material. Economy in building is not so much a question of style as of the judicious artistic use of the local materials which the architect has at his disposal. If economy is of so much importance, it is necessary that this aspect of the question should be examined, not perfunctorily and hastily, but in a practical, business-like manner; and if we are going to build the new Delhi on archaeological principles, our archaeology should be scientific, and not that of the tourist guide-books.

Shah Jahân's buildings no doubt entailed the most lavish expenditure, and some of these of his father, Jahângir,

also. But no one in his senses would seriously propose to take the buildings of Shah Jahân and Jahângir as models for public offices of the present day. Akbar, one of the greatest statesmen the world has known, had as fine an architectural taste as Shah Jahân, and was not a spendthrift. Akbar's palaces were of sandstone; the economical palace of the British Viceroy will be of marble. None of Akbar's buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri and in Agra Fort are unreasonably costly. They are of a serious and dignified style which any competent European architect in sympathy with Indian craftsmen could adapt to modern purposes. If the Government desire to find out what an Indian style would cost, the question could be settled in a practical way in a week's time. Take, for example, Jôdh Bâi's palace at Fatehpur-Sikri, a very noble building, not at all extravagant in style or material. Let the Public Works' experts measure up this building, and work out in exact detail the cost of constructing it in the present day by the descendants of the Indian craftsmen who built it. Then estimate the cost of a building of similar size and quantities built of white marble in the Renaissance style according to Mr. Lutyens' specifications, remembering that in the last important Renaissance building put up by the Government in Calcutta, the Indian craftsmen who copied the architect's Renaissance patterns were paid eight times the normal wages of first-rate Indian carvers, who are better architectural sculptors than can be found anywhere in Europe at the present day. Put to the credit side of the Indian account the value to India of a great impetus to Indian art and craft, and debit to the Renaissance building account the injury which the process will inflict upon India—the moral, intellectual, and material damages. Then if the Renaissance building proves to be cheaper, the Committee will be justified in their argument; but if the Indian building proves to be far less costly, as it surely will, let us hear no more pernicious nonsense about the extravagance of reviving Indian architecture in India.

The next argument of the Committee, according to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, is that the Mogul style would be ill-adapted to the comforts and conveniences of modern civilization. This might be very true if it were proposed that the Mogul style, or any particular building in that style, should be copied or reproduced archæologically. Were not Greek temples and Italian palaces, which are the models of our modern so-called Renaissance architecture, equally ill-adapted to the comforts and conveniences of modern civilization? It is the business of the modern architect to adapt these archæological fashions to modern purposes, otherwise there would be no need for his services at all. We should only require builders to copy the ancient buildings. If we have succeeded in killing the Indian tradition of building, as some Anglo-Indian officials are anxious to prove, Indian architecture, archæologically considered, was the product of Indian civilization, of the Indian climate, and of Indian economic conditions, and therefore must be a better archæological basis for modern Indian architectural purposes than any branch of European archæology can be. But if there are still alive in India descendants of the very men who built Fatehpur-Sikri, Agra, and Delhi, practising a living tradition which has flourished for 2,000 years, and produced some of the finest architecture the world has known, surely it should be not only the obvious duty of official architects in India, but their greatest privilege and joy, to associate themselves with these men as fellow artists and craftsmen.

This is also a question which the architectural and artistic associations of this country, in the interests of art and craft, and the Government of India as the guardian of India's intellectual, moral, and material interests, should not allow to remain in dispute. If the Indian building craft has really become practically extinct in fifty years of our Public Works' administration, it is the obvious duty of the Government to investigate the matter thoroughly, and find out the reasons for the grievous injury we have

inflicted upon India; for during those fifty years we have made architecture an official monopoly, and we cannot escape responsibility in the matter by saying that Indians have been worse sinners than ourselves. If, on the other hand, it is true, as I maintain, that India still has a strong living tradition of art and craft, only needing a new stimulus to revive its former vigour, it is still more the duty of the Government to use this great and unique occasion to prove that official declarations of sympathy are not empty words.

One of the most extraordinary archaeological arguments put forward in the *Pall Mall Gazette* Report was that the Mogul style of building would not provide a suitable setting for statuary—"Even a statue of the Sovereign by whose commands the city was built could not be erected in the streets without incongruity"—so our poor British sculptors would lose many commissions! But if the King-Emperor himself felt no incongruity in being throned in person at the Delhi Durbar under a Mogul canopy, why should Anglo-Indian officials object to placing a statue of His Majesty in an Indian setting? The Mogul style is only incompatible with statuary because the orthodox Musalman interpreted the Mosaic law more strictly or more literally than Christian artists have done. It is not, however, proposed to engage Muhammadan architects to design these buildings. Architecturally the Muhammadans made ample provision for statuary in their buildings. The *mīhrāb* of an Indian mosque is generally only a Hindu niche with the statue left out.

Mr. Herbert Baker, in a recent article in *The Times*, written in support of the Delhi experts, argues archaeologically that all that is most practical for modern purposes in Indian architecture is what Fergusson calls "Indo-Saracenic," and therefore is as much foreign to India as the Renaissance. That is the usual attitude of Western critics towards Indian art—they take out what they think good of it, label it with a Western name, and then condemn the rest as worthless. Surely it is time that British archi-

fects and artists, like to French and German, began to take the trouble to study Indian art seriously for themselves, instead of accepting as gospel all that archæologists have written about it, and satisfying themselves with what they see of it at Bloomsbury and South Kensington. It would take more than one lecture to correct all the errors of Fergusson and other archæologists, and as I hope to throw much new light on the history of Indian architecture in a book I am writing, I will content myself now with saying that Fergusson's account of the origin and development of Muhammadan architecture in India is altogether misleading. Mogul architecture, and all Muhammadan styles in India, are truly Indian in every sense—not Saracenic. They were not foreign importations, but a progressive development of the Hindu building tradition adapting itself to Muhammadan taste and mode of life. Until now, there has been no break in the Indian building tradition for more than 2,000 years, and the fact that the slow-thinking Anglo-Saxon is the first of the many foreign races which have established themselves in India to find it useless is no credit either to British rule or to our architectural capacity.

There is a very excellent rule that Indian civilians and other European officers in India have to make themselves acquainted with the vernacular languages, so that they may understand and make themselves understood by the Indian people with whom they come in contact. Why, then, should architects and artists who are sent out to India in the service of the State be absolved from learning the art-language of the country, and insist that it is of no consequence that Indian artists and craftsmen with whom they must be associated neither understand nor are understood by them?

Oh, we are told that the new Delhi is to be the centre of a Western, not an Oriental rule, and that if European professional architects attempted to learn the Indian architectural language they would speak it so badly that British prestige would suffer, their professional reputation would be

ruined, and Anglo-Indians would be shocked at seeing the debased Indian style which would result from the attempt of European architects to arrive at a real understanding with Indian craftsmen.

The Government of India is British Government, but Great Britain is responsible to the civilized world that she does not ignorantly or wantonly destroy the great intellectual and artistic inheritance which India now possesses, not only in her splendid ancient monuments, but in the skill of her master-craftsmen. The new Delhi is not for Europeans only, neither was the Delhi Durbar. More than two-thirds of the people who will occupy the Government buildings at Delhi will be Indians, not Europeans. The Indian taxpayer, not Great Britain, will pay the cost of them; Indian craftsmen will build them. A Renaissance building built by Indian craftsmen cannot be otherwise than debased. It is not at all necessary that an Indian style should be debased by Indian craftsmen, because they will be directed by Europeans. In any case, Anglo-Indian administrators have put up with so much debased European architecture in India already that it might be gratifying to our national pride to prove that Indian craftsmen can debase their own architecture as much as we have done ours. If His Majesty's Ministers in Whitehall can live in debased Renaissance buildings without loss of self-respect I do not think British prestige in India would suffer, or Anglo-Indian æsthetic susceptibilities be hurt, by building public offices in Delhi in a style which might be compared unfavourably with the masterpieces of the Mogul period.

It would, moreover, be unjust to some of the very talented self-taught architects who have attempted to understand Indian architecture, and to adapt it to modern departmental requirements, to describe their work as a failure. We may compare it with the best work of the Mogul architects, and say that it is lacking in many respects. A professional eye may detect in it faults which are inherent in the best amateur work. But what modern Renaissance

buildings by our best professionals can challenge comparison with the works of Peruzzi, Michel Angelo, or Sir Christopher Wren? And if the Jaipur Museum, or the High Court of Madras, cannot compare with the masterpieces of the Moguls, it lies with the professional architects to show that they can Orientalize their art better than the amateurs. The amateur architect may have sometimes embarrassed the Financial Department by not being able to cut their coat according to the departmental cloth, but the most extravagant Government building in modern India is not one of those in an Indian or quasi-Indian style, but the Military Secretariat Offices in Calcutta, built in Renaissance style under Lord Curzon's direction.

The latter building affords a very good illustration of the process of carrying out Renaissance designs in Indian buildings. I have no doubt that the distinguished architect who has prepared a Renaissance design for the Government House at Delhi will produce a very admirable architectural essay on paper. But, just as a musical composer is entirely dependent upon the sympathy and understanding of his orchestra for the effect of his compositions, so the success of any architectural design does not depend upon the architect alone, but upon the sympathy and understanding of the builders and decorative craftsmen who carry out his paper designs.

Now we are told in the report which Mr. Lutyens has signed that the Secretary of State has directed that the expenditure must be conducted with no tinge of wastefulness; that will preclude the possibility of importing into India a whole army of European craftsmen and overseers trained in Renaissance ideas of art and craft, even if that plan could be reconciled with the Government of India's declarations of sympathy with Indian craftsmen. It would likewise rule out the possibility of having the greater part of the decorative work executed in England by British craftsmen, and shipped out to India. The only alternative will be to employ Indian craftsmen, to whom the Renaissance

style is as the Greek and Latin tongue—totally incomprehensible. The result will be, as it was in the case of Lord Curzon's Calcutta building, and as it will be in any so-called Renaissance building in India, whoever the architects may be, like teaching a skilled Indian musician to play the pianoforte or harmonium—that is, you bribe him by a higher wage to murder his own art. You will have debased Renaissance at ten or twenty times the cost of good Indian art.

I notice that, following the precedent set by Lord Curzon in the case of the Military Secretariat Offices in Calcutta, the Government of India have invited architects and others residing in India to submit competitive designs for some of the new buildings at Delhi, without committing themselves in the question of style. To those who are ignorant of Indian conditions this might seem like a free and open test for calling out the best talent of India, European as well as Indian. Practically, it means nothing of the kind. Indian master-builders can prepare designs in their own way—and in an excellent architectural way—but they do not read Government notifications; their method of drawing differs from European modern practice, and under British Government they have never been allowed opportunities of understanding departmental requirements with regard to the designs of public buildings. The competition, then, is a strictly limited one for European architects residing in India, and the Government have been entirely misled by their departmental advisers if they believe otherwise. Moreover, in the last competition, it was clearly indicated that only Renaissance designs would be accepted, for when the official expert judges met, they discovered that the selection of the first prize was reserved by the Viceroy himself, who gave it to the only Renaissance design submitted, not because he thought it the best design, but because he considered Renaissance the only suitable style for Calcutta. Now we are told that Renaissance is the only suitable style for Delhi also. Indian architecture is apparently to be left to the

patronage of the Native States, to whom we are constantly preaching their duty in this respect.

Whether the town-planning experts have any better reasons for their recommendation than those given in the newspapers I do not know, but I would like to quote what Professor Lethaby, whom Mr. Herbert Baker accepts as "the best of all authorities," says regarding Renaissance architecture in Europe :

"It must, I think, be admitted by those who have in part understood the great primary styles, Greek or Gothic, that the Renaissance is the style of boredom. However beautiful single works may be, it tends to be blind, puffy, and big-wiggy. Louis Quatorze might have said of the art of his Court, as he did of the State : 'It is myself.' Its highest inspiration was good taste ; it was architect's architecture. Splendid works were wrought, even in the age of its gloomy maturity, by Peruzzi, Michael Angelo, and Wren, but as a whole it seems to be the art of an age of Indigestion. There are things in Nature—a dewy morning, a snowy peak, a clear stream—which are ever and again more wonderful than we had remembered. A true work of art always has something of this surprising freshness ; but the Renaissance, as a whole, lacked the spirit of life. Gothic art witnesses to a nation in training, hunters, craftsmen, athletes ; the Renaissance is the art of scholars, courtiers, and the connoisseurship of middlemen." The architects of the new Delhi may be able to equal or surpass the highest achievements of the Renaissance, but a style with such characteristics can never provide the most adequate expression of the genius of British rule in India. The big-wiggy official who suffers from indigestion need not be embodied in the stones of the new Delhi—we have enough of him in the flesh everywhere !

The Times a short time ago sententiously declared that the Renaissance was the style of the modern civilized world. If this be so, should we regard it as a matter for congratulation, or as an alarming symptom of the civilized world's artistic bankruptcy, and of the approaching relapse into

barbarism, which Lord Rosebery fears is in store for us? We are told also that the Renaissance is the architecture of reason. But imagination is required to make architecture an art, and if the architects of Europe have only one idea left, they could not do better than refresh their exhausted imaginations at the fountain of Asiatic civilization. Personally, though I am prepared to argue this question technically or æsthetically, I think that the New Delhi architecture should be debated, not as a question of taste or style, but as a matter of right conduct and wise policy. The Greek æsthetic, which we profess to follow, teaches that if art has a wrong ethical basis it rests upon a false and unsafe foundation. We are trustees for India's intellectual and material possessions; we have Imperial pledges to fulfil. India, the real India, needs a Renaissance of her own art. Is it consistent with British justice and British honour to spend Indian revenues only for the good of British art and British trade? Whatever the Renaissance may mean to us, it means only one thing in India—the ruin of Indian craftsmanship, the intellectual impoverishment of the educated classes, and the strangling of Indian art. It is not politic to assume that because the larger section of what we call the educated is content to join us in that proceeding, trusting in our superior taste and wisdom, or because independent Asiatic countries like Japan and China may seem bent on following the same *facilis descensus Avernî* that we are justified in disregarding the better sense of Europe and of Asia in this matter. Europe, and America also, are fast awakening to a sense of the greatness of Indian art—painting, sculpture and architecture—and whatever specious arguments we may bring forward for leaving Indian art to starve on this unique occasion, as we have done before, while we provide a rich feast for British art and British trade, we shall not escape their condemnation by saying that our experts told us we were doing right. Neither will India regard a one-sided inquiry and a one-sided competition as a fulfilment of solemn pledges given,

that on this occasion the claims of Indian art will be carefully considered. The India of the Tall Hat—that monstrous symbol of Western barbarism (or the Hat of the modern civilized world)—may not care for these things; but there is another India, not so articulate, which, while willing to learn all that Europe has to teach, still clings proudly to her own spiritual and intellectual heritage as her most precious possession. You may call this India medieval and uncivilized if you will, but it is upon the goodwill of this India that the security of the British raj depends. In the hour of England's peril, if this India holds aloof through distrust or resentment, the India of the Tall Hat will not help us much.

On this point I should like to quote a passage from a very admirable series of articles in the *Dawn Magazine* of Calcutta, which should be read by all who wish to understand the Indian point of view. It says: "In this matter the responsible authorities need to recognize that there are at the present moment two Indias—the India of the Indian leaders, and the India of the Indian *people*—and that the two Indias are emotionally (and therefore essentially) *not* homogeneous. The educated intellect of India has been, and is being, progressively captured by European Rationalism, and has been more or less successful in starting a European movement in this country—a movement in which the leaders and *their* intelligence and capacity are necessarily of supreme importance. But the heart of India, its passion, its emotional enthusiasms, have not been and cannot be, as far as we can see, captured by the idea of the Europeanization of the country. The heart of India is represented by the India of the Indian people abiding by the Indian traditions, and it is not represented by the India of the Indian leaders governed by European methods and practices.

"The ideal of Indian Imperialism, or the ideal of Indian unity, realized through a whole-hearted devotion and surrender to the ideal Monarch—such an ideal of Imperialism (or call it Nationalism, if you like)—though it

might not perhaps lend itself to the principles of a latter-day democratic Nationalism affected by the India of the Indian leaders—has, nevertheless, been the traditional ideal dear to the heart of India—the India of the Indian people. And it is this India, representing the larger part of the country, which needs to be approached and taken by the hand to co-operate with the Government in the grand Imperial scheme, of which the creation of a new capital at India's Imperial City may fittingly represent the beginning. The building of the Imperial Capital at Delhi thus places in the hands of the Government a mighty and beneficent instrument, by whose aid the Government can, if it chooses, direct and regulate the course of Indian Unity along traditional lines, and also realize in its favour an enormous accession of *popular* good-will."

Looking at the question from a purely business point of view, is it business-like—in the real interest either of British art or British trade—to precipitate the ruin of Indian art and handicraft, or are we not thereby foolishly killing the goose which lays the golden eggs, or making her so discontented that she will not lay? Do we, in the long run, make British administration easier by blocking up all the best avenues of artistic employment, official and private, for Indians, and by educating them only as clerks, lawyers, and journalists? Or do we not thereby directly increase the economic pressure which drives so many into the byways of sedition, and lay up for our posterity difficulties far greater than those we have dealt with already?

What alternative is there to the proposals of the official experts? I think the case should be clear enough to anyone who knows India artistically. The Government of India having, for the last fifty years, neglected to take stock of its artistic and economic resources, finds itself totally unprepared for the present unique opportunity of using them. The India Office provides it with expert advisers who have no expert knowledge of Indian architecture, Indian art, or Indian craft, living or dead. They

naturally elect to follow Macaulay's lead and vote for British art and British trade, a result which will no doubt be considered eminently satisfactory from the British point of view. But now let the Indian case be presented in an equally expert way, and from both an economic and artistic point of view. I have already suggested a practical method of obtaining reliable data as to the cost of building in an Indian style. We want, also, reliable data as to the artistic capacity of modern Indian master-builders. To seek to obtain this by a competition arranged only for European architects is an absurdity. Last year, at the instance of the India Society, the Archaeological Survey of India began to take stock of the work of living Indian master-builders. I have not been able to ascertain how far this inquiry has gone, but obviously for practical architectural purposes it should be conducted by expert architects rather than by archaeological experts. Let the Government of India, in the coming cold season, instruct one or two architects, preferably with Indian experience, to continue this inquiry, using the materials already collected. Let the rulers of Native States, to which the best Indian builders have been driven by the unsympathetic policy of the British Public Works Department, be invited to join in fulfilling the King-Emperor's desire that the new Delhi shall be worthy of the old one. I am sure that they would joyfully respond, and in six months' time there would be available ample artistic material, representative of the living building-craft of India, for the European architects to consider. Then, if the living Indian art should be found unworthy of the new Delhi, there is still Indian archaeology to fall back upon, and if one British architect is unwilling to Orientalize his style and adapt his methods to the principles of the greatest European builders, another might be found to do so.

A new Delhi built in this way, with the whole-hearted co-operation of the Indian Princes and the Indian people, would be a more worthy capital of the Empire than any British one-man show, however admirable that might be

in its own way. It would prove that Indian and British Imperial interests are not antagonistic, but really and truly identical. The new city would arouse no bitter feelings, but recall the happiest associations of the older ones, and appeal to the imagination of India as a symbol of British justice and honour, and a monument of the wisdom of British Imperial policy. In this way Europe would give India of her best, and use, both for her own and India's advancement, all the resources of Indian culture and practical experience.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 21, 1912, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Mr. E. B. Havell, (late Principal of the Calcutta School of Art), entitled "The Building of the New Delhi." Sir Arundel T. Arundel occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: H.H. Raj-Rana Sir Bhawani Sing Bahadur of Jhalawar, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Leslie Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., Sir Guilford Lindsey Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir Leslie Porter, K.C.S.I., Lady Porter, C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E., the Hon. Mr. Justice Caspersz, Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel Hugh Pearse, Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Mr. S. H. Fremantle, I.C.S., Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. Hormusji Dubash, Miss McLeod, Mr. W. H. Christie, Mr. G. T. Walch, Mr. W. B. Brown, Lieutenant Rolleston, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. H. B. Molesworth, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. M. M. Gandavia, Mr. E. J. Lutyens, the Rev. Dr. Aglionby, Major-General Miller, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Dr. Bhabha, Mr. T. W. Rolleston, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Mann, Captain Swinton, Mrs. Havell and Miss With, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Corfield, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. V. B. Vibakar, Mr. I. R. Bhandari, Mr. A. K. Burmon, Mr. Sundara Raja, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mrs. Hastings, Mrs. Bean, Mrs. Furnell, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Miss Wall, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Cook, Mr. J. C. R. Johnston, Mr. Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. Percy Brown, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. W. Doderet, Miss Johnson, Mrs. Banks, Mr. Oliver Gaunt, Mr. and Mrs. Aymer C. Strong, Mr. Hermann A. Haines, Miss M. Ashworth, the Rev. Lionel S. Lewis, Mr. H. B. Wright, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. A. Fremantle, Miss D. A. Stepney, M.D., Mrs. Sayer, Pundit Shyam Shankar, Miss Eleanor Rowe, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in informing you that Sir Arundel T. Arundel has very kindly consented to take the chair this evening.

A number of letters of apology for inability to attend were then read by the Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I must apologize most profoundly for finding myself in this position. I came here to-day without any intention of speaking or of taking part in the discussion, because I am not an expert in architecture, and I hoped that we should have had in the chair to-day one of the gentlemen whose names have been read out to you by Dr. Pollen, that we should have an expert in the chair, as well as contributions towards this discussion by experts amongst the audience. The very few observations I shall have to make to you I feel are made by a person who is entirely ignorant of the subject, but there are many subjects on which many of us are entirely uninformed as far as technical knowledge is concerned; and still we do not hesitate to express our opinions about them. Probably none of us are meteorologists, and yet we all express our opinions about the weather without the slightest hesitation. Perhaps my opinions on the subject of architecture are about equal to the opinions and prophecies that are very frequently expressed about the weather.

I have read with the greatest interest Mr. Havell's paper, although I must say I think it is very technical, and upon a very difficult subject. I do not quite understand the kind of architecture which Mr. Havell would recommend for the construction of the buildings in Delhi. Then, with regard to what is going on in Delhi itself, I must say that I take personally rather a gloomy view of the future. Perhaps I may be permitted to give one reason why I take rather a despondent view of the position there. Close by here there is a new building, recently erected—the Church House of the Wesleyan community. I hope I am not using too strong language, but I think to my untutored mind it is one of the ugliest buildings I have ever seen. Looked at from a distance it seems to me somewhat like a reverberating furnace, with a kind of gilt busby on the summit, which might be the exit of the flames from the cupola. Looked at from below there seems to be—I think I myself counted so many—ten shields, which look as if they were intended for coats of arms, and four which look like escutcheons, and the use of which I cannot see. There are one or two extraordinary windows—the segments of circles—and up above on the dome there are certain small openings, which look very much like those places where you may look in and see the molten metal in the furnace boiling and bubbling within. I am informed—I do not know; I may be incorrect—that the architect of this building which I do not admire is one of the Committee appointed to recommend and decide upon the architecture of the City of Delhi, and if that is the case, then I think my gloomy view is not unnatural. Perhaps someone who is really informed on the subject of architecture will tell me I am entirely wrong. Then there is another point I ought to mention with regard to the Delhi Committee, and that is this: we know that the Government is often upbraided for taking too long over its decisions, but in this case

I am inclined to think the Government have been in too great a hurry. Instead of deliberating for a considerable time over the scheme, and taking the opinions of such authorities as Mr. Havell will tell us about in his paper, the thing seems to have been rushed, and I only hope that the forebodings which some of us here feel about it will not be justified by the results. With these very few imperfect observations I must conclude, and I now call upon the reader of the paper to deal with his subject. (Applause.)

The paper was then read by Mr. HAVELL.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had a most interesting paper from Mr. Havell, written in his lucid and incisive style, and based upon his long and wide experience of Indian art and architecture, and I hope the discussion which follows will be of equal interest. May I say that, in inviting discussion, we request that the speeches be limited to ten minutes.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, in opening the discussion, said: While agreeing with the principles on which Mr. Havell's criticisms of the alleged proposals of the Government of India were based, he deplored the shrewish, testy spirit by which they were manifestly inspired, and all the more because there were, as yet, no actual designs before the public for the planning-out and building-up of the new Delhi. Mr. Havell's criticisms, and the lecture itself, were altogether premature, and this fact painfully emphasized the impression of the prejudice by which they were so pronouncedly prompted. It was a well, an admirably written paper, and most interesting in its illustrations, from the history of architecture in India, of the principles that had determined its evolution in that country, and, in turn, had themselves been modified thereby. But the possible good effects of the lecture were "profan'd and marr'd"—and that quite apart from its being so strangely "too previous"—by the snarlings, sneerings, sniggerings and snivellings and snortings at the Government of India, and the preposterously pontifical snubbings of them, commingled with its current throughout its petulant and fretful course. Mr. Havell was a retired official of the Government of India, and the last person who should have behaved so ungraciously, and, he would add, so ungenerously, toward them. Speaking for himself, he (Sir George) had the greatest confidence that the designs of the Government of India for the new Delhi would prove, when published, fully worthy of the future Imperial capital of India. And why? The Durbar Proclamation, transferring the capital to Delhi, was a master-stroke of genius that had held India spellbound ever since—the supreme touch of imagination in the Government of India in all his own lifetime—and he felt satisfied that the men who had worked that magic were capable of doing everything that it concerned Imperial administrators to do to ensure the new Delhi being in all respects worthy of the historical Delhi [or Dehli] of the Muslims of India, and the legendary Delli of the heroic age of the Hindus themselves. It was certain that they had considered all the predominating factors of the problem before them, such as the commanding and readily defensible position of the site, its salubrity and perennial supply of water, and its capability, at a pinch, of self-support in the way of vegetable and other staple foods, and its amplitude of spaciousness as the future

centre of the military administration of India in peace and war. As to the architecture, the Government had already done precisely the right thing; for they had, it was said, selected as their architect one who commanded the acceptance of the whole profession, and he understood that they had left the decision of the vexed question of the "style," or "guise," to be adopted absolutely in his discretion. In architecture the architect was the first desideratum, and the "style," comparatively, a secondary consideration. He only hoped that the Government were leaving the expenditure on the architecture also in the discretion of their architect. They must build the new Delhi without any thought of sordid stintings. They must build it in the spirit of King Solomon—as to the glory of God. Architecture, the first and the greatest of the fine arts, originated in worship, and was carried to its highest glory in the worship of Chaldea and Assyria, and Egypt, and of Judea, and of Greece and Roman Italy; and where and when it ceased to be worshipful, it ceased to be architecture as an art. In the Book of Psalms it is written: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it;" and in the Koran: "Only he who builds in the fear of God, and to His glory, builds enduringly." It is in this instinctively and spontaneously devout and high-souled and full-hearted spirit we must build the new Delhi for an eternal name, even as Babylon and Nineveh, and Thebes and Memphis, and Athens and Rome, and the Jerusalem of David and Solomon, were builded. "Walk about Zion, and go round about her. Set your heart upon her bulwarks; raise up her palaces; that they may tell of it to them that come after you." If we lay the foundations of new Delhi in this spirit, we may be confident of lifting its headstones with shoutings of joy: "Grace unto it! Grace unto it!" The building of a city, and particularly the laying down of its foundations and the lifting up of its headstones, has, from the earliest ages, been a most solemn religious rite among all the historical races of the old world. Our word "urban" is from the Latin word "urbs," a city or town, and cognate with "orbis," the world, and "arvus," a field; all these Latin words being derived from "aro," I plough, and referring directly in the case of "urbs," and indirectly in the case of "orbis," to the "antri curvatura," the curved or orbicular furrows traced by the plough to mark the circuit of the walls of a projected city. Where the gates were to be the plough was lifted up—*i.e.*, "ported"—for so many paces whence the Latin word "porta," a gateway. The walls of a city were throughout their circumference sacred, and especial sanctity was attached to its gateway, and for many reasons; of which the most popularly impressive was in its being in the case of specified cities, a sure refuge for those who had killed anyone unawares from the pursuing "avenger of blood." The title of "The Sublime Porte" of "the Sultans of the Turkish Empire" has direct reference to the gate of Oriental cities as, at first, suggestive, and, afterward, typical of divine Dominion, Might, Majesty, Glory, Praise, Holiness, Justice, Judgment, and Mercy. The information to be found in the Bible of the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, and of the neighbouring royal Palace by King Solomon, and of the rebuilding of the Temple, and of the walls and gates of Jerusalem under the direction of "Ezra-Nehemiah," and the

vision of the new Jerusalem* in the Book of Revelation, afford striking evidence of the religious spirit in which the planning and construction of cities have everywhere been undertaken throughout the ancient—the still ancient—East; and with a consequent largesse of expenditure that, to the secularized mind of the modern West, seems to savour of criminal extravagance. It is to the gates of the gorgeous palace of Solomon, and of the glorious Temple that rose beside it, that the words of Psalm xxiv. are addressed: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors." These are some casual extracts† from the archæology of architecture for which Mr. Havell has expressed such peevish and Philistine contempt; for it is in such traditions that the highest inspirations of all vital architecture have been found in the past, and will be found evermore—and more than ever before—in the future.

He (Sir George Birdwood) would not pursue Mr. Havell into any of the particular predilections propounded by him of the indigenous origins of all Indian architecture [Turanian, Egyptian, Chaldean, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Saracenic—he understood Mr. Havell to make no qualifications] except in the case of two of his statements in support of this thesis. The first was that Mahmud of Ghazni, when returning from his raids into India, took back with him to Afghanistan a number of Indian craft-masons. This would, indeed, be in conformity with the usual practice of Asiatic conquerors; and we know also that Mahmud of Ghazni had a keen eye for great architecture, and sumptuary "objects d'art." But he had read a great deal in the past sixty years and more about Mahmud of Ghazni, and although his memory now was not only weak, but deranged also, he must say that he could not recall any explicit statement, in all his reading, of Mahmud of Ghazni having dragged Indian craft-masons after him to Ghazni for the building of his "Mosque of the Celestial Bride" there. The second of Mr. Havell's statements that had puzzled him was that all Indian architecture was of aboriginal Indian initiation and consummation. He would say nothing of the religious architecture of India—Buddhistic, Hindu, or Muslim—nor of the civil architecture of India, that is of palaces, fortresses, and monuments, so far as they were truly architectonic, the origins of which had now been determined, past all gainsaying, by James Ferguson, in his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," the revised issue of which, edited by Mrs. James Burgess and Professor Phene Spiers, was published by the House of Murray only last year. All he did want to ask

* "Me receptet Sion illa.
Sion David Urbs tranquilla;
Cujus Faber, Auctor Lucia,
Cujus Portæ Lignum Crucis,
Cujus Muri, Lapis-Vivus,
Cujus Custos Rex Festiva."

† See also Athenæus, viii. 62; M. P. Cato, "Servius," v.; Cicero, "De Nat. Deorum," iii. 40; Diodorus, xii. 12; Herodotus, i. 168, v. 42; Ovid, "Fast," iv.; Pausanias, i. 34, iii. 1, iv. 27, vii. 2; Pindar, "Pythæ," v. 29, 129; "Olympæ," vii. 145, 147; Plato, "Laws," v. 738, vii. 771; Pliny, xiv. 2, xviii. 12; Plutarch, "Romulus"; Strabo, xiv. 1; Varro, v. 143; Virgil, v. 755; and a hundred other texts, Biblical and Classical.

Mr. Havell was, where, in his opinion, the domestic Hindu and Muslim architecture of India originated. If anything, it should be of absolute autochthonous evolution. But he (Sir George Birdwood) knew of only one type of Indian domestic buildings that could be classed as architecture—namely, the houses of the Hindus, and the Muslims of the maritime towns of India that had always been directly connected with the immemorial trade between India and Europe—overland, or ocean borne. They had always greatly interested him in Western India, and his presumption was that they also, like so much of the religious and civic architecture of India, were largely of alien suggestion. It is impossible to distinguish between the domestic houses of old Brindisi, and other old Italian towns up and down the western shore of the Adriatic, and the domestic houses of old Bombay, and Mahim, and Surat, and Broach, and Baroda, and Diu, and Vingorla, and Goa, and Belgaum, Sholapore, Sattara, and Poona. The other most widely spread type of domestic building in India was the Bungalow, or *Bangala*, i.e., "Bengal style" of house—a roomy and utterly unpicturesque cottage with no more pretension to architecture in its design, materials, and fabrication than the thatched mud shanties of the Carnatic, or the rectangular flat-roofed mud houses of the Dakhan, all huddled together before the British settlement of the Mahratta country, within the ambit of a high mud wall as a protection against the Pindharis, and other marauding bandits. He asked these two questions simply in the hope of getting authoritative and conclusive answers to them—if they are to be gotten.

Finally, as to the architecture of the new Delhi, he (Sir George) would leave that, as he had already said, entirely to the elected architect. It will be at once a garden city, and an entrenched camp. As a garden city its designer may find his inspiration in the description of Ayodhya, the capital of the hero of the *Ramayana*; and as an entrenched camp it is to be hoped that he may be able to give architectural expression where possible—or at least some touches of picturesqueness here and there—to the designs of the military engineers. The seats of the legislature, and judicature, and general administration, and most of the public buildings, would, he presumed, be in the solid and grave Roman "style," as modified in Paris, and again in Sir Aston Webb's admirable adaptation of it in the imposing block of Government offices with which he has garrotted the Processional Road leading out of Buckingham Palace into, or rather up to, the entrance to Charing Cross. For "Government House," he himself could think of nothing more suitable than the "style" of Buckingham Palace, with the Park front restored as proposed by Sir Aston Webb, and the open western side of the four-square ground plan closed in; for the Government House at new Delhi must be self-contained in every respect, and self-defensible; in fact, a palatine châtel. This would work out in something of the semblance of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, and, again, of the Town Hall, Bombay, with their solid basements, through which, in the case of the ideal Government House, should be the only entrance to it. The general appearance would be more Greekish than Roman, while, if a Roman dome could somehow be added, an effect of

great architectural dignity would be obtained. The style of the private residences should be left to occur, as time and chance, and individual taste, and whim, and even eccentricity determined; only in the case of the officials the State would be the universal and *direct* landlord. But what his own mind was most fixed on was that a Christian Cathedral should be the architectural climax of the new Delhi; and, if the Government of India will not build it for the Protestant Church of England, as by law established, he hoped the Catholic Church of Rome, the Pope of eternal Rome himself, will undertake the ennobling and sanctifying emprise. Notwithstanding St. Peter's at Rome, he would prefer the Gothic to the classical Roman "guise" for a Christian Cathedral. The loftiest dome still closes you in on yourself, and those with you, and is quite suitable for a pagan place of worship, which brings the high gods down to you on Earth; but Christian worship raises man up to "all the company of Heaven," and is most entrancingly typified by the Gothic spire. But whatever the "style" of it, there must be a Christian Cathedral at Delhi, the cynosure of every eye, in order that—as has been suggested to me by the reading of Sarojini Naidu's new volume of poems, "The Bird of Time"—day by day, at the hour of evening prayer, with the Hindu "Naray-yana! Naray-yana!" and the Parsis "Ahura Mazda!" and the Muslim's call, from all the minarets of Islam, "Allah ho Akbar! Allah ho Akbar!" may be commingled the Christian's Angelic Salutation:—"Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum... ora pro nobis peccatoribus, nunc et in hora mortis nostre. Amen." That is all.

SIR BRADFORD LESLIE said that it had afforded him the greatest enjoyment to listen to Mr. Havell's excellent address, and having considered the matter as an engineer, he would like to say a few words upon that part of the subject. According to the Sanitary Commissioners' Report, Delhi headed the list as the most insanitary city of the Punjab, and he had often thought what means should be employed to improve the salubrity of the place. With the great example in their minds of what had been done by Colonel Goethals during the construction of the Panama Canal, in making what was a hot-bed of fever, dysentery, and other tropical complaints into a really salubrious climate, it would be a great pity if no attempt were made to do something of the kind in Delhi, where fever and plague were endemic. Plague was a disease of dirt, and it was remarkable that it was much less prevalent in countries where they had perennially flowing rivers, and where people had the advantages of open-air bathing. In Calcutta, where the people bathed twice a day plague had never got a foothold. The incidence of plague in Eastern Bengal was one-seventh only of that in the Punjab. It had, therefore, occurred to him that the two objects would be obtained if they were to convert the Jumna river into a lake by making a weir across the river a short distance below Delhi, thus suppressing the dangerous malarial swamp at present existing in the dry season. By holding the waters up, it would also enable bathing-places to be built on the lake frontage, and as a result the two great causes of the insanitary condition of Delhi malaria would be removed. There would then be no object in locating the new city three miles away as was at present intended; it could be built on the

north side of and contiguous to Delhi proper, on the site of the civil station where there was plenty of room. What he would propose would be to make a reclamation on the face of the lake on the Delhi side, which would then form a handsome wide boulevard with a fine sweeping curve, where the great buildings could be erected. The lake itself would be a very ornamental feature. Nothing more beautiful could be conceived, and instead of having what he would call a dry-bone city away in the desert, unattractive to anyone, they would have a really beautiful city.

He entirely agreed with what Mr. Havell had said from the architectural point of view, and he thought it would be a burning shame to impose upon the peoples of India this big-wiggy Renaissance architecture. He hoped the matter would be satisfactorily settled. (Applause.)

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH said that he considered it would be a great pity that the new city of Delhi should be built away from the old city, the new site being a comparatively barren and unattractive place. In his opinion Sir Bradford Leslie had put forward a most admirable scheme, and one which would make Delhi a wonderful place, and take away all troublesome existing defects, and would make it at once a healthy and salubrious city by substituting a pure lake in the place of a malarious swamp, and the buildings that would then be put up would be worthy of the capital of Delhi. (Hear, hear.)

MR. R. F. CHISHOLM: Ladies and gentlemen: I have listened to Mr. Havell's paper with the keenest interest; no one is better qualified to speak on the subject he has chosen, and his courage is equal to his ability. To me it seems deplorable that a question of this kind should be settled by a Government order. I agree with all the main points brought forward by Mr. Havell. To impose the so-called Renaissance on India seems to me little short of an insult to the voiceless thousands of clever and capable artisans who exist in that country, and who already possess their own art-instincts. Even were it possible to introduce Renaissance into Delhi would it take a stronger foothold in the country than Gothic in Bombay? Impossible! Gothic in Bombay is now surely passing away!

I think Mr. Havell has misunderstood what Fergusson meant by the term "Hindoo-Saracenic." He did not mean the architectural outcome of a fusion of Hindoo and Moslem workmen, but the resultant of Hindoo workmen working under the directions of Moslems, just as we would describe many of our own works as "Anglo-Indian." Again, I think he has used the terms "amateur" and "professional" in a confusing way. He cites the Museum at Jeypoor and the High Court at Madras as amateur work. I had worked for some years in the South before I saw the works of Northern India, but when I did see the Jeypoor Museum I thought it a work of great beauty and architectural merit. I cannot understand such work as this being classed as amateur! The High Court of Madras I have not seen, but the two gentlemen responsible for it have since been employed by the public in the construction of many meritorious works, and both are now by my own recommendation Licentiates of the Royal Institution of British Architects.

With the exception of these points I concur heartily in all Mr. Havell

has said; indeed, I would go much further—I would ask the gentlemen who formed this committee, What do they mean by "Renaissance"? ("That's what we all want to know"—Hon. Sec.) They cannot refer to the genuine article that existed and passed away many years ago! They must refer to the fashionable falsehood which obtains in England and elsewhere at the present moment. The real architecture of the present moment is ferro-concrete. We have all seen the colossal cage of steel and concrete which forms the real building, and speculated on the fashion of its clothing, and most of us have realized the fact that the clever designers and artificers who clothe it in the Renaissance fashion could with equal facility dress it in any style, from modern Japanese to ancient Egyptian. Is this skin-deep Renaissance the style (save the mark!) which is to be foisted on India? Consider the absurdity of calling it a style! The real Renaissance builders would have given their ears to possess our materials, and would have shown us how to use them; whereas we, bound by the strong cords of scholasticism are as absurd in architecture as a motor-car manufacturer would be if he put clockwork horses in front of his motor-car to be in unison with the stage-coach period. Surely the Government of India might allow the native artizan to clothe the cage of stanchions and joists in his own way so that he could take a wholesome delight in his work, and not sink into that state of mental slavery which kills every noble and aspiring thought. Foisting this skin-deep fashion on an ancient artistic community under the name of a "style" cannot succeed—it must lead to failure. As soon as the native artist and artizan grasp the bearings of the case, as soon as they realize the excellence and great capabilities of steel and concrete construction, they will run away with their rulers as surely as their forefathers ran away with their Moslem rulers, and evolve a true style, and, in their turn, show us what can be done with the valuable materials we now take such elaborate pains to conceal with scholastic falsehoods.

THAKUR SHRI JESRAISINGHJI SEESODIA, editor of the *Rajput Herald*, said he did not speak as one with any knowledge of architecture, but spoke simply on behalf of his countrymen. He was surprised to find that none of the preceding speakers had dealt with the question as to what were the reasons for the discussion, and for whom, by whom, and at whose expense were the new buildings in Delhi being built. It was deplorable to see how the people of India were ignored in matters concerning themselves, and he thought that they certainly ought to be taken into consideration in regard to such matters. Was Delhi selected as the new capital of India to suit the people of India or to suit themselves (Englishmen)? As the reader of the paper had pointed out, it would be an insult to the people of India to introduce the Occidental style of architecture, because it would kill their own ideas and traditions of architecture. They were all proud to be British subjects, and they looked upon the Government for help in every direction. The Government were the masters of the situation, and they would do everything they pleased. If they had desired to enforce Occidental style of architecture on India, they could easily do it without discussions. Why did they not make all

Indians Christians, and avoid any form of discussion or criticism? But as the meeting was called for to discuss the question on all points of view, it was ridiculous that the people of the country, who were most concerned, should not have a voice in the matter. The Occidental style that had been mentioned by previous speakers was certainly not suited to India, but was more suited to such a country as England, or some other cold region. They (Indians) ought not to be saddled with a style that was entirely Occidental, because it was against Indian traditions of architecture, and the beautiful architectural buildings of India already existing would be quite out of keeping with the proposed style of buildings. From the papers he had been reading he learnt that Earl Curzon of Kedleston desired to perpetuate the present prestige and greatness of England in the future of India by some buildings that would still be there as monuments even when England had left India. The Moghuls and Pathans had a somewhat similar notion of raising architectural monuments, as they believed in the eternal existence of their respective empires. He thought that the prestige of empires and their permanence could not be secured in those fashions, but only by bringing the British and Indian peoples together into a closer bond of sympathy. To do this the people of India ought to be taken more and more into consideration. He endorsed Mr. Havell's diagnosis of the real India, and said that 99 per cent. out of a hundred of that people would refuse to consent to a scheme now associated with the Government. The scheme should be more thoroughly thrashed out and discussed; and for that reason he was glad that he had had an opportunity afforded him of ventilating his feelings, on behalf of his countrymen, in the matter at that meeting.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said that, and as Sir George Birdwood had already pointed out, the Government had not yet come to any definite decision on the building of New Delhi. All the public knew was that the *Pall Mall Gazette* had published a report which might, or might not, be accurate. So far as he understood, the Government had selected the leading architect of the day, and left to him the decision as to architectural style. They had heard a great deal during the discussion about Indian style, and national sentiment and feeling. He would like to ask what style, what sentiment, and what feeling? Amongst the many styles, which style were they to choose? In all Mohammedan buildings no figure of man or animal was allowed, whereas in Hindu buildings the outside was literally covered with figures. Surely there was a great difference there, and which were they to choose? On the one hand they had the Mussulman palace and mosque at Delhi, on the other the Hindu palace and temple at Madura. Coming to an entirely different aspect of the matter, he understood Sir Bradford Leslie would like to make Delhi more sanitary. He did not know whether that gentleman had ever had anything to do with plague or not; but he should fancy not, because he gave them the idea that if they had running water plague would soon disappear. For ten years the speaker had fought plague in two places, both of which stood on the banks of rivers which were never dry, and where the people were always washing themselves; and yet, in spite of that, they constantly had

plague. Karachi was at one time as dry as a chip, and yet there was no malaria there, but now, as a result of bringing in water from the Malia river, the place reeked with malaria! That being so, he failed to understand the suggested methods of getting rid of plague and malaria.

Again, the Lecturer said on page 8 "that until now there has been no break in the Indian building tradition for more than 2,000 years." Surely, the Moslems only came into India about a thousand years ago? And from that time onwards they had a very different style of architecture to that existing before.

THE LECTURER (who was received with applause) said: In spite of the various criticisms that have been made, I feel that the sense of this meeting is with me in my opinions. (Cheers.) With regard to Sir George Birdwood's criticism, I am not addressing this meeting as a retired Anglo-Indian official, but as a private citizen. (Sir George Birdwood: You cannot separate the two.) Sir George assumes that in artistic matters Governments always do right, that the Government of India have done right for the last fifty years, and are still doing right. I do not think you will find any architect in Europe at the present time who will agree with him. I think the more correct assumption will be that in artistic matters all Governments invariably do wrong, except by accident, and my whole endeavour here is to ensure that on this important occasion the accident shall happen. Sir George has said that the question of style should be left to the architect. In that I entirely disagree with him; it should not be left to the architect. It is not merely a question of artistic taste, but a question of justice to India, of British honour, and of fulfilling our obligations to the great civilization which we have to consider in India. We are trustees for that civilization, and we have no right to treat India as Great Britain's back garden, on which we only have to build any city according to the style which some architect—distinguished or undistinguished—may choose to say is good for India or himself. I agree that the building of the City of Delhi should be approached in a true religious spirit. What I fear is that there is a very great danger of it being approached only in a commercial spirit. As to what has been said of the carping tone of my criticisms, I do not think any of His Majesty's Ministers, considering what they have to put up with every night in the House of Commons, will feel hurt by anything I have said. I have not criticized them, but the proposals of the expert Committee. The various comundrums Sir George Birdwood has set me I must deal with at another time.

I think that Sir Bradford Leslie's contribution to the discussion has been a very valuable one indeed. I have had the pleasure of seeing his scheme, and, although my opinion from an engineering point of view is of no value, it seems to me to open up brilliant artistic potentialities. I think that he has gone to the root of the whole matter much more thoroughly than the official experts have done. He has based his scheme on what is the bed-rock of the art of city building—*i.e.*, sanitation. That is a question which the Delhi experts seem to have entirely avoided and shunted. They have assumed, because they build a city two miles away from Delhi, that the

microbes and bacilli of the old city will respect the authority of the Viceroy and not enter the precincts of this great new city of Renaissance style! I only wish that the bacilli of plague and cholera were so amenable to law and order as the Delhi experts seem to think they will be.

Mr. Chisholm has not clearly understood what I said about "amateur" architects. I did not mean to make the slightest reflection upon their capacity, or upon the work they have done. As a matter of fact, I think the amateur architects hold the field in India. I only used the term in the same sense as it was used by the consulting architect to the Government of India, Mr. Begg. I meant architects who did not start their career with the orthodox professional training.

Mr. Leslie Moore wanted to know about Hindu and Mohammedan styles in India. It is a very common delusion, but it is not a fact, that the one is the antithesis of the other. I did not follow his argument about Mahmūd of Ghazni—but Mahmūd was not an architect. He took several thousand master-builders from India to build his own capital, and the modified Indian style which they created came down into India when the Mohammedans established themselves there. The Mohammedan style in India is not an exotic; it is only a progressive development of the Hindu tradition adapting itself to Indian tastes and Mohammedan ideals. What we have to do now, seeing that this great tradition has continued uninterrupted for over 2,000 years, is to make use of that tradition for our own ideals and our own needs, in exactly the same way as Akbar and the great Mogul rulers did. (Applause.) As Mr. Chisholm has said, if we will only allow the Indian master-builders the opportunity, they will teach us a great deal more than we can teach them.

SIR M. M. BROWNAGGER proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, and said that the interesting discussion the lecture had evoked proved that both the subject of it and the treatment of the subject itself by Mr. Havell were both interesting and instructive. (Cheers.) It was true that no final decision had been arrived at regarding the building of the new Delhi, and that, to his mind, was precisely the reason which justified the Association in inviting so capable an authority as Mr. Havell to express his views on the subject. Although the paper had been submitted to a good deal of criticism, it could not be denied that Mr. Havell had, from his own point of view, made a very valuable contribution to a matter which had aroused considerable interest both here and in India. It was a subject which lent itself particularly to discussion among expert architects and engineers, and he (the speaker) trusted that the result of such discussion would be the structure of a new Delhi both ornamental, dignified, and sanitary. (Cheers.) Some exception had been taken to the valuable suggestion made by Sir Bradford Leslie to make Delhi more sanitary than it was at present. Even if it was to be conceded that the scheme propounded by him was not calculated to remove the causes of pestilence and malaria which at present prevailed there, he thought that it would greatly contribute to the beauty of the new town, and that at all events a suggestion emanating from so distinguished and experienced an authority

deserved to be taken into consideration. He begged to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

The proposition was seconded by Sir Robert Fulton, and carried with acclamation.

The LECTURER, in thanking them for the way in which they had listened to his lecture, said he hoped the members of the Association would do what they could to see that right prevailed in that matter.

SIR LESLEY PROBYN proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN said, if he might diverge from the question of architecture, he would like to say a word on the point raised as to sanitation. Some time ago he heard from a well-known and very distinguished official, who told him that when in Delhi he never felt well. Another friend of his, at the head of the Telegraphs Department, told him that whenever he sent any subordinates to Delhi they were always trying to get away because they never felt well. A missionary from Delhi, not long ago at his house, said that two scars on his face were the result of what were called Delhi boils. These were a few illustrations of how necessary it was to secure the improved sanitary condition of the new city. If a lake could be formed, it would have the advantage of getting rid of the miserable swamp to which was attributed so much of the unhealthiness of Delhi.

A COMMON ALPHABET FOR INDIA.

BY R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.

IN March, 1911, the Rev. Mr. Knowles read an interesting and valuable paper in this room entitled "The Battle of the Characters, or an Imperial Script for India." He drew attention to the fact that India has more alphabets than all the rest of the world put together, and that these alphabets contain numerous and complicated types, which he considered to be the chief cause of the illiteracy of the people. He estimated that from 500 to 1,000 types were needed to print each vernacular, and from ten to twenty thousand for all. These large numbers are mainly due to the fact that the scripts are not true alphabets but syllabaries, so that instead of the number of symbols being limited to the number of sounds, which do not much exceed sixty or seventy for the whole of India, they represent an endless series of combinations of sounds. After pointing out the overwhelming objections to the general adoption of the Arabic or Nagari character, he recommended a script based on the only one in general use in the civilized world, and urged that the Indian Government should appoint a commission to deal with the question and should prescribe any system that might be settled upon for optional use in schools and public offices as an alternative to the native character.

Since then Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, in a paper published in

the *Educational Review* of Madras for November, 1911, has given cogent reasons for the adoption of a Romanic script as the common alphabet of India in preference to the Nagari, the only native script which need be discussed; and in the July number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* I have attempted to show the superiority of the system of the International Phonetic Association over all others, both because of its intrinsic merits and because it has behind it the authority of the only existing body of experts on the subject.

The question of a Romanic script for India, however, did not arise with Mr. Knowles's paper. So long ago as 1859 Professor Monier Williams published quite a considerable volume on the application of the Roman alphabet to the languages of India; and in the same year appeared a tract on the subject by the Rev. G. U. Pope, entitled "One Alphabet for All India." Further back still, in 1854, Professor Max Müller issued his "Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet," which advocated the use of a Romanic script. But the science of phonetics, on which any sound proposals must be based, was then in its infancy, and in view of the prevailing ignorance the suggestions of the learned professors were, perhaps, premature. Moreover they contemplated transliteration rather than simple phonetic writing, and this alone, as I hope presently to show, would have wrecked any scheme that might have been introduced. With a knowledge of phonetics widely diffused among the younger generation in Europe, and an authoritative body of experts ready to give advice and decide any questions that may arise, the question is now upon an altogether different footing, and has reached a stage where action need no longer be deferred.

As the Association is but little known outside educational circles, it may be well to explain what it is. It was founded twenty-six years ago for the purpose of promoting the study of the science of phonetics and its practical application. Its council is composed of recognized experts in

various parts of the world. It uses an extension of the Roman alphabet, avoiding the use of diacritical marks as much as possible.

In the present paper I do not propose to discuss the claims of the Roman character or of the system of the International Phonetic Association. For the arguments in their support I must refer you to the publications already mentioned. Nor is it my desire to urge on the people of India the substitution of a Romanic script for those now in use. In fact I regard as premature the Rev. Mr. Knowles's suggestion that the Government of India should be asked to issue orders expressly permitting the use of a Romanic script *as an alternative* to the vernacular one in schools and public offices. But there is nothing to prevent a Romanic script being taught in schools, or used in public offices, *in addition* to the vernacular one. I understand that in the Federated Malay States all Government vernacular publications are issued in a Romanic script (unfortunately not a very satisfactory one) as well as in the Arabic character, and that in practice few people read the latter. In time, no doubt, there will cease to be any demand at all for a version in the vernacular script, but as long as there is a demand it must be satisfied.

It is possible that certain sections of the community may once have been prejudiced against the scheme for a common alphabet by the fact that Christian missionaries and their sympathizers were its chief promoters, it being regarded as a necessary step towards the Christianization of the people. But if such prejudice ever existed, there is certainly no ground for it now. Where the masses are illiterate all propagandists are eager for their education, because they know that without education they cannot easily reach them. Half a century ago the missionaries were almost the only propagandists in India, and it was natural that the proposals for a common alphabet should come from them. Now that the leaders of the Hindu communities, not to mention others, have instituted a political, social, and religious

propaganda, they are quite as deeply interested as the missionaries in devising means by which the millions who are now illiterate can be taught to read, and so influenced by means of tracts, newspapers, and the classics of their religion. Of all the steps which can be taken towards this end, the most practical and the most effective is assuredly the provision of a script which can be easily learnt, easily printed, and easily read. And to those whose dream is an Indian nationality, a common alphabet is only a less important need, though vastly easier to supply, than a common language and a common religion. There is, however, in all countries a prejudice in favour of existing systems of writing. The more difficult the existing system is to learn, the stronger is the prejudice in its favour, not so much among the intellectual members of the community as among those whose chief asset is a knowledge of the art of reading and writing. But their opposition is interested as well as prejudiced. With those who desire the welfare of the people, there can be no logical opposition except from the individuals who think that education is bad for it, and that all measures designed to remove illiteracy should be discouraged.

The objects of this paper, besides introducing to you the system of the International Phonetic Association, are to call attention to the danger of inferior systems based on the Roman alphabet being adopted in India, and to advocate phonetic writing in preference to transliteration.

It may be thought that rival systems should be allowed to fight their own way, in the expectation that the most practical will win on its own merits. But the law of the survival of the fittest does not apply to orthography. In the case of English spelling it seems almost to have been reversed. There are many minds which seem to revel in irregular and irrational spelling. I once had a bill from a Rangoon tradesman in which the word "sais" was spelt "scysse." I suppose he thought it picturesque. Vagaries of this kind do, in fact, tend to become fashionable. What

is called "correct" spelling is largely a matter of custom, or, in other words, fashion, and is no more governed by reason than the shape of waistcoats or tall hats. If a number of systems invented by persons more or less ignorant of phonetics are allowed to spring up in India, the result is likely to be disastrous. The disadvantages of a variety of systems are obvious enough, but they are less serious than the danger that the most unscientific of all may win the day owing to a mere accident, such as its use in a popular work.

The danger will be avoided if the principal bodies concerned decide to accept, if only in principle, the advice of the Phonetic Association, which alone possesses sufficient authority to arbitrate between rival claims. The greatest body of all is, of course, the Indian Government in its various departments. All that is necessary is for the Government to order that if a Romanic script is employed for a spoken Indian language, the system followed should be that of the Phonetic Association. This does not imply any rigid adherence to a set of symbols, much less does it mean that there should be no improvements in the future. The Association allows considerable latitude where this does not lead to confusion; and a live body of experts will be able to introduce changes which the *vis inertiae* of custom would make impossible if there were no such body. If the missionary organizations, which are at present responsible for most of the vernacular publications in the Roman character, also adopt the system, it is very unlikely that any other will succeed in establishing itself.

It must not be thought that I am advocating any change in the spelling of Indian names in English books and maps. That is a question with which we are not concerned here. Nor am I suggesting that the present system of transliterating Sanskrit and other classical languages should be abandoned forthwith. My proposals relate only to publications in the spoken vernaculars.

The International Phonetic Association has just published an exposition of its principles, some of which are added as

an appendix at the end of this paper. On p. 128 you will find its system applied to Southern English. Northern English and other dialects follow. There is a text in a kind of conventional spelling. You will gather from what I have said that I am against such spelling, and it is not, as a matter of fact, in use; but Mr. Daniel Jones, the editor, explains that the text has been inserted in order to satisfy those who prefer a spelling which does not favour one dialect at the expense of another. There are Urdu, Panjabi, and Burmese texts on pp. 130-1, and an attempt to transliterate Urdu.

The characters and spelling adopted in these texts are not to be regarded as finally settled, even so far as the Association is concerned. Personally, I should like to see several modifications effected before a common alphabet for India is decided on. An attempt has been made to keep down the number of symbols in English by employing a long mark for the tense vowels in *he, you, saw, fur*, as if they were always long and the corresponding lax vowels (in *hit, put, not, again*) always short. I think this is a mistake, for in the sentence, "Yes, he is," the lax vowel in "yes" is long, while the tense vowel in "he" is short. I therefore prefer the second of the two texts on p. 129. The use of a diacritical mark, however, to distinguish the vowel-sound in "north" (or "saw") from the very different sound in "not," is not in accordance with the Association's principles, and I have suggested a reversed *c* for the second, retaining the inverted *c* for the first, but dispensing with the diacritical mark. In place of the inverted *a*, I would use some such form as *ɶ*, and I would remove the dot over the *j* and use an ordinary *i* without a dot instead of the capital. I prefer an "u" with a transverse bar to the clumsy diphthong *æ*. The *u* should, I think, have a wider opening, and the shape of some of the other letters might be improved in detail. Nearly all these characters appear in the Indian texts. In the Urdu passage the inverted capital *R* is an ugly makeshift, and must be regarded as merely provisional. For the cacuminals (or cerebrals) a mark attached

to the letter would perhaps be better than the dot underneath, though this has the advantage of being already in use for Sanskrit.

Perhaps some of these changes may be made, but, whether they are made or not, I am strongly of opinion that no symbols should be employed for Indian languages which are not likely to be approved by the council of the International Phonetic Association, as the only body of experts competent to decide such matters.

Most of us will be surprised to find the Urdu word "ham" written with an "a" and not with a "ʾ," as Englishmen usually pronounce the vowel precisely as that in "but." Mr. Daniel Jones, after hearing the sound repeated by several Indian gentlemen, thinks it nearer to that in the French "patte." The existence of tones in Panjabi, an Aryan language, will also be news to many of us.

I have attempted to ascertain how far the symbols already prescribed by the Association will suffice for the sounds of the many and diverse languages of India. Until quite recently little attempt has been made by phoneticians to record these sounds in a phonetic script, or to ascertain how many there are. Mr. Noël Armfield, Assistant Lecturer in Phonetics at London University College, has now written out in phonetic script the story of "The North Wind and the Sun" in no less than six spoken languages—Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam—besides those in the pamphlet before you, at the dictation of a number of Indian gentlemen, who kindly assisted us. The result of these investigations is that very few extra symbols have been found to be necessary. For all the sounds of all the languages of India it is probable that not more than thirty symbols will be needed, in addition to the ordinary Roman alphabet and certain groups (such as the nasalized vowels and the cacuminal and aspirated consonants), which have to be distinguished by marks, either separate or attached to the letter. No one language, of course, will need anything like all these.

When it is remembered that we now use, including those capitals and script forms which differ considerably in shape from the small printed letters, about fifty symbols for English, it must surely be admitted that the number of characters which would be required for a scientific and reasonably accurate representation of all the sounds in the languages of India is not excessive.

There remains only the question of transliteration as opposed to phonetic writing—a question on which most of us find it difficult to think clearly. Transliteration has been attempted in some publications already issued in the Roman character. It complicates the whole question enormously, and introduces difficulties which, in some languages comparatively slight, are in others so insurmountable that the attempt has by common consent been abandoned.

The meaning of transliteration was explained by me at some length in the paper for the Royal Asiatic Society already referred to. The explanation is too long to repeat here. Of the two kinds of transliteration, direct and indirect, the latter is used only for epigraphical and certain other limited purposes, and does not concern us. In direct transliteration we take each letter of the vernacular script, decide what is its proper sound, and represent that sound by the symbol already agreed upon for it. The difficulty here lies, of course, in deciding what is the proper sound. The letter may be pronounced in half a dozen different ways, or several different letters may all be pronounced in the same way. It is necessary to inquire what was the pronunciation of the letter at the time (if there ever was such a time) when every letter stood for a different sound, and only one sound, and to represent that pronunciation; but it is doubtful whether such conditions ever existed in any language, and, even if they did, the results of our inquiries must be largely conjectural. Further confusion is caused by loan-words, introduced with the foreign spelling, and by false etymologies. Direct transliteration, in fact, can never be anything but unscientific; while, to look at

it from the practical point of view, it reproduces in the Romanic script all the archaisms, anomalies, and vagaries of the vernacular writing without any compensating advantages.

It has been suggested, however, that the difficulties in the way of phonetic writing are even greater than those in the way of transliteration, owing to the dialectal and other differences which exist in all languages, and the changes in pronunciation to which all are subject. I hope to show that this is not the case, and that the supposed difficulties almost disappear on examination.

In phonetic writing we take each sound as we find it, and represent it by the symbol already agreed upon for that sound. The question is what sound we are to take when different speakers of the same language pronounce a word in different ways.

So far as the script is used by such persons to communicate with each other, the problem is a simple one. They should be taught not to write each word in the language in a certain way, but to represent each sound uttered by themselves by a certain symbol, and always by that symbol and no other. The result will be that individuals speaking different dialects will write the same word, if differently pronounced, in a different way. If the dialectal differences are great this may make it sometimes difficult for them to understand each other: but the difficulty will be no greater than if the communication were made orally; for writing can be scanned as slowly as the reader likes, while a person listening to an oral communication has no control over the rate at which the sounds are uttered.

If English were written phonetically one educated man might write "træns" (trance) and another "trans," each following his own pronunciation. But they would have no difficulty in understanding each other, any more than they have now if one writes "realise," the only spelling allowed by Skeat and Chambers, and the other "realize," the only spelling recognized by Murray and Richardson.

It is in publishing books and other material for the use of persons speaking different dialects that the real difficulty arises. The writer has then to make a choice among the dialects of his readers. If there is a standard dialect—that is, a dialect having a much greater numerical following than the others, or spoken by the more educated portion of the community—he will probably adopt it. A person speaking another dialect will then have a certain amount of difficulty in understanding the written matter; but, as already seen, the difficulty will be no greater than if the communication were made orally. If the dialect is so different as to be unintelligible, the only remedy will be to treat it as if it were another language, and publish another version of the communication. In practice, however, persons who are taught to read would at the same time be taught the dialect of the larger or more educated part of the community, and would then have no difficulty in understanding the book or document. In any case the difficulties could not possibly be greater than they would be if the same persons had to learn to read a language differing considerably from their own dialect and written in a script which does not represent the sounds as they know them.

As a matter of fact the effect of universal education in a phonetic script would be to extinguish dialectal differences. Everyone would learn to use the pronunciation followed in the literature of his language. If the spelling is completely divorced from the sounds, a child may learn to read without any effect on his pronunciation; but it would be otherwise if he is taught to connect each symbol with a definite and unvarying sound.

If there is nothing which can be described as a standard dialect, the dialect which seems most likely to dominate the others in the future, or which on other grounds has the best claim, must be chosen; or the publication can be issued in different versions as suggested above.

The other supposed difficulty is that, as all languages are liable to changes in pronunciation, phonetic spelling

would have to change too, so that a book published now would be unintelligible fifty or a hundred years hence.

One answer to this is that the book would not be unintelligible, even if the changes were unusually rapid. It is hardly conceivable that the differences would be greater than between some dialects of English, and, as we have seen, dialectal differences would not make a book unintelligible if the persons speaking the dialects are at all intelligible to each other. Even the attempts to render lowland Scotch in novels, clumsy as they are, do not make the conversations unintelligible to an Englishman except in so far as the vocabulary is strange to him.

As a matter of fact, however, phonetic spelling would, if combined with universal education, retard changes in pronunciation, even if it did not prevent them altogether. A child learning to read would, of course, be taught to pronounce the words as they are written; and he is likely to retain that pronunciation to the end of his life, even if he does not read much. At present, in English and some other languages, the spelling is so far removed from the sound that each word is treated almost as a kind of ideograph, and the spelling has comparatively little effect, though it certainly has some effect, on the pronunciation; but the case would be altogether different if the children were taught to connect each symbol with a definite and unvarying sound.

It will now, I trust, be admitted that the difficulties in the way of making the standard orthography of a language represent the standard pronunciation are by no means serious. It would, I think, be a matter for great regret if the people of India were given a literature in which transliteration, with all its complications and anomalies, replaced the beautiful simplicity of phonetic spelling, and were thus prevented from associating each symbol in their minds, once for all, with a definite sound.

APPENDIX

TEXT

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first made the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew with all his might, but the more he blew, the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak; and so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

SOUTHERN ENGLISH

[When not otherwise marked the stress is on the first syllable of the most important words.—Two consecutive vowels form a diphthong, the second element being the consonantal element.—

i, u, ə, ɐ without length-marks are lax. — i in unstressed syllables = ɪ. k, u are often diphthongized (ɪj, uw) especially when final. — Short ə is very open when final (= ʌ); ɜː stands for ē.

t, d, n, l are formed with the tip of the tongue against the teeth-ridge (gums). — r is generally fricative (= ʀ), though some speakers use a single flap of the tongue when intervocalic. — A 'dark' variety of l (ɫ) is used finally and before consonants. — Initial p, t, k are slightly aspirated.

o, ɔ stand for ɒ, ɔː respectively. Many speakers use ɐ for ʌ.]

ðe nɔ:θ wind and ðe sən wɛ: dɪs'pjʊ:tiŋ wiɪf wɛz ðe strɒŋge,
wɛn ə trævəl keɪm ə'lɔŋ ræpt ɪn ə wɔ:m klouk. ðeɪ ə'grɪ:d ðæt
ðe wən hu: fɛ:st meɪd ðe trævəl teɪk ɔ:f (h)ɪz klouk fʊd bi
kən'sɪdɪd strɒŋge ðən ðɪ əðə. ðən ðe nɔ:θ wind blu: wið ə:l hɪz
maɪt, bət ðe mɔ: hi: blu:, ðe mɔ: klouli dɪd ðe trævəl fould
(h)ɪz klouk ə'raʊnd hɪm; and et lɑ:st ðe nɔ:θ wind geɪv əp ðɪ
ə'tɛm(p)t. ðən ðe sən fən aʊt wɔ:mli, and ɪ'mɪdʒətli ðe trævəl
tʊk ɔ:f (h)ɪz klouk; and sɔ: ðe nɔ:θ wind wɛz ə'blaɪdʒd tə
kən'fɛs ðæt ðe sən wɛz ðe strɒŋgə əv ðe tu:.

Examples of combinations of sounds not occurring in the
above:—*cheer tʃiə, fairness fɛənɪs, poor puə, nature neɪtʃə.*

For some purposes (*e.g.*, in books dealing with Scottish
pronunciation) it appears desirable to have a form of
phonetic spelling of Southern English independent of the
length mark: The following form is suggested for such
cases.

ðe nʊθ wind and ðe sən wɛ dɪs'pjʊ:tiŋ wiɪf wɛz ðe strɒŋge,
wɛn ə trævəl keɪm ə'lɔŋ ræpt ɪn ə wɔ:m klouk. ðeɪ ə'grɪ:d ðæt
ðe wən hu: fɛst meɪd ðe trævəl teɪk ɔf (h)ɪz klouk fʊd bi kən-
'sɪdɪd strɒŋge ðən ðɪ əðə. ðən ðe nʊθ wind blu wið əl hɪz maɪt,
bət ðe mʊ hi blu, ðe mʊ klouli dɪd ðe trævəl fould (h)ɪz klouk
ə'raʊnd hɪm; and et lɑst ðe nʊθ wind geɪv əp ðɪ ə'tɛm(p)t. ðən
ðe sən fən aʊt wɔmli, and ɪ'mɪdʒətli ðe trævəl tʊk ɔf (h)ɪz klouk;
and sɔ: ðe nʊθ wind wɛz ə'blaɪdʒd tə kən'fɛs ðæt ðe sən wɛz ðe
strɒŋgə əv ðe tu.

The additional words at the end of the preceding version
would appear as follows:—*tʃiə, fɛənɪs, puə, neɪtʃə.*

NORTHERN ENGLISH

[Stress and sound values as in Southern English with the
following exceptions. *e*, *o* are tense and only slightly diphthong-
ized. — *r* is slightly trilled. *ɹ* is very weak and often loses its
consonantal character, producing merely an 'inverted' (cerebral)
modification of the preceding vowel.]

ðe nɔ:θ wind and ðe sən wɛ: dɪs'pjʊ:tiŋ hwɪf wɛz ðe strɒŋgə,
hwen ə trævəl keɪm ə'lɔŋ ræpt ɪn ə wɔ:m klouk. ðe: ə'grɪ:d ðæt
ðe wən hu: fɛ:st meɪd ðe trævəl teɪk ɔf hɪz klouk fʊd bi kən-
'sɪdɪd strɒŋgə ðən ðɪ əðə. ðən ðe nɔ:θ wind blu: wið ə:l hɪz
maɪt, bət ðe mɔ: hi: blu:, ðe mɔ: klouli dɪd ðe trævəl fould
hɪz klouk ə'raʊnd hɪm; and et lɑst ðe nɔ:θ wind geɪv əp ðɪ

ə'təm(p)t. ðən ðə sən fən ant wɔ:rmli, ənd i'mɪdʒətli ðə travləz
tuk of hiz klɔ:k; ənd so: ðə nəʊθ wɪnd wəz ɔ'blaɪdʒd tu kən'fəs
ðət ðə sən wəz ðə strɒŋgəz əv ðə tu:.

The additional words would appear as follows: — tʃi:ər, fə:əməs,
pu:ər, nə:tʃəi.

URDU

[t, d, n, l, r are dental; ʈ, ɖ are 'inverted' (cerebral). r is formed by curling back the tip of the tongue and then shooting it forwards so that it makes a single flap against the teeth-ridge (gums). — p, t, c, k (without following h) are unaspirated. In bh, dh, jh, gh the h is voiced. — The pronunciation of the sounds here represented by c, j seems to vary between pure c, j and the English tʃ, dʒ and the groups tj, dj.

— i, e, a, o, u, are always long in stressed syllables. — ɪ, u are as in the English *it*, *put*; they are always short. ə is a variety somewhat resembling the English ʌ in *much*. — e, o stand for e-, o-.]

af̣tāb aor bad : f̣imāl apas mē bah̄as kar rah̄e th̄e k̄i ham
don̄o mē se kaon zor̄av̄ar hae, k̄i ek musafir gar̄m cor̄a or̄he
hue cal̄a aja. unh̄o ne apas mē itt̄afaq̄ k̄ija k̄i os musafir ka
cor̄a jo pah̄ele otar̄a de v̄ohi zor̄av̄ar sam̄jha jae.

bad : f̣imāl ne maqd̄ur bhar̄ zor̄ lagāja, magar̄ j̄jū j̄jū os k̄i
jhok̄ē tez̄ tez̄ cal̄i t̄jū t̄jū musafir cor̄a mē cim̄atkar̄ l̄ipt̄a gea
jah̄ū tak̄ k̄i ott̄ara ap̄ne j̄ihad̄ se baz̄ aja.

phir̄ af̣tāb t̄ez̄i se camak̄(ə)ne lagā, to j̄hat̄ musafir ne cor̄a
otar̄ dia, aor̄ bad : f̣imāl ko man̄(ə)na par̄a k̄i ham̄ don̄o mē se
af̣tāb zor̄av̄ar hae.

PANJABI (Northern Mohammedan dialect)

[t, d, are dental, n, l, r alveolar; r is formed by a single flap of the tongue. ʈ, ɖ, ɳ, ʅ, are 'inverted' (cerebral); r̄ as in Urdu; tʃ, dʒ as in Italian *ciò*, *già*. p, t, tʃ, k (without following h) are unaspirated. — ɪ, ʌ, u are as in the English *it*, *much*, *put*. n tends to nasalize vowels next to it.

^ represents a peculiar tone of high pitch preceded by a slight rise and followed by a slight fall. In connected speech it often becomes a simple high tone.

ʔ is used provisionally to represent a glottal sound somewhat resembling the Arabic 'ain. It is difficult to say whether this sound is really a consonant or whether it is not rather a low rising tone. When initial it is accompanied by a slight aspiration.]

parbat di va: te diu da apertʃ tʃaɡa si pai sadde vittʃo kəra
bala tagra e. ik(k) rai laga aunda si, dzis garm loi duale vʃe:i
oi si. ɔnʔa fæsla kita pai jəra pæl'e rai di loi lu:ae, noi banta
tagra sãmdʒea dzæ. pher parbat di va: pure zor naʃ vaggəu
lagi. par dzinna os tʃi laea onne vadd zor naʃ rai loi duale
vʃe:i; tʃhekʲe va khæ:ia tʃhaɖ ditta. pher ɔddrɔ dadi tʃopp
nikl pai. te tʃaʃ paʃ os loi la lei. te va: nʔaːmannə pea pai
saddeā dōā vittʃo diu tagra e.

BURMESE

p, t, k, s, strongly aspirated; initial p, t, k, s unaspirated
(p, t, k being as in French). Final t, k, ʔ are pronounced without
explosion. — ɔ is nearer to the English than to the French
variety. — Vowels are nasalized when followed by nasal consonants.

ˊ denotes a falling tone. Vowels immediately followed by ˊ are
long. a, i, u, ə and all vowels followed by ʔ are short; so also
is ɛ before a final consonant. Otherwise all vowels not in diph-
thongs are long, and those not followed by ˊ have an even or
rising tone without stress.]

mjaok le min' hnin' ne min' di mi du ga' θa a' tji' di
hu' enin' ək'oon p'jɪt tja' di ətwin', k'əji' di te jaok t'a də
ein'dji go wut hljɛt la ja, le min' hnin' ne min' di saok la
dɔ' k'əji' di wut θə ein'dji go, tʃɪt aʊy tat hnaiy dɔ' du di θa
jwe' a' tji' di hu' hmat ju jan kədi' t'a dja' jwe', mjaok
le min' ga' tat hnaiy dɔ' laok taik ju, tʃat tʃat taik le, k'əji' di
əwɪt ko hma θa kat le, ɔtə tja hma' le min' di, mə tat hnaiy
dɔ' p'jin' jat ju' le i'. t'o nauk ne min' di pu aʊy əjaʊy taok
ju, k'ena' dʒin' hnin' k'əji' di əwɪt tʃɪt ja' jwe', mjaok le
min' ga' ne min' di θa' dzɛ θa a' tji' di hu' won k'an
ja' le di.)

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, October 30, 1912, at which a paper was read by Mr. Grant Brown, I.C.S., entitled, "A Common Alphabet for India." Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Mr. B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Lady Grierson, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, I.C.S., Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Pennington, the Rev. J. Knowles, Mr. Daniel Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Noel-Armfield, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Dr. A. W. Thomson, the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D., Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Corfield, Mr. R. Biske, Thakur Shri Jee-srajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. Sundara Raja, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Wall, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. D. N. Reid, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. F. S. Mirza, Mr. M. G. Mirza, Mr. and Mrs. E. Nundy, Mr. F. H. Brown, Dr. Bhabha, Miss M. Ashworth, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Rayne Butler, Mr. S. Bahadur, Syed Arthur Hossain, Mr. F. C. Brading, Mr. A. Pennell, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Miss G. Prendergast, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, there are two possible ways of representing the sounds of a spoken language: we may either use the ordinary conventional spelling, which is generally admitted to be imperfect, or we may use a phonetic system in which each sound is represented by a special character, and only by that character. The war between this so-called phonetic spelling and the conventional spelling has been going on for a great many years, and is waged very vigorously. I will not venture myself to rush into it and take sides, for two reasons: one is that I have not myself studied it, and the other is that my friend Mr. Grant Brown is, I suppose, the only gentleman who has given serious study to the phonetic representation of the sounds of the languages of India. I do not know anyone who has done more in this direction, although other people have written a great deal about using conventional spelling in India; but I think he is the first to have attempted to represent the sounds of the actual

words by phonetic script. Whatever he has to say will be sure to interest and instruct us. I am here only as a learner—as I dare say we all are—and to listen to what he has to say. With these few words I beg to introduce the lecturer.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then delivered his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure to call upon Mr. Knowles to give us his opinions on the interesting subject which has been placed before us.

MR. KNOWLES, in thanking the lecturer for his kind references to his efforts, said that he was glad to find they agreed upon Roman letters as a basis, and the avoidance of diacritical marks, but he feared their aims were almost totally different. If he understood aright, Mr. Grant Brown's object was to apply an international phonetic alphabet, designed to represent all the

NĀGARĪ	ROMANIC	script
अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ	a e i j u q ʁ	a a i f u y r
ए ऐ ओ औ ः	e ai o au m h	e ai o au m h
क ख ग घ ङ	k kh g gh ŋ	k kh g gh ŋ
च छ ज झ ञ	c ch j jh ɲ	c ch j jh ɲ
ट ठ ड ढ ण	t th d dh n	t th d dh n
त थ द ध न	t th d dh n	t th d dh n
प फ ब भ म	p ph b bh m	p ph b bh m
य र ल व	y r l v-w	y r l v-w
श ष स ह ळ	ʃ s h l	ʃ s h l
असतोमा सदगमय	asato ma sad gamaya	asato ma sad gamaya
तमसोमा ज्योतिर्गमय	tamaso ma jyotir gamaya	tamaso ma jyotir gamaya
मृत्योर्मा मृतं गमय ॥	mṛtyor ma mṛtaṅ gamaya	mṛtyor ma mṛtaṅ gamaya

sounds of all the languages of the world, to the vernacular of India, whilst his own object was merely to provide a scheme of simple letters for Indian languages based upon the ordinary Roman letters. His aim had been to work out a scheme which, whilst scientific, should render the acquisition of the art of reading an easy task of a few simple lessons. The cards he had distributed (see illustrations) set forth his scheme, and its application to the various Indian vernaculars. His scheme was designed to allow of the accurate transliteration of the Indian languages, or a practical phonetic writing. There were Indian gentlemen present, and no doubt they would be good enough to give him their opinions and their judgment of the scheme. The one main point he wished to emphasize, in the few minutes he was allowed, was the necessity of a Linguistic Commission to go into the whole question. The lecture he had just heard had convinced him of the necessity for this, in order to settle the points raised. Although Mr. Grant Brown was emphatic that the Council of the International Phonetic Association was the only body of experts competent to decide such matters, yet there was not a single representative of Indian interests or Indian

vernaculars on the Council. As a further reason for such an appointment he quoted Mr. Gokhalé, who, in a letter to him, said that he was entirely in favour of a thorough inquiry into the whole subject by a competent body of men. He believed those views would be shared by all educated Indians. As a matter of fact phonetics was one of the most advanced studies in India, even when we Britons had no letters at all, and the analysis of Indian sounds as exhibited in the Asoka and Sanscritic (and Arabic) alphabets was the phonetic wonder of the world. It seemed to him that the reasons given for the appointment of a Linguistic Commission in his letter to the *Madras Mail* still held good. This stated that there was a danger of the interests of India being overlooked by the philologists and phoneticians of Europe. In Esperanto, for instance, no notice was taken

Romanic — Urdu

b p t t s* o j

ا ب پ ت ت س* و ج

h x d d s* r i z z

ح خ د د س* ر ی ز ز

s f s g t z j g

س ف س گ ت ز ج گ

f q k g l m n n

ف ق ک گ ل م ن ن

w h i y* j d d

و ه ی* ج د د

a i u e j e u o

ا ی و ی* ج ی و ا

a i a u e o

ا ی ا و ی* ج ی و ا

Printing in Romanic Letters—Urdu

In Urdu "s" and "w" are used with sounds as in the next verse.

andhe k j kahāj.

ek badfah sawar hoke fikar ke liye jangal ko gaya. fikar nazarae gaib ho gaya. raste men ek andha faqir apne takiya par baitha tha. badfah ne pucha, "sajin, idhar se ko j fikar gaya hai?" wuh bola, "huzur, fikar k j awar to aj thj; dabi-ne taraf ko jaiye." itne men wazir a pahunch aur puchne laga, "ai faqir is rah se abh j ko guz-ra hai?" jawab diya, "abh j badfah fikar ke pche gaya hai." us ke bajd ek gulam aye aur puchne laga, "ai andhe is rah se ko guzra hai?" jawab diya, "badfah aur wazir abh j gaye hain, tuj bhi cala ja." jab wazir aur gulam badfah k j xid-mat men basir hue, aur raste ke apne apne hal bayan karuke, we tajajub ke saath apas men kahne lage ki andhe ne ham logon ko kyunkar pahon liya? lautte waqt we andhe ke pas gaye, aur us se pucha ki "kis tarah tum ne ham men se har ek ko pahon liya?" us ne jarg k j ki "har faxs apnj guftogu se pahons jata hai."

of the Sanscrit roots in fixing the vocabulary, and as to the international phonetic alphabet the necessities of Indian sound representation seemed to be ignored—or, at any rate, took a second place. Even in the new scheme of simplified spelling for English no consideration was given to the effect it would have on Indian sound representation by means of the Roman letters. Fortunately there was a good deal of common ground in the sounds of European and Indian languages, but there was a great need for the leaders of Indian education to watch developments. The scheme of a common alphabet for India, in his opinion, should not be left to the judgment of any single individual or society, but should be carefully considered by the best judges the Indian people could appoint. The best system, he was inclined to think, would be found to be a compromise between a strict transliteration and a purely phonetic representation. As an illustration of the great care which would be required he showed that

our English *t* and *d* were nearer to the Indian cerebrals than to the Indian dentals, but the International Phonetic Society had decided to use the English *t* and *d* for the Indian dentals. He was inclined to think that was a wise decision, but it was at variance with the fundamental principle of the Association to use the same letter for the same sound all the world over. Personally, he would follow Professor Max Müller, when he stated that "writing was never meant to photograph spoken sounds, but was meant to indicate, and not to paint sounds." He wished to plead for simplicity, and the simplest possible scheme would in the long run prove to be the best. In common with Mr. Grant Brown, he deprecated following a number of systems of letters invented by persons more or less ignorant of phonetics, because the result was likely to be disastrous. Nothing could stop these immature efforts so well as a Linguistic Commission, which would be able to settle and guide hereafter the best adaptation of the Roman letters, and the best way to use them, and for such a Commission to succeed India must have a proper and full representation. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. DANIEL JONES said he would like to say one word as to the objects of the International Phonetic Association. It was not their desire to adopt a separate symbol for every conceivable shade of sound. If they did that they would soon be landed with an additional five hundred symbols, and their last state would be worse than the first. They aimed at a system which would be simple, one capable of being used by the average person, and not a system confined to professional phoneticians. It would be useless to make it a complicated system, and they were only too glad to welcome suggestions for making it simple. As to Mr. Knowles's suggestion that his system was simpler, they had a letter for each letter that he had got on his card, and the degree of complexity was exactly the same. When it was stated that there was only one person connected with India on the Council of the International Phonetic Association, he did not see how that had anything to do with the question at issue. What they had to do was to take the Indian sounds as they found them and devise the best Romanic symbols to represent those particular sounds. He was not in agreement with some of the modifications suggested by Mr. Grant Brown; he was afraid some of them might frighten the public by the multiplication of symbols. It was essential that the system adopted should be simple.

MR. THORBURN was of opinion that the discussion was resolving itself into a battle of symbols, without taking into consideration the poor people who had their existing alphabets, and loved them. No doubt a common alphabet for India would be a very good thing, if practicable; and it would be practicable if India were without an established alphabet. He thought the whole idea put forward was subject to almost insurmountable objections. It ignored the fact that all alphabets in national use have been built up by slow evolution and are part and parcel of the life of each people, who would never give them up. Incidentally a point that had not been noticed was that if they had any sort of phonetic alphabet they would destroy etymology, and unless the etymology of a word could be traced he did not think the system would be much good. Mr. Roosevelt, whilst President of

the United States, five or six years ago, tried to force such a system upon the Americans, and he prepared a dictionary of words phonetically spelt, and then ordered his officers to publish all Government documents according to his idea of what a phonetic alphabet should be. The press of the United States laughed the scheme out of Court!

Then as to transliteration, he (Mr. Thorburn) once went into the subject. A friend named Talbort, in the Punjab, translated "Robinson Crusoe" into Urdu, and had it translated into the Roman character, and afterwards produced a weekly in Romanized Urdu. To test the comparative merits of the two scripts he (Mr. Thorburn) carried through a competition by expert writers in both, and compared their times. Those writing the Arabic were finished long before the English clerks, and the former wrote using reeds and cheap bazaar paper, whilst the latter required good English paper and pens. Thus the cost of Romanized script to the State would be much higher than that of using the Arabic script. The idea firmed out in the Punjab.

In conclusion, he would like to ask, Why should India be made the *corpus vile* for this experiment? Why did we not start by correcting ourselves first of all? We had only to look at our monetary system, our weights and measures, our calendar, and lastly our system of spelling, to at once realize that nothing could be more unscientific than our own practices. (Hear, hear.)

REV. DR. WEITBRECHT reminded the meeting that the question was not whether Indian vernaculars could be rendered in a Romanic script. As a matter of fact several of them had been so rendered for over fifty years. In the Quarterly Reports issued by the Indian Government they would see that Roman Urdu and other Roman character publications were numbered by hundreds annually. An important fact to be noted was that the Military Department in the North Indian Command had found it necessary to make instruction in the Roman character a subject in its schools in the native army, but they had no fixed method. The missionary publishing societies, (of two of which he had been secretary for thirty years,) had their own system of transliteration, which, however, did not precisely correspond to any scientific system. The "Hunterian" system of name transliteration used by the Government was another defective variety. And besides this the Education Department included writing in the Roman character in its curriculum for Anglo-vernacular Middle Schools. They neither hoped nor wished to force the use of a Roman script on the people of India, who would take their own choice in this matter as they did with regard to other western things that were put before them. But in view of the great confusion that now prevails in the use of Roman transliteration in India, it was very necessary to make an organized effort to co-ordinate the existing systems in some practical way. For that purpose they should try to get together the representatives of the agencies now using the various systems—viz., the Education Department, the Military Department, and the Missionary Publishing Societies—and these should be assisted by phonetic experts. The systems now used were mainly phonetic, but somewhat deflected by English spelling. They would have to take account in the

eventual system of the universal desire in India for a knowledge of English, but it should not be impossible to devise a Romanic script, to be used by all who were working in that line, which might be both reasonably accurate and practically acceptable. What they needed was the qualified man who would make it his life work.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said the real point at issue was not whether one symbol or another should be adopted, but whether any fresh symbols were required or not. He would like to know if they were to be a supplement or a substitute; if they were merely intended as a supplement he ventured to say they would be simply a polite employment for leisure hours. If they were to be used as a substitute there was a fatal objection, in that the great Hindu and Musulman communities of India considered that the scripts which they had adopted were sacred—those of the Deva Nāgarī for the Veda and Arabic for the Koran. (MR. KNOWLES: No, sir.) He maintained that they were considered sacred, and that Indians would not change them for any new-fangled system produced by any Society in this country. They had heard a statement from a Reverend gentleman who had spoken, and had said the adoption of the Roman character was desirable in order to make the Indians a literary people. He ventured to ask which were the two most cultured people at the present time in Europe and in Asia respectively; undoubtedly in Europe, Germany, and in Asia, China, and neither of them used the Roman characters. The Reverend gentleman said that the people of India knew a good thing when they saw it. He agreed with that remark; they had seen a good thing, and they had adopted it in India, and that was the English language, which enabled them to understand each other. His opinion was that in spite of the fada started in this country, the different nations of India would, for their own national and domestic purposes, maintain their present languages, but that they would adopt English as an international language, and therefore the suggested Romanic character for Indian tongues would be superfluous.

DR. THOMSON said that he had had twenty years experience in Poona, in the Education Department. He understood that a Society had been started for the simplification of English spelling, and he found that a large number of Indians had joined it. At the present moment he had a paper in the press printed by that Society which he thought would have a very good effect on making easier the English language to the people of India if the proposals he was making were adopted, or at least considered. The only changes he would make would be to add six symbols, and with those additional six symbols he would undertake to represent phonetically every word in the English language. He admitted the Indian languages would require more. He then illustrated the six signs on the blackboard, and said that if they were introduced he was quite sure that the study of English in India would be considerably helped forward.

The CHAIRMAN here interposed that they were dealing with a common alphabet for India.

MR. FORREST said that all he wished to remark was that with regard to the sacredness of the Indian script, when Mr. Knowles delivered a similar

address, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal averred, in most passionate tones, that every word, and every symbol, and every letter in the Sanscrit tongue was sacred to him, was imprinted in his heart, and that he did not think any Hindu would give it up. That was reported in the proceedings at the time. (Hear, hear.)

SIR JAMES WILSON said that he had some little experience on the subject, but he thought the audience would prefer to hear some of the Indians present express their opinions.

MR. M. G. MIRZA said they were discussing important Indian questions and prescribing something for India, which perhaps India herself did not want. As an Indian he was quite sure he would not prefer it to his own Arabic character, and he knew that the Hindu gentlemen present would not be inclined to accept it in place of Sanscrit. The system might, however, be adopted as a help, in the same way as shorthand had been adopted in England. English was quite sufficient for the Indians to express themselves when they met together. In his opinion to write all the languages of India in one alphabet would be difficult. One of the great difficulties in its way would be that the direction of the writing would be changed entirely (out of several languages that he knew, he could write only one from left to right—that was English, which took him seven years to learn). It would certainly be repugnant for those who could write only from right to left to have to write from left to right. The best thing for them to do would be to let India have a voice in the matter, so that her representatives might say what would be beneficial to them, and then let her adopt it if she pleased.

THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJSINGHI SEESODIA, Editor of the *Rajput Herald*, said that as a Muhammadan representative had already defended the position from a Muhammadan point of view, he took the opportunity as a Hindu to support Mr. Leslie Moore where he stated that the Indians should be left alone in the matter. If the new system of script referred to by the lecturer was going to be a universal script for all the world he supposed that India must have a share in it, but in his opinion as the Sanscrit script and phonetics were far superior to all the existing ones, as pointed out by one of the speakers, there was no need to introduce a new script for India. He would like to point out in the paper read by Mr. Grant Brown that he pronounced some of the Hindu names and words such as Srinivasa, Bengali, Gujrathi, Mahratti, etc., wrongly; there were some Sanscrit scholars present, and they would agree with him when he said that some of the words were wrongly pronounced, and, in fact, some of them were also wrongly spelt. The words Mahratti and Gujrathi were pronounced by the learned lecturer as Mahrathi* and Gujratti.† He was at a loss to know how one who could not transliterate from the original Mahratti and Gujrathi words into Roman script the sound results could pose as a man of authority to introduce Roman script as a universal script for Indian languages. In any case the present unscientific and unphonetic Roman

* The final *r* in the word Mahratti is hard.

† The final *r* in Gujrathi is soft.

script was so defective that no two Indians could correctly pronounce an English word unless they had heard it orally pronounced from a very good English authority on English phonetics. The lecturer and the English people, as masters of the Roman script, well versed in the sciences of Philology and Phonetics of the same, could not produce phonetic results out of the same symbols though used to them from the cradle to the grave. How could they (Indians) be expected to master the phonetic principles of that unphonetic script with all the innumerable improvements suggested by the lecturer? He thought it was useless and impossible for any Indian to master it. He was glad to see that Indians were to be admitted to consider the question in case a Commission was appointed to decide the matter.

DR. F. W. THOMAS said that unfortunately he was absent when the paper was read, but he thought he was fairly well acquainted with the views it contained. There were two very distinct questions to be borne in mind: one was that of transliteration, and the other was that of phonetic spelling. He did not think the time was quite ripe for the adoption of a system of phonetic spelling in India until we had resolved whether to apply such a system to our own language. In the matter of transliteration he strongly protested against the view that there was any opposition between European and native interests. He might safely say that he was one who had suffered from the existence of the numerous characters in India, as he had had to examine books composed in all of them. It was a serious drawback for Indians, who must learn a new alphabet when they wished to consult books in any other language however near to their own; then, again, the same language was written in different alphabets, and it was impossible to exaggerate the complications in this matter in India. He did not go all the way with Mr. Knowles when he said that 20,000 characters were required; but he thought it was quite clear that the question of transliteration did exist for Indians independent of their relation to Europe, and it would be a great gain for India, if there could be devised a common alphabet in which all the languages could be written. But the question remained whether it should be based on an Indian script—for instance, the Nāgari—or not, and if not, was it to be Romanic or what? English was the second language of every educated Indian, and therefore it was obvious that, if a common script was not to follow the native alphabet, it should follow the European one; but that did not carry them very far in the direction of a practical solution. He agreed as to the desirability of a Commission. They should begin by putting aside all question of national prejudice as between European and Indian, and if a way could be found by common consent, the importance of it would be incalculable. (Hear, hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is getting late, and the lecturer will want to reply to his critics, so I shall make very few remarks. If I may venture to criticize I should say that I think Mr. Thomas has hit the nail on the head. I think it is too early to introduce in India a general system of phonetic spelling for representing Indian sounds and words, but I do think that there is an opening for a universal character for the whole

of India. I may tell you that there has been a society in India for some time now with that object. It publishes a magazine, and being a Hindu periodical everything in it is written in the Nāgari character. You get articles there in a great many different languages of India, all printed in that character. That shows that the need for a common alphabet is felt. But there is the religious aspect of it to be taken into consideration. Hindus naturally demand the use of Nāgari for this purpose, while Musulmans prefer the Persian character. I remember how some thirty years ago the Persian was the official character employed by Government in Bihar. Then, by a stroke of the pen, Government altered all this, and, for Bihar, substituted the Kairī form of Nāgari for the Persian character. Naturally, there was a good deal of excitement raised by the change, and I had to report on the subject. I consulted a number of Indian gentlemen, amongst whom was an old and valued friend of mine, the late Nawab Wilayat Ali Khan Bahadur, of Patna. We discussed the question, and he said to me, "We Musulmans came to India, conquered, and imposed our alphabet upon the country, and we object very strongly to the alphabet we turned out being put over us again. You are now in the position that we once occupied, and although we strongly object to the official use of Nāgari in place of Persian, we should not have the same objection to your doing what we did, and imposing your own alphabet in place of ours." I am afraid it is still too early to think of introducing the Roman character, but, perhaps, ultimately it will be the best means of getting a universal character for India. I fail to see how we can manage it phonetically yet. Unfortunately the Nāgari, which I admire perhaps more even than many Indians, is not phonetic at the present day, and I have probably had more experience of the Nāgari character than most other people. I have had thousands of papers and documents in that character sent to me in connection with the Linguistic Survey of India, and no two of them agreed in the mode of representing the pronunciation of certain words. Therefore it has been borne in upon my mind that the Indians, though they pronounce their own language better than I or any foreigner ever can, do not know *how* they do it. There is just one thing wanted: if the Indian people could be taught how the sounds which they pronounce are formed in the mouth and in the throat—a science familiar to Indian scholars two thousand years ago, but now forgotten—it would be a great advance towards the correct writing of their own language in their own or in the Roman character. It sounds absurd, but it is extraordinary how the spelling of the same sound now differs in the various parts of India.

I hope the lecturer will be able to enlighten us on these points of criticism. (Applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said: Sir George Grierson, ladies and gentlemen, I do not intend to keep you long, as it is late. I will reply as shortly as possible to the principal criticisms that have been made. Mr. Knowles is opposed to my suggestion that the Romanic script should be taught in schools, and used in Government documents, in addition to, the vernacular character, rather than as an alternative. It was Mr. Gokhale who objected, in the course of a conversation on the subject, to its substitution for the

other being permitted in schools or in the courts. It is so much easier that a very large and growing number of children would learn it without learning their own script, and there would be, I think, strong opposition from Indians to the Government passing an order which would allow that to take place in the schools at present. I know that to have documents written in both vernacular and Romanic character would be very cumbrous, but I do not suggest that it should go on indefinitely. If that is done, people will choose between the two, and eventually everyone will cease to read one or the other. When that happens, let the one they have ceased to use drop out, and the other one be adopted in its place. I am strongly against any form of script being forced on anyone. The device has been followed in the Malay States, and it is found in practice that hardly anyone reads the Arabic character when he has the easier one placed side by side with it.

MR. L. MOORE: Is there more than one character used by the people in the Malay States, or simply Arabic?

THE LECTURER: Only Arabic for Malay, as far as I know.

MR. MOORE: Then what was the object of introducing another character? I suggest it was for the benefit of the European officials only.

THE LECTURER: I understand that the Malay officials can read it much better, and get the sense of a paragraph much quicker, than they can with their own character. The Malays are only a *part* of the population now.

Then Mr. Knowles advocates his own system on the ground of its simplicity. He did not say in what respect it is simpler. I did not expect him to do so, as it would have taken too long. As a matter of fact I think it will be found that it is not simpler. On the contrary, it seems to me to be more elaborate. I think it will be found, if an attempt is made to represent all the sounds of all the languages of India by his method, that sixty or seventy symbols will not suffice. Mr. Knowles also urges that the people of India should decide what script is the best for them without regard to the interests of others. No doubt. But he has not shown that the script of the International Phonetic Association is less suitable for Indian than for European languages. It appears to me every bit as suitable. Other speakers have criticized what they understood to be my proposals on the grounds, first, that uniformity is, however desirable, impossible to attain, and secondly, that the Indian peoples are wedded to their own script and will not have any other. Perhaps they will excuse my saying that both those arguments are irrelevant. If uniformity is impossible let it be impossible. I do not wish to urge uniformity on anyone, though I believe it will eventually come of itself. I may believe a war is coming without thinking that it is desirable or necessary. In my belief, as in Canon Weibrecht's, the Romanic character is destined to be a character in which the Indian languages will eventually be written. I might add the Chinese language, for the movement has begun and is spreading in China. The same answer applies to the objection that the Indians have their own characters and that on religious grounds they are not likely to abandon them. If they are not going to abandon them by all means let them keep them. I simply say: If we are going to have a Romanic script, then let us

see that it is a rational and scientific one. What I ask is that we should not allow, if we can help it, an inferior form of the Romanic character to gain ground when we have a rational and scientific form devised for us by a body of experts. (Hear, hear.)

On the motion of SIR JAMES WILSON a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer and to the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN briefly replied on behalf of himself and the lecturer for their kindness in passing a vote of thanks.

Mr. S. S. Thorburn writes :

When, on the 30th ult., putting forward two strong objections to the adoption of "A Common Alphabet for India"—viz., Roman plus thirty new symbols, all words to be written phonetically—I had not thought of a third and very important drawback, and now state it: As ears do not hear and tongues do not pronounce alike, were the recommended alphabet used there would be no fixed spelling for words. That would lead to confusion and the degradation of a language.

Mr. J. D. Anderson writes :

Ill-health compelled me to be absent from the reading of Mr. Grant Brown's paper, to my great regret—a regret increased by the thought that I shall not see the learned Chairman's comments on Mr. Grant Brown's suggestions till January. If there were no teachers of Indian languages present, perhaps I may be allowed, as a teacher of Bengali at Cambridge, to submit a few lines in writing as a friendly criticism of Mr. Grant Brown's now well-known views. As regards the unwritten languages of India, there can be no question whatever. They should be recorded, if possible, by trained phoneticians, who have by diligent practice learned to use the alphabet of the Association Phonétique Internationale correctly. The need of some such discipline is only too evident in the attempts made by missionaries and officials in Assam, myself among the number, to write down savage languages by ear. The attempts are many, and where two men have attempted to record the same language, the inevitable differences due to dialect and the auditory powers of the writers is multiplied enormously by differences of script. Let us all admit that any man who sets to work to record an unwritten language should first learn how to write sounds as M. Paul Passy writes them.

There remains the question whether students of the written languages of India ought to learn the script of the A.P.I. in addition to the indigenous

character. Many of the younger generation now learn this script in the course of their French and German studies, and in some schools boys are taught to write English phonetically. The training thus given them is all to the good, and if anyone thus trained likes to record the sounds of Marathi, Hindi, Bengali, etc., in the A.P.I. script, it can only help him to listen and remember sounds accurately. But if a student of such languages has not learned the A.P.I. script, I venture to think that it is not necessary to do so. Lest I should stray beyond my competence, let me give my reasons for this belief so far as they apply to the language I teach.

Let me in the first place clear away what may at first sight seem like a strong argument in favour of using a phonetic script for Bengali. Sir George Grierson, in his admirable "Languages of India" (p. 77), has the following passage: he says of the Bengali that "he writes *Lakṣmī*, and says *Lakṣhī*. He writes *sāgara*, and says *shāgar*; or, if he is uneducated, *shāyar*. He writes *vihya*, and says *bajjha*. In other words, he writes Sanskrit, and reads from that writing another language. It is exactly as if an Italian were to write *factum* when he says *fatto*; or as if a Frenchman were to write the Latin *sicca*, while he says *sèche*."

This peculiarity of modern Bengali could not be more accurately, neatly, or wittily put. Sir George might have added that the Bengali writes the letter A, and pronounces it as a short O, so that the Sanskrit phonetic rules by which the spelling is still regulated are no longer phonetically correct. But that does not affect the unquestionable fact that the Bengali alphabet, like its Sanskrit original, is practically as phonetic as that of the A.P.I. itself. Bengalis do write *ājā*, and pronounce *āgyā*; do write *likhā*, and pronounce *likhyā*; do write Sanskrit *dhārya* as *dhāryya* and pronounce *dhārjja*, etc. But *jh* is always pronounced *gy*, *kh* is always pronounced *khy*, and so on. It does not much matter what symbols we employ, so long as the same symbols represent the same sound, and, in this case, we have the advantage of knowing from the spelling what the word was in Sanskrit. Anyhow, we must learn these symbols if we are to learn Bengali at all, and in learning them we must needs learn the *invariable* Bengali pronunciation of them. In short, as is usually the case, the consonants do not much matter where the alphabet is derived from Devanāgarī. After all, the A.P.I. alphabet has only some twenty-one consonants, and Bengali (besides the two extra nasals and *visarga*) has thirty-six.

But when we come to the vowels, we may perhaps hesitate before we reject M. Passy's aid. All alphabets are probably defective as a record of vowel sounds, and, when applied to individual peculiarities of pronunciation, even the A.P.I. alphabet is but a rough approximation to an exhaustive and infallible notation of sound. There are only eleven Bengali vowels as against the sixteen (including nasalized vowels) in the A.P.I. alphabet. To these should be added the vowels *ya* and *yl* following consonants, which are not written in alphabets, but which fairly represent specific sounds. [Bengal students will recognize them in such words as *ryakti* (pronounced *lekṭi*) and *Pyāu* (pronounced something like our English "bash").]

On the whole, however, these thirteen signs represent thirteen separate sounds, and nearly always the same sounds. We may therefore claim for

them that they are (with the few exceptions to be noted immediately) good and sufficient phonetic symbols. If we add to them the nasal *anuswāra* and *candra-vindu*, we get as complete a list of vowels as M. Passy's own.

What are the exceptions? I must reluctantly admit that in ordinary talk *i* sometimes becomes *ī*, and *a* sometimes becomes *e*. We write *pitā*, and say *pitā*; we write *Sita*, and say *Sīt*; we write *bara*, and say *baro*; we write *bhāla*, and say *bhālo*. So, by epenthesis, we write *tinī* (three), and pronounce *tin*. These exceptions are few, and are easily learned in practice.

There are, I believe, two words in which the letter *A* has a *vikṛta* pronunciation—namely, *akṣar* (letter), and *ati* (very).

There are, so far as I know, five words in which *Ā*, by epenthesis, becomes *Āi*. Thus, *āri* (four) becomes *āir*; *āji* (to-day) becomes *āj*; *kālī* (to-morrow) becomes *kāi*; *gālī* (abuse) becomes *gāi*; and, finally, *ālī* (the balk of a rice field) becomes *āi*.

There are, I think, six words in which *E* becomes open, and might be written as the *e* of the A.P.I. alphabet. These are *kemaṇ*, *yemaṇ*, *kema*, *yema*, *meo*, and *beṭu* (sometimes written *byata*).

It would obviously not be necessary to learn the A.P.I. alphabet for the purpose of recording an irregular notation of about twenty words. The student has to master the fact that he must write *pitā* and say *pitā*. If it is any help to him to write *pī*:*āt* in A.P.I. fashion, by all means let him do so, and so on with the other exceptions I have mentioned in the phonetics of vowels. As for the consonantal irregularities Sir George Grierson has noted, he has himself shown how they can be recorded without the use of A.P.I. symbols. With these exceptions, the system of transliteration adopted by the Geneva Convention meets the needs of the case. It is an exact reproduction of an alphabet believed by Indians to be sufficiently phonetic for practical purposes, and we must remember that Indians have acute ears for the sounds of language. It is not every European who can distinguish between dental and cerebral sounds when spoken, or pronounce them accurately himself. If one of my pupils has been accustomed to the use of the A.P.I. alphabet in recording European languages, and wishes to use it as a record of Bengali sounds, I would not discourage him. But it is, perhaps, a significant fact that in five years of teaching, I have never known a pupil to feel the need of such a record. The Bengali alphabet seems to suffice as a sufficiently phonetic notation. No doubt Sir George Grierson will admit that other alphabets based on Devanāgarī are an even completer record of the facts of spoken language. I am emboldened to write this account of Bengali phonetics simply because Sir George Grierson has rightly noted that the Bengali *varṇamālā* has strayed further from Sanskrit phonetics than any other in the north of India. I venture to think that if M. Paul Passy's attention were called to the phonetic accuracy of the Nāgarī alphabets, he would salute in them an intelligent anticipation of his own labours, and would hesitate to recommend the substitution of his own alphabet for a transliteration of the phonetic analysis of Indian sounds by his Oriental predecessors.

On the other hand, what an admirable thing it would be if young civilians, soldiers, and missionaries could get some phonetic training, and

master the A.P.I. alphabet before they go to India. We might then have some hope of a correct and workable record of dialects and unwritten languages. Above all, what an advantage it would be if such bodies as the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇḍit would take up the study of phonetics and would learn what has been done by European investigators of spoken sound. Wonderful as the Devanāgarī alphabet is, it can hardly be regarded as a perfect means of recording even Indian sounds. Its convention that *all* spoken sounds are either exactly (1) guttural, (2) palatal, (3) cerebral, (4) dental, or (5) labial is obviously only an approximation to fact, as the physical experiments of European phoneticians have proved. Again, it may be doubted whether the convention that only *vaṅgiya* letters can be aspirated corresponds to a physical fact. A Bengali can "trill" the hard *ṛh* and make it sound like *rh*, and, if so, we may expect to hear *r* and *r* aspirated. So, too, some Bengalis do manage to say *saṛhā* when they think they are saying *saḥā*, though *ṛ* is not one of the letters which are conventionally aspirated. No doubt other criticisms of the *varṇamālā*, as compared with the A.P.I. alphabet, will have been made at the meeting. On the other hand, whatever alphabet is employed, students recording new languages must, in any case, reserve to themselves the liberty of writing new sounds in new characters. As M. Passy expressly observes, "L'alphabet international n'a pas la prétention d'être complet ni parfait." And perhaps it is only fair to say, once for all, that students of Indian languages (by using this liberty) have been remarkably successful (as in Sir George Grierson's own great Linguistic Survey) in recording Indian sounds by means of a more or less modified transliteration of the Indian *varṇamālā*. Those who have failed have failed rather by reason of their own defects of audition, or their unwillingness to invent necessary symbols, than because the Geneva alphabet is wholly inadequate as a means of recording Indian languages.

Finally, it is undoubtedly convenient to have a common alphabet for all Indian languages, written and unwritten. The choice seems to lie between some modification of the A.P.I. alphabet and some modification of the Geneva transliteration of the Nāgarī alphabet. The latter has the advantage of being based upon the labours of native grammarians and phoneticians. It enables a European to understand an Indian alphabet without even learning the script, being a reduction of the script to the current European letters. It is much more easily learned by Indian scholars, and, indeed, by Europeans who have not studied the application of a phonetic script to their own language. The A.P.I. alphabet is somewhat more complete, but its use requires long and careful training, and it is admitted that "les formes de quelques lettres sont certainement défectueuses : et il peut être nécessaire aussi d'inventer des lettres nouvelles pour des sons nouvellement découverts, ou pour des nuances non distinguées jusqu'ici." I venture to think that if M. Passy or Dr. Sweet had begun their studies of phonetics in India, instead of with languages so lawlessly written as French and English, they would probably have used some slight modification of Nāgarī (or its transliteration) instead of inventing their numerous additions to the at once defective and redundant European alphabet. Is it not

possible that they would, even now, recommend us to use modifications of our Indian scripts and transliterations of these, instead of adopting an artificial alphabet invented to supply the defects of the illogical and cumbrous notation of sound we have inherited from our Western forefathers?

NOTE.

SIR ISAAC PITMAN AND M. A. J. ELLIS'S PHONETIC
ENGLISH ALPHABET.

In view of the fact that January 4 is the centenary of Sir Isaac Pitman's birth, it is interesting to see how these two collaborators worked out the additional letters required for representing the elementary sounds of English so that each sound should have one letter and each letter one sound. The following fable from *Æsop* contains all the elementary sounds of English and the English diphthongs two or more times:

Printing in Romanic Letters—Phonetic English.

The Poet will only require the following 28 letters. 6

a s i j u y e s a i o e a u u o i u o i

k g y o j t d d n p b f v m y r l w f a z z h

All the above letters representing the thirty-six elementary sounds and the four diphthongs of English occur in the following fable.

di tu frogz.

a tank in hwic tu frogz had loy livd woz draid up bai di hjt, and de wer at legf ob-luijd tu sik woter els-hwer, az de wer jur-nein on de rjet di ej ov a djp wel in hwic de so a gud djl ov woter. "fal wj jump in hjr?", sed wan ov di frogz; "it iz bot kql and djp and, laik aur yuzual dwelinq-ples, di soil iz damp and der ar a fin pam-triz raund abant; wj njd go no farther,"—"no", sed di uter; but if di woter jud fel hjr olse, hau wud yu get ant agen?"

In Sir Isaac Pitman's scheme there are good, clear capital print and script letters to accompany the small letters. For these the reader should refer to any number of the *Phonetic Journal* of Mr. Pitman's time, or to "The Essentials of Phonetics," by Mr. Ellis.

In my Romanic letters for Indian languages I have taken the phonotypic letters with practically the same sounds as in the English spelling, so that Indian vernaculars and phonetic English will have the same sounds for the same letters.—J. KNOWLES.

BURMA, THE THIRD BURMESE WAR, AND INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

BY COLONEL A. F. LAUGHTON, C.B.

YOU are aware that there have been three Burmese Wars.

(1) In 1824-1826, when we annexed Rangoon; (2) in 1852-1853, when our frontier was extended to Pegu, and what has since been called Lower Burma; and (3) in 1885-1888, when we took Mandalay and extended our frontier to Bhamo and the borders of China.

The mode of operations in these wars differed. In the first and second the troops had to be conveyed in ship's boats and Burmese canoes; whereas we had in the third a flotilla of thirty-six large flat-bottomed steamers, each with two barges or flats lashed alongside. There were also three vessels with barges carrying batteries in position for bombarding the forts.

One of my uncles commanded a flotilla of boats in the first war, and I had the honour of serving on the General's Staff as chief of the Supply Department in the third campaign, which lasted two and a half years, from November, 1885, till April, 1888. As I was present throughout this time, perhaps the best way of presenting the subject will be to give you a rapid sketch of the operations, illustrated by photographs I was able to take.

In 1885 I was in the centre of India when I received a telegram, only a week before the expedition started, to

proceed to Madras and assume charge in place of another officer who was unable to go. I therefore knew nothing of what had been done until I was on board the *Clive* with General Sir Harry Prendergast. He (Sir Harry) told me that the thirty-six steamers which I have mentioned had started for Prome with the troops, provided with one month's provisions. We were to follow by rail, and meet them at Prome, which is close to the frontier of Upper Burma. I was aghast at this information, and pointed out to Sir Harry that the troops would soon run out of provisions and the expedition would be a fiasco. Of course Sir Harry had nothing to do with these arrangements which were carried out from Calcutta and Madras. With his approval I telegraphed from the mouth of the Rangoon River to the Officer of Supply at Rangoon to send forward a further supply of six weeks' stores apportioned for each steamer, and I had the satisfaction of seeing the trains just starting for Prome when we reached Rangoon, and when we followed three or four days later we found each steamer provisioned for two and a half months. This saved the situation.

An unsatisfactory reply having been received from King Theebaw to our ultimatum, the expedition started and crossed the frontier. Next day we reached Minhla where there are two forts, one on each bank of the river, reported to be impregnable. The force was divided into two and landed eight miles below. I accompanied General Prendergast on the left bank; we marched in single file through dense jungle, taking the fort in rear, and after a few shots it was evacuated by the Burmese. We then sat on the glacis of the fort, overlooking the river, and some 300 feet above, and watched the operations on the other side. It was an impressive sight, the troops driving the enemy literally into the river, the native town in flames, whilst the armoured steamers bombarded the fort. Then the fort was captured and several hundreds of prisoners added to our burden of provisioning.

We pressed on to Myngyan, about fifty miles from Mandalay, where there was some opposition; this, however, was soon overcome. In a few days we reached Ava, the ancient capital, now in ruins. Here we were met by an ambassador from King Theebaw. He came in a war canoe with fifty rowers, and offered unconditional surrender. The King had been told by his counsellors that his invincible army would soon drive the British into the sea, but the sound of our guns had convinced him to the contrary.

We landed, and such of the Burmese soldiery as were there laid down their arms; but a vast number, here and elsewhere, dispersed into the country in roaming bands of dacoits, causing us endless trouble for two years. Meanwhile we passed on to Mandalay, fourteen miles distant, which was occupied without opposition, and the King (with his wives) was deported to India.

We now turn our attention to heathen mythology in general. I fear time will not permit of a lengthy dissertation, so, after a few remarks, I propose passing to the Avatars, or incarnations of Vishnu.

In every system of heathen religion astronomy has played a part, so the worship of the heavenly bodies finds a place. The European has been in vogue, it is believed, from the days of Noah or his immediate descendants—some say that it was portrayed by Shem, the son of Noah. The Indian tradition credits Adam, or the first man or sage, with having mapped out the heavens. Yet there is a difference between the European and the Indian. The former is restricted to the well-known twelve signs; the Indian has seventeen signs, which set forth the planets riding on different animals, the rapid or tardy revolutions of the planets being indicated by the characteristics of the animals. Thus, Mercury is seen riding on an eagle, Venus on a camel, Saturn on an elephant.

Scientific men and astronomers of many ages have endeavoured to have the names of the twelve constella-

tions altered, but have been unable to effect their object, as the names were given in the earliest ages, and have been engrained in the traditions and lore of every nation, and, although grotesque and fanciful, contain hidden truths.

The ancient notion regarding the earth was that it is one of many regions for the transmigration of souls, that there are many existences, the soul passing into the body of a horse, a cow, or even a mosquito, sometimes to return as man. This is held by the Buddhists of Burma in common with many of the Indian races.

The ancient religion of the Vedas was comparatively pure—a pure moral code; there was no idolatry. It became corrupt, and Buddha, who was born 500 or 600 years before the Christian era, comparing the corrupt practices of the Brahmins with the Vedas, brought about a reformed religion—Buddhism—more in accord with the Vedas. But his disciples were driven out of India by the Brahmins, whose vested interests were endangered by the innovations. However, Buddhism spread in Thibet, Burma, Ceylon and other countries to so great an extent that Buddhists far outnumber Brahmins.

Primitive religions had no notion of a personal God; the truth had been obscured. The elements and forces of Nature were worshipped. Brahminism commenced with the conception of a god, Brahm, but neuter, "It is." The next step was personal, "I am."

From Brahm's thought all things emanated—in other words, creation. Then apparently opposing manifestations of power were noticed in Destruction and Preservation. Thus a Trinity was evolved—Brahm the Creator, Siva the Destroyer, Vishnu the Preserver.

Vishnu would appear to be the favourite, for he has a greater number of adherents and worshippers than the others.

Tradition sets forth Brahm as being himself fourfold, and that he created mankind in four grades. Here we have the origin of caste.

From Brahm's face divine energy emanated in thought, and was manifested in the priestly caste, or Brahmins. From the upper part of his body this energy was set forth in courage, and manifested in the soldier caste, or Kshatriyas or Chetri. From the thighs came commercial energy in the caste of merchants, or Vaisyas, and from the feet menial service in the caste of Sudras.

A few words on the sacred books may be of interest. The four great Vedas were written about the time of, or even before, Moses. Then the two epic poems, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, about 500 B.C., containing teachings from the Vedas. The more modern puranas were written about A.D. 800. I do not know when the Pali or Buddhist scriptures were written, but conclude it must have been before the Christian era.

We now pass to the Avatars, or Incarnations of Vishnu, with a few remarks. The subject is, I think, of some interest.

The tradition is that after creation the god allowed mankind to take its course, and that from time to time the world became corrupt, when the god Vishnu intervened, becoming incarnate in order to set things right.

The lecturer then described the ten Avatars. The first is the Avatar of the fish, the second the tortoise, the third the boar, the fourth the man-lion (Nara-sing), the fifth the dwarf, the sixth Parasu Rama, the seventh Rama Chandra, the eighth Krishna, the ninth Buddha, the tenth the Kalkee.

Before concluding, I wish to make a few additional remarks on some movements towards reformation which have taken place, from time to time, in India, since the days of Buddha and the reformation introduced by him.

One of these is the Brahmo Somaj. I have lately read in a recent issue of the *Pioneer* as follows: "The clearest definition of the Brahmo Somaj yet published is that given by Sir G. H. Gupta, K.C.I.E. 'It takes in,' he says, 'the good things of all religions. It derives its inspiration from

the Bible, from the Hindu scriptures, and from the Koran. There is a great deal in common between it and Unitarianism. It is a pure theism.'"

I may add that during a visit to India some twelve years ago I was the guest of a native gentleman at Ajmere. He was a member of the Arya Somaj. I am not quite clear as to the distinction between the Brahmo Somaj and the Arya Somaj. My impression is that the former—the Brahmo—came to the front about seventy years ago under the auspices first of Ram Mohun Roy, and later of Keshub Chender Sen; while the Arya Somaj originated between thirty and forty years ago, the chief exponent of which was Guru Datta Vidyarthi. I examined the subject at some length at the time at Ajmere and at Lahore, and gathered that the whole point of the teaching is a return to the Vedic religion, and, if I may venture an opinion, seemed to me to be a purer system than that of the Brahmo Somaj.

Guru Datta Vidyarthi was a disciple of Swami Dayanand Saraswathi, who may be styled one of the most learned Sanscrit and Vedic scholars. These gentlemen call in question the interpretation of the Sanscrit of the Vedas by Max Müller, Monier Williams, and other European interpreters. They contend that European interpreters have failed to grasp the hidden philosophic import of Vedic language, and have, in consequence, ascribed to them—*i.e.*, to the Vedas—a mythical application, whereas they inculcate pure teaching, such as was held in early days under monotheistic principles, as probably held by Abraham before he was called out.

These native scholars say that the structure of the Vedas indicates that they were written at two distinct epochs—the mythological and the later philosophical—and that European scholars have not differentiated between these epochs, and have classed the whole of the Vedas as myths.

The earlier mythological period sets forth the ruder stages of civilization, when laws of Nature were little known and less understood, when the forces of Nature im-

pressed themselves on the human mind—the wind blowing, a stone falling, fire burning, and so forth. Thus *motion* came to be endowed with the faculty of *will*, and then followed first the personification and then the deification of the forces of Nature; but as the primitive, savage state passed on to a more intellectual epoch, the ideas of God and of religion evolved, and the monotheistic system of the later Vedas came to be adopted.

But yet, again, the Indian scholars say that, earlier still than the mythological period of the Vedas, there was a time when all the religions of the world were monotheistic, but degenerated into the eccentricities of the mythological period.

This is somewhat significant as indicating a belief that all religion originated from one divine source, but subsequently degenerated, and became modified by the varying environments of people scattered in different parts of the world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

At a meeting of the Association held on Monday, November 25, 1912, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, a paper was read by Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., entitled "Burma, the Third Burmese War, and Indian Mythology." General Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast, G.C.B., V.C., occupied the Chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell, C.V.O., D.S.O., Sir David Semple, M.D., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Lady Prendergast, General Miller, Lady A'Beckett, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Claude White, C.I.E., and Mrs. White, Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Roberts, Colonel R. C. Evanson, Mrs. Furnell, Mr. W. B. Brown, Mr. N. P. Hay, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. R. P. Laughton, Mrs. Layton Bennett, Mrs. Newport, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Cook, Miss Wall, Mr. F. H. Brown, Colonel and Mrs. Cargill, Mrs. Bean, Mr. A. Bruce Joy, R.H.A., Mrs. Canning, Mr. E. Young, Mrs. Rowley Hill, Mr. Frank Anson, Mrs. Laughton, The Misses Laughton, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Colonel A. T. Wintle, Mr. W. H. Copinger, Mr. R. Sewell, Mrs. E. Rosher, Mrs. and Miss Ogilvie, Miss Stewart, Mrs. Thomas Gillilan, Mr. and Mrs. H. Laughton, Mr. Woodthorpe, Mr. Dean, Mr. E. H. Nelson, Miss Haslam, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, L.C.S., Colonel H. Lowry, Miss Barker, Mr. J. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., Colonel Cockburn, Mr. A. J. Moses, L.L.B., Mr. Gibbs and the Misses Gibbs, Miss Laing, Mr. B. B. Roy, Miss Prendergast and Miss E. Prendergast, Mr. Ralph Prendergast, Mrs. Weymouth, Mrs. and Miss Mason, Mr. Cyril Bathurst, Colonel Kelso, Captain and Mrs. Purcell, Miss Joseph, Miss Rose, Mrs. Rowland Humphreys, Mrs. J. H. Harrison, Mrs. Creagh-Osborn, Miss Craigie, Mr. A. H. Courroux, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Captain and Mrs. A. Carpenter, D.S.O., Miss Applegarth, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. H. Marchant, Major and Mrs. Owen, Colonel and Miss Hewetson, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Miss Newill, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Colonel A. F. Laughton is an officer who has spent a great part of his life in India as an officer of the Indian Army, and he was present throughout the third campaign in Burma. He will give you an account of that war, and he will show you the photographs that he himself made, and, as he was also a keen student of Indian religions, he will say something about Eastern theology. I will now introduce Colonel Laughton.

THE LECTURER : Ladies and gentlemen, before commencing my lecture I must express my acknowledgment to Sir Harry for so kindly consenting to take the chair on this occasion. I have known Sir Harry for the last forty years or more, and, as he has already said, I was on his staff during the Burma campaign, which commenced in 1885.

(THE LECTURER then proceeded to deliver his lecture, which was received with considerable applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all very much obliged to Colonel Laughton for the excellent account he has given us of the Burmese War, in which he took so prominent a part, and also for his account of the religions of the East. On this latter part of the subject I will not touch, but I believe I am expected to say a few words about the war. I am afraid from what you have heard that you will think of the expedition as that of a fine water picnic, undertaken by the troops of the British and native armies. As you will have seen from the photographs, the Irrawady is a splendid river, on the banks of which, where it passes through level ground, the fields on either side are under very careful cultivation, and the hills are clothed with forests of great trees, and with groves of the feathery bamboo ; the hilltops capped with graceful pagodas, and suitable sites occupied in some places by modern redoubts, and in other places by the ruins of great castles. On the road to Mandalay the troops were able to observe the battlefields of former wars. They passed Donabew, where we met with reverses, and eventually gained a great victory, in which the great King Alompra was killed. Then there was Prome, where again the British received very severe punishment, and afterwards gained a great victory ; then we passed Mallow, where Sir Archibald Campbell won a great victory over the Burmans. All these things they saw, and they had an opportunity of observing the magnificence of ancient Pagan, where there are still hundreds of pagodas, some of them fit to be compared with the cathedrals and churches of England, both as regards beauty and size. The end of the act was, as you all know, the arrival of the force at Mandalay, the ejection of King Theebaw from the throne, and the annexation of a great slice of territory to the British Empire. These are satisfactory results, but you may be sure such results were not produced without a great deal of skill and exertion. I will not describe the preparations for the war. You saw on the screen the kind of ships that were engaged. Each group consisted of a central steamer, with a great barge lashed on each side, and it was not an easy thing, as you may imagine, to steer and conduct a ship of that kind five hundred miles against the stream of a great river. Then when you think that the flotilla consisted of five miles of these great ships as they were formed in line ahead, two cables between each group, it becomes a very serious matter. Then, again, the river is not an easy one to navigate by any means. As the flotilla ascended the survey ships had to "buoy out" the channels ; where the river was broad the bed was full of mud-banks and shifting sands ; where the river was narrow there were all sorts of queer currents and under-currents, which made it dangerous. There were many difficulties of that kind. Then,

after the force had advanced for two or three days across the frontier, there fell the most tremendous rains, and you saw from the build of the steamers and barges that the protection for the troops was very small indeed. Those who were sleeping on deck, as a great many had to do, must have been drenched day and night.

Then the next difficulty that was encountered was the outbreak of cholera that appeared immediately following the rains. All these things go to show that there was a great deal to be done to conquer the forces of Nature first of all. Now, without detailing more of these difficulties, I will give you some extracts, as well as I remember them, from the log of the expedition. This is November 25, 1912, to-day. On the afternoon of November 24, 1885, the flotilla approached Myingyan, where there was a great force of the enemy. The ships were so arranged that the artillery were able at once to get into action, and when we arrived in the afternoon pretty nearly every gun we had was brought to bear on the Burman force that occupied the intrenchments that had been made close to the river. We were able to see how the Burman force was disposed; a great portion of it was in the front line intrenched alongside the river, and the reserves were about two miles off on rising ground, the ground very well taken up, and the intrenchments and batteries were remarkably well constructed. Our guns hammered away at these till night fell, and you all know how suddenly darkness does come on in the East. Before the infantry could come up night had fallen, and "cease fire" had to be sounded. Orders were therefore written and issued for the battle on the morrow. On the morning of the 25th, when we looked round, the shore seemed wondrously silent, and when the troops disembarked it was found that the whole of the army had retired! It was impossible to follow them, of course, as we had no cavalry. The Burman, when the man with the knife is after him, runs quicker than any troops could follow him. There was therefore nothing to do but carry off the Burman guns and the stores which had been left, and to re-embark. On the following morning we commenced the advance towards Ava and Mandalay. The following day was foggy—it was real November weather—and there was great difficulty in going ahead. However, in the afternoon we managed to get some miles, when a dispatch came to say that the King was quite convinced that if an armistice was granted we could come to terms. The messenger was dismissed with the intimation that if the King would surrender himself, his Capital and his army, an armistice would be concluded and we would consider terms. I was told there was not much chance of such a proposition as that being accepted; the British Officer who knew most about Burma, who had been in Mandalay for several years and knew Theebaw, said: "It is no use sending that, the man who shows such a message as that to the King will not live five minutes; so you are not likely to get an answer to it." We were only eight or ten miles from Ava that evening, so the next thing was to issue orders for attack, and the orders were very carefully drawn out, showing the duties of each ship, battalion, and battery. The following morning, the 27th, there was a November fog again, which was very trying, because the messengers had been warned that there would be trouble

if they were not back before daylight. It was obvious if we could not move they could not, so we were obliged to forgive them for not being up to time. When the mists did clear off, about 8 or 9 o'clock, the flotilla commenced its progress: soon were visible on the left bank of the Irrawady the walls of Ava and the great pagodas, which you have seen on the screen, and it was evident that the place was occupied, and that the troops were moving about. Obviously Sagine, on the other side of the river, was also occupied. It was noted that there were batteries commanding the river just below a line of barges and steamers that had been sunk across the river to bar our passage—the river there was more than a mile broad, and it was very awkward having to overcome these very serious obstacles, but while orders to the Fleet were under consideration the royal golden barge with fifty rowers, showing a flag of truce, came alongside, and the envoy from Mandalay again appeared and produced a telegram saying, "I accede to the terms of the British Commander, and the Burmans are on no account to fire on the British." Well, this was a curious state of affairs! We were approaching Ava, which was strongly held, and there was this barrier. Could the telegram be true? Was it genuine? What was the reason of it? If not, what was the object of the Burmese? Did they wish to get us by subterfuge under the fire of the forts on both sides of the river so as to annihilate the force? Indecision would have been fatal, so I demanded that the guns and garrison of Ava and Sagine should at once be delivered up. The envoy demurred to this, and said that it was impossible that he could give any orders on that subject; such orders could only emanate from Mandalay. After a short discussion I agreed that he should communicate with Mandalay. There was a telegraph line, so he sent someone to telegraph for orders. The naval officers at once proceeded to examine the barrier. I took with me the envoy on board the *Palow*, the ship of our senior naval officer, and took station close to the barrier and right under the guns of Ava Fort, which is a redoubt outside the old town of Ava, and there we lay, British gunners standing to their guns, and everything ready for action. One pistol-shot would have commenced the firing on both sides, and there we lay whilst the scientific naval officers did their duty. We had to wait for hours, and it was very tedious. It is true the scenery was beautiful; in fact, I remember few more striking pictures than the hills behind Sagine, which were covered with beautiful verdure, and the pagodas and shrines within the crenellated walls of the city, and the Burman troops in their red uniform, and the generals moving about with their gold or coloured umbrellas carried behind them, while the powerful flotilla lay silent on the placid river. The tension was extreme, till, to my great joy, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon an officer, Captain Carpenter, R.N., who is present here to-night, reported that he had found or made a passage through the bar, and had buoyed it out, so that the fleet could go through. Immediately the signal was made for all the ships to take station and the troops to land. Just at this time the message arrived from Mandalay, and this message gave the news that the King acceded to the wishes of the English commander. (Hear, hear.) It was a trial of patience, but it was well worth while. The

ships proceeded to take station. The political officers were sent to the different forts—the Ava Fort, which had had its guns trained on us all day, and the Ava fortifications—that is, the walled town, and Sagine and Thabyadine. The guns of these works crossed fire just where we should have had to go if we had had to fight on board ship. The three great forts were built by an Italian engineer. However, the troops landed—and the garrison of Ava marched past and laid down their arms as they passed the Liverpool Regiment. The Burmans were allowed to go where they chose—it was no use taking them captive, because we could not feed them, nor guard them, so the best thing to do was to be kind and let them off. The excitement of the day was over. Still, we did not feel perfect faith in Oriental diplomatists. It was known that Mandalay was a great walled city; it was the capital, enclosed by an outer enclosure of great extent. There was the walled city itself—a beautiful enclosure. The walls were built of red sandstone, flanked by frequent towers, and were 40 feet high. Outside that was a moat or wet ditch about 6, 8, or 10 feet deep, and perhaps 40 yards in width. All these we knew of, and had drawings of them, and I was also well aware that there were at least 1,200 guns in Mandalay, so prospects did not seem to be quite clear. However, that is another story, so I must now ask the Secretary to call upon some other gentleman to continue the discussion.

Sir REGINALD HENNEL said: I have great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the Lecturer. I have known Sir Harry Prendergast for a great many years. We served together in the Abyssinian Expedition, 1867-68, and my last command in India was in 1868-89, a Baroda, when he was Political Resident. I also served in the second phase of this Burmese War, 1886. Sir Harry has spoken of it as being not quite the picnic it appeared to be from the photographs—it certainly was not. Mine is a very different picture. I only caught a glimpse of some of those beautiful pictures that Colonel Laughton has shown us to-night on my way up the Irrawady, for on arrival we were sent off in detachments all over the country. The war was a "Subalterns' War." Regiments were broken up into small bodies—often young officers commanding as many men as their colonels, and our duty was to scour about after these rascals of dacoits in the foulest jungle I was ever in. There is a tree there, for instance—it is impossible to believe it until one has actually experienced it—from which the stench was simply dreadful. I thought at first it was due to want of sanitation, but my Burmese interpreter said, "It is nothing of the sort, it is that tree." I said that was nonsense. He replied, "Come to it, and I will cut it down for you." He did, and the stench from that tree was sufficient to knock one down. Perhaps I had better explain this in a different way to the ladies present. They will know what the odour of an old clothes closet which has not been opened for many months is like. Well, that was the sort of atmosphere we had to live in for months together in this jungle of the Irrawady Valley. We had cholera badly, and every other complaint you can imagine was in evidence. But there's another, and perhaps lighter, side to the picture. The Burmese may well be called

"the Irishmen of the East." Surely they are a very jolly set of people. Often when we had gone in and relieved a village where they had previously been fighting like cats and dogs between themselves—for the situation there after Sir Harry had left was like interfering between a man and his wife—they would join together to hammer us. I have seen after one of these attacks villagers, who, though cut and mauled about in every part of their body, in two or three days' time would all, friends and foes, be taking part in a *Pwle*—one of those theatrical performances which Colonel Laughton has described. Half the audience would be wounded men. It was extraordinary. The Burmans living near the Irrawady are very fond of boat-racing. I once saw some of their races, and shall never forget it. The race was one of the funniest sights you could imagine. Several canoes started away, the crews all yelling and paddling for dear life. Whilst the winning boat's crew were cheering, the second boat ran into it and upset it. The third upset the second, and so on. No anger! Each canoe upset the one in front of it—it was all part of the game. There they all were floundering in the water, chaffing and as jolly as possible. Still, on the whole, I was glad indeed to get out of the country. (Laughter.) I feel it is a very great pleasure and a great honour to be able to move a vote of thanks both to Sir Harry for taking the chair, and to Colonel Laughton for the most interesting lecture he has given us. (Applause.)

MR. CHISHOLM said that it gave him much pleasure to second the vote of thanks accorded to the Lecturer for his able and interesting discourse. He thought the pictures they had seen were most beautiful. The architecture of Burma was full of quaintness, which seemed to suit the brilliant foliage of the country, and he would have liked, had time permitted, to trace that same architecture, which arose in China and the Straits, across the Bay of Bengal to Ceylon and up the west coast of India, till it became lost in the lithic monuments of the Jains; but, as Rudyard Kipling would say, "that is another story"—and a long one.

In a kind of way the Third Burmese War seemed to have a personal fascination for him, for he had had the honour of Sir Harry Prendergast's acquaintance for over fifty years, and when Soopya Lat came to Madras she sent him, through her medical attendant, a royal cheroot made with her own fingers! If such facts do not establish a connection with the war, what does? In seconding the vote of thanks, he thought he ought to call attention to the fact that the meeting was perfectly unique. Not only had they heard how a magnificent country as large as France had been added to the British dominions, but the gallant hero of the war, the gentleman who had accomplished this extraordinary campaign with a minimum of bloodshed, Sir Harry Prendergast, was here among them to tell them how it was done, with a modesty both delightful and refreshing.

He feared to touch on the religious aspect of the question, but thought it no harm to note how all religions seemed to have a three-in-one basis—all acknowledged a Creator and a creation. A creation could not exist without a Creator, and a Creator could not exist without a creation, and neither could exist in consciousness without the perception of the idea—the Mind that grasped the facts. This three-in-one principle was the base

of all religions, and was represented by a triangle probably long before men used words to express ideas, and it is almost sublime to find in the most ancient text of the Vedas a similar basis. He would conclude by again thanking the author of the paper for a most enjoyable lecture. The architecture of Burma was unique, and the scenery was not unlike the west coast of India glorified.

THE HON. SECRETARY (Dr. Pollen) said that on behalf of the Association he would like to be permitted to support the vote of thanks which had been proposed by Sir Reginald Hennell and seconded by Mr. Chisholm. He would put the question, because their Chairman was precluded from doing so, and on behalf of the Association he wished to tender to the lecturer their thanks for the excellent views he had shown to them, and for the interesting lecture they had heard. He too (Dr. Pollen) had had some slight connection with Burma, although he had never been there, but it fell to his lot to be, for some months, the gaoler of the late King when he was deported from Burma. His Majesty had been sent down to Runggyi, where Dr. Pollen happened to be Collector Magistrate for a time, and it was his duty to look after the King and take care of him. Theebaw showed no animosity towards his conquerors at all, and no resentment for the manner in which he had been treated. As a matter of fact, His Majesty told Dr. Pollen that he felt far happier attending to his own little garden, and looking after his wives and children, than he should ever have been, had he remained the monarch of all Burma. When Dr. Pollen first met him, Theebaw could not speak English, but when he last visited him, on one of his later trips to India, he found the King could speak that language fairly fluently, and was able to repeat in English what he had previously told him years ago in his own language by means of interpreters. He had also the pleasure (?) of knowing the Queen Supilat. He met her one day with her son, but he was afraid the mother and the son did not get on very well together. On one occasion, the Queen Mother sent for him, as she said she wanted to have a very important interview with him. That interview he remembered very clearly! The Queen sat on one little stool, and he sat on another, with their knees meeting, and then, pointing her fingers at him, she began, in very fluent Burmese, to pour forth her grievance, which was interpreted to him to the following effect: My son has a carriage in which he drives about whenever he likes; I, his mother, have no carriage, and if I want to go for a drive I have to ask my son for the loan of his carriage. Is that right for a lady who has been Queen of Burma? Dr. Pollen said he replied to the effect that he thought it was not, and that he would take steps to have the matter put right.

On behalf of the Association he had great pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks. This was put to the meeting, and carried with acclamation.

THE LECTURER in reply said: I thank you very much for your kind appreciation of what I have been able to do. When I embarked upon this business I did it with trepidation, fearing that I should be boring you, but you have expressed your kind appreciation, and I thank you very much.

(The proceedings then terminated.)

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA.

BY S. H. FREMANTLE, I.C.S.

THREE and a half years have elapsed since I read before this Association a paper on "the progress of Co-operative Credit Societies in Northern India and Burma," and the object of my present paper is to show what further progress has been made in the interval and to discuss recent developments of the co-operative system. But before speaking about what co-operation has already effected for India and what results may be expected in the immediate future, I wish to say something about co-operation in the wider sense and to indicate from European experience what vast potentialities it has for raising not only the economic standard of the people but their social and moral standards as well. All are aware of the extraordinary economic results which have followed the organization of co-operation in some parts of the continent of Europe. Germany, for instance, has in its agricultural districts some 24,000 societies, one for every 2,543 inhabitants. In that country and in parts of France and Northern Germany rural economy is completely organized on co-operative lines. What this means is that the peasantry combine for all purposes connected with agriculture—namely, for the provision of credit, for the supply of fodder, seeds, manure, and other agricultural necessities, for the joint ownership of machinery, for the sale of produce and live stock, for the working up

of their raw material in creameries, sugar-beet factories, distilleries, bacon-curing establishments, etc., for the mutual insurance of cattle from accident and disease, and of crops from hail, for the improvement of land by drainage and irrigation, for the maintenance of stallions, bulls, and rams for breeding purposes, and for the supply of water, and even electricity and telephones. There are also cow-testing societies which employ men to go round the farms and record the milk given by individual cows, and others, known as control societies, whose employees keep the farmers' records of the money returns from each kind of crop and advise as to rotation and seeds.

Thus rural economy is organized on a co-operative basis, and not only rural economy but rural social life also. For the co-operative societies from their profits and resources support many kinds of social institutions such as village halls and libraries, village nurses, and sick and provident funds. In Sir H. Plunkett's words, co-operation means for the peasant, better farming, better business, better living : better farming, because more capital will be applied to the land, better seeds, manures, implements, and live stock will be obtained, and expert advice will be available ; better business, because the small man by combining with others gains all the advantages of a wholesale dealer ; better living, because economic prosperity and combination for business purposes bring in their train a well-ordered social and intellectual life. The people learn to think for themselves. Education and sanitation are encouraged and a stimulus is given to the reform of social customs. The society induces the growth of a corporate life, and the mere fact that in any village a committee exists representative of all classes of the agricultural community is of great potential value to any Government and to any country.

Now, to turn to India, it is obvious that these manifold activities imply a wide and far-reaching organization. First

there is the small credit society in the village, easy and simple to manage : then other more complex societies, such as those for mutual insurance and purchase of agricultural necessities, which still, however, work in the area of the village. Then there is the federation into unions and central banks and central societies for purchase and sale. And, lastly, there are the wholesale operations of these central institutions by which they bring the co-operative movement into touch with the outside world. The control of an organization of this nature is obviously not an easy matter, and the question arises whether there is any prospect that sufficient managing ability will be available in agricultural districts in India : peasants of independent and reliable character to manage their own business in the villages ; men of public spirit and education at local centres to supervise the village societies and manage the affairs of a federation ; and men of large business capacity and political insight at headquarters to direct the movement as a whole and to control its relations with the outside world. Now the village is the unit of rural society. It is generally well defined, and to a considerable extent self-contained. The village headman already has duties and responsibilities, and undertakes unpaid work for his community in consideration of the prestige and privileges which this position affords him, and we find very few villages where, if the advantages of the system of co-operative credit are properly explained beforehand, and sufficient trouble is taken to find the best men, a reliable and influential *panchayet* cannot be obtained. These leading men may not all be educated from a narrow literary point of view, but it cannot be said that their minds are uncultivated. They have a deep knowledge of things agricultural, they are used to the conduct of business and to the exercise of authority in their own villages, and they know how to comport themselves with independence, dignity, and self-control. As Sir F. Nicholson says, "they compare well in these respects with the peasantry of any European country." And experience has already shown us that even

where education has made the least advance suitable men after proper instruction and under proper supervision can be found to manage the affairs of their own village. But village societies need training in business methods, and their *panchayets* frequently require outside support and sometimes outside control. And they must, to get the full benefit of co-operation, combine into unions, federations, and other central institutions.

It is in this wider sphere that our chief difficulties arise. Cultivators are, as I have said, keenly interested in the affairs of their own village, and are generally competent to manage them, but they are not qualified to control institutions operating over a large area. Here we must have resource to another section of the people. Can we then in our small towns and country districts find men of education, leisure, and public spirit to supervise the village societies, and administer the larger institutions? Here salaried officials are no doubt necessary to inspect on the spot, and to train the village societies, and for the current work of administration, but supervision and control by men of the class to which I have referred are needed, and unless such men can be found there is little chance of that complete organization of rural life and industry on a co-operative basis which is the ideal I have set before you. A number of such men have, indeed, put their hands to the work. Sometimes they are busy professional men who devote their scanty leisure to the common good, sometimes retired officials who are accustomed to administration, and are, therefore, particularly efficient as helpers; sometimes, too, enlightened landowners whose local influence and practical acquaintance with agriculture are of great assistance to the cause. All honour to them! But, in some districts where central institutions have been formed, very little interest is shown by the landholding and professional classes, and the only real control exercised over the salaried officials is that of the registrar and his staff. The drawbacks of this system are evident. First, the movement will become too

official and too stereotyped; and, secondly, its development will be hampered because of the inability of the registrar to supervise efficiently more than a certain number of societies. For its healthy growth the co-operation of men of all classes is required, and especially that of the educated community, who by this means can show themselves to be real leaders of the people. As Smiles says in his "Self-Help": "The highest patriotism and philanthropy consist not so much in altering laws and modifying institutions as in helping and stimulating men to devote and improve themselves by their own free and independent individual action." Now this is an excellent description of the aims of co-operation, and one can imagine what an enthusiastic supporter of the movement Smiles would have been, had it been known in his day. For self-help is the very keynote of co-operation, and, as Mr. Roosevelt said: "The only true way of helping a man is to help him to help himself."

I now turn to the second portion of my subject, and wish to tell you something of our co-operative record up to date, and of its future prospects.

As you are no doubt aware, for each province of British India, except the North West Frontier and Baluchistan, a registrar of co-operative credit societies has been appointed, and, except in Ajmere-Merwara, he is a full-time officer. He is generally a covenanted civilian, and has an assistant belonging to the provincial service. He has also a staff of inspectors or auditors for organization, inspection, and audit. The combined statements published by the Government of India show that at the end of the year 1910-11 there were in existence 5,432 societies, of which 4,957 were rural societies. There were 314,101 members, and the working capital was 206½ lakhs. Considering that the movement is still only eight years old, these are very remarkable figures. Taking the average number of members of a household at five, they indicate that 1,500,000 of the population of India are assisted by one or other form of co-operation. And the movement is growing fast, for the

provincial reports of the present year, some of which I have had the advantage of seeing, indicate that the increase for the year will be nearly 50 per cent. And this rate of increase is likely to be maintained for some time, since the institution of new centres of organization and control is rapidly spreading the knowledge of the system over wider and wider areas, and facilitating the formation of new co-operative societies.

With a movement already so large and so rapidly growing and fraught with such far-reaching possibilities for the economic, moral, and social elevation of agricultural India, it is obviously of the first importance that development should be on the soundest lines. Co-operation has become a science, and, besides the experience which we have acquired in India, we have that of many European countries in different stages of development to guide us. There are some principles inherent in all true co-operative systems which are of universal application, and cannot in spite of well-known differences in economic conditions be safely ignored. I wish therefore to call attention to those principles, and to the dangers to which neglect of them is likely to lead.

The first principle is that the movement should be self-supporting and self-reliant, and should not depend unduly on Government or on any central institution not built up by itself, whether subsidized by Government or not. The danger of officialism I have already mentioned. There is also, of course, the opposite danger. In India's present stage of development the movement cannot progress without official assistance and encouragement, and some measure of official control. These, however, should be provided by the registrars and their trained staff, and it is only in exceptional cases and in the more backward parts of the country that local officials, busy men with no special training for the work, should be encouraged to take active steps in the organization and inspection of societies, though at the head of non-official institutions for controlling and financing the societies the assistance of district officers is

most useful. Hence registrars, though themselves officials, make every effort to guide and control the movement through the agency of non-officials, whose interests lie in the locality where the work is being carried on, and they ask for as little financial assistance as possible from Government. The proportion of funds provided by the State is only 4 per cent. of the whole, and shows a decided tendency to decrease. In fact, it has been found in India as elsewhere that a movement sound in itself has no difficulty in attracting capital, and, except in two provinces, Government loans have practically stopped. But Bombay and Eastern Bengal still rely greatly on State aid, and this fact, indicating as it does that the societies have not as yet succeeded in gaining the confidence of investors, points to the necessity for a cautious policy of advance. In Bombay, too, a large capitalist bank has been formed by the assistance of State guarantees to loan money to the societies. The loans are made on the advice of the registrar, and already amount to over 20 lakhs of rupees. It would have been more in accordance with co-operative principles if central banks had been built up in the districts by the local co-operative societies themselves, with the assistance of local capitalists, as has been done in other provinces. Such central banks would have first-hand knowledge of the requirements of local societies, and could arrange to supervise them as well as finance them. The facilities given in obtaining funds from outside the movement tend to obscure the need for combination and federation among the societies themselves, and so interfere with the complete development of a co-operative organization. Such facilities also serve to obviate the necessity which would otherwise exist of attracting local capital to the movement. But the habit of investing savings needs to be encouraged, and the sense of responsibility which the engagement of local capital entails is the best guarantee for sound business management.

A second principle is that a real demand should exist for a society before it is actually formed. By the existence of a real demand I mean that the people in whose interests

a society is organized appreciate the advantages it will bring and the conditions which alone will make it a success. These conditions are punctuality of repayment, an understanding, faithfully carried out, to declare existing debts and to borrow in future from no outside source, and the employment of loans solely for the purposes for which they are granted. If these conditions are impressed on the people beforehand, so that they are fully understood and accepted, success will be practically certain. On the other hand, experience shows that, if loans have once been given out without prior instruction in and acceptance of these conditions, it is almost impossible to get them attended to later, and failure is the result. It follows that every one in sympathy with the movement is not qualified to organize a society. The organizer should be a man acquainted with the principles and practice of co-operative banking, and with the practical difficulties which arise in organization. The rate of advance thus depends on the available supply of trained organizers, and to meet this demand a large number of non-officials sent by central banks and co-operative unions, by courts of wards and by *zeminfars*, anxious for the welfare of their tenantry, have been trained by the registrars.

A third principle which I should like to mention is this, that, in a co-operative institution, capital should be the servant and not the master. It should be entitled only to a fixed return, not to extra claims of any kind, whether they are called dividends or profits or bonuses. All extra profits should go to the users of the society. Thus in a credit society, after due provision has been made for reserve, profits should go to reduction of interest to the borrowers. In a distributive society, such as a co-operative store, they should go to the customers; and in a productive society, such as a creamery, to the suppliers of the raw material. In each case capital is entitled only to a fixed return, which will, of course, vary in different countries according to the rates of interest current therein. Experience shows that speculative businesses are unsuitable for

organization on co-operative lines. All such should be left to private enterprise. An ample field will still remain for co-operative institutions, and, as the capital engaged in them incurs no risk, it is obviously entitled only to a fair and fixed return. On these terms, as experience again shows, funds are always available from banks and private depositors who are in search of safe investments. There is no need to attract capital which looks for large returns, and we want to hear no more of dividends of 15, 18, and even 20 per cent., such as have been recently paid in Eastern Bengal. This means the introduction of a dividend-hunting element, and leads to a conflict of interests between the shareholders and the users of a society, whereas it is the latter's interests alone which should receive consideration.

I have not left myself very much time in which to discuss recent developments of the co-operative movement. It has not yet reached its teens, and the efforts of the registrar are, in a great part, directed to the co-operative education of the institutions under their charge. For it is very important that the true aims and ideals of co-operation should receive early recognition in order that the movement may be given every chance of development on the soundest possible lines.

On the first introduction of co-operation to every country difficulties have arisen in connection with finance, and India has been no exception to the rule. The question has been settled in Bombay by the establishment of Sir V. Thackersey's bank, to which I have already alluded. Madras has also a large capitalist bank, formed, however, without any guarantee from Government. In the Central Provinces the difficulty has been solved by the organization, during the present year, of a Provincial Co-operative Bank. The required capital, five lakhs, was at once subscribed by the leading gentlemen of the province, and the Allahabad Bank has agreed to provide further funds at 6 per cent. on condition that the Provincial Bank does not take deposits. This provincial bank will lend money to the central banks

out in the district at 7 per cent., and will also entertain an inspecting agency to control the latter. It is not quite clear whether the provincial bank is organized on co-operative lines so that the central banks financed by it are encouraged to become shareholders, and that the interests of borrowing banks are safeguarded against those of capitalists. If so there can be little fault to find with an organization consisting of a provincial bank which finances and controls the central banks, and of central banks which, in their turn, finance and control the rural societies. The only danger to be guarded against is that the central banks will find it so easy to get money from the provincial bank that they will make no great effort to attract deposits, and so make use of local savings for local development.

In the Punjab, United Provinces, and Bengal, no attempt has yet been made to form a Provincial Central Bank. In the Punjab, indeed, the yeoman farmers, from which class most of the members are drawn, are so prosperous that they themselves supply two-thirds of the capital used by the societies, and the central banks and unions which provide the remainder have no difficulty in raising what they require from local capitalists or from the joint-stock banks. In the United Provinces the district banks, which provide the largest proportion of the funds of rural societies, are supplied chiefly by the deposits of local capitalists, but they nearly all have cash credit accounts with one or other of the joint-stock banks. In Western Bengal the capital is found chiefly by large zemindars and other capitalists, and is furnished to the rural societies either direct or through unions formed for this purpose. In Eastern Bengal urban societies supply a large portion of the required funds.

Rural societies in Bengal and Behar, in Bombay and the Central Provinces, are usually organized on pure Raiffeisen lines. In the Punjab, United Provinces, and Burma a new type of society has sprung up which, though it retains the main principles of the Raiffeisen system—*i.e.*, the unlimited liability, the restriction of area, the issue of loans

for a definite time and for a definite purpose, and the unpaid services of officers to their societies—yet requires each member to subscribe a share of a substantial amount. Each member must take up one share, and may take up more. The share is paid by half-yearly instalments spread over ten or twelve years, and varies in amount from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200, according to the circumstances of the society. Thus on each share a six-monthly instalment has to be paid, varying from 8 annas to Rs. 10. Shares are not entitled to dividend till the ten or twelve years have elapsed, and they are fully paid up. In the Punjab and Burma the share capital is withdrawable at the end of this period, but the profit, after provision has been made for reserve, is to be divided among the members in proportion to their shares, and credited to them as non-withdrawable shares on which dividend will be paid. In the United Provinces the shares are not withdrawable at all, and the dividend is by the bye-laws limited to 10 per cent. It is necessary in this type of society to keep the amount of the half-yearly payment down to such a sum as any person otherwise eligible can afford to pay, and if this is done the type seems to me to be better suited to Indian conditions than the pure Raiffeisen type, which has no or merely nominal shares. It certainly has the following advantages: First, the mere fact that the members are required to make some small sacrifice in order to join the society is a good guarantee that they have some appreciation of the advantages to be derived from it, and that they will therefore adhere to the conditions necessary to make it a success. Secondly, the possession by each member of a stake in the society proportionate to his status gives him a substantial and positive interest in it, in addition to the somewhat shadowy and negative interest which his unlimited liability for its debts implies. Thirdly, the practice of saving, enforced over a period of years, should go far to encourage the habit of investment, and teach the uses of capital.

Perhaps I may, finally, be allowed to call attention to

the small societies of craftsmen, artisans, and small tradesmen which have been formed in considerable numbers in my own province, the United Provinces. They have, so far as I know, no prototype, though in some towns in Italy some societies are composed only of persons following the same trade or occupation. But those are on a larger scale. Our societies are small associations of men of the same or a similar trade, and the members are all residents of the same village or quarter of the town. Among those who have formed societies are weavers of cotton, silk, and wool, fruit and vegetable sellers, carpenters, boatmen, ekka-drivers, and many others. These societies have unlimited liability, and are generally of the same type as the agricultural societies mentioned above, though in non-seasonal trades the share is paid up by monthly instead of six-monthly instalments. In many weavers' societies the amount of the instalment is only one anna monthly, and the value of a share Rs. 9—an amount which it will take twelve years to pay up in full. The conditions of hand-loom weaving have for years past received much attention, and it is now generally held that there are at least some branches of the industry which—if they can escape from the economic bondage under which they suffer from the buyers of finished goods and the suppliers of raw material, and if they can be induced to adopt improved methods, such as the use of the fly-shuttle and of special appliances for setting up the work—have every chance of competing successfully with power looms. It is, therefore, the object of the co-operative organization not only to provide the required capital, and to organize the supply of yarn and the marketing of finished goods, but also to encourage the adoption of the improved methods mentioned above. Already considerable success has been attained. We have found the weavers somewhat slow to make the first move, but ready enough to follow the example of their neighbours, and they are remarkably punctual in meeting their engagements. In one small town alone (Tanda, in the Fyzabad District) there are

twenty societies, with 541 weaver members, and a central bank for finance and organization, while another small town (Sandila, in the Hardoi District) has combined with its weavers' credit society a yarn store, which sold last year yarn to the value of Rs. 46,000, and paid a bonus of two pies in the rupee on purchases.

Such are some of the developments of which I wished to speak, and they may I think be regarded as symbolical of the great future which lies before the movement. India is indeed for co-operation a land of promise. I saw recently in the *Irish Homestead*, a weekly paper full of illuminating ideas and inspiring ideals, a striking analogy between irrigation and co-operation, those two forces on which the prosperity of rural India so largely depend, and I will close my paper by quoting from it.

"Co-operation may be called industrial irrigation, the opening of channels, tunnels, pipes, and viaducts leading from the rich centres of capital and industry to the economic wastes and deserts. If we examine any modern country we will find in some places a superabundance of capital, and elsewhere whole dreary districts where industry languishes because of the lack of the fertilising influence of cheap money. The banks are overloaded with deposits on which they give a very small return to the depositor. The cities are filled with factories which might be more productive if the countryside could find a way of utilizing the labours of mechanical engineers and inventors. The country is thirsty for lack of gold. It is backward because the city is the repository of science of knowledge as well as of wealth. On the one side we have a superfluity of capital, science, and mechanical skill. On the other side, an economic desert where, because these things are sparse, there is little life or progress. Agricultural organization does for the economic desert what the adventurous engineer does for the dry desert in America or Africa. It creates the viaducts along which flow capital, science, and mechanical skill to the country districts."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

At a meeting of the Association held on Monday, December 16, 1912, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, a paper was read entitled "Co-operation in India," by Mr. S. H. Fremantle, I.C.S. Mr. Henry W. Wolf (late Chairman of the International Co-operative Alliance) occupied the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowm-aggree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund and Lady Fremantle, Sir James McCrone Douie, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Al. S. Roberts, Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Wintle, Mr. F. C. Carr-Gomm, Mr. F. E. C. Carr, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Wall, Mr. G. W. Eves, the Misses Marsh, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. D. R. Polley, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mrs. White, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. F. Grubb, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. Sada Ram Thind, Mr. D. S. Bendra, Mr. C. Abdul Latif, Mr. H. M. Kisch, C.S.I., Mrs. Barker, Miss F. Barker, Mr. and Mrs. Christie, Colonel Lowry, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Mr. C. S. Campbell, C.S.I., Mrs. Rowland Humphreys, Mr. G. Hugent Harris, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Miss M. F. Johnaton, Mr. D. E. Pye-Smith, Miss Massey, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss Corner, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I feel as if I ought to apologize to you for occupying the chair. I am not an Anglo-Indian, and the reason why the compliment has been paid me of asking me to preside while my friend Mr. Fremantle reads his paper on "Co-operation in India," I presume, is that I have been in touch with that movement from the beginning. It was about eighteen years ago that I first began confabulating with the late Sir Charles Bernard, and since then both the Government and the Registrars have been kind enough to consult me and ask my advice on difficult points, and generally to allow me to remain in touch with them, for which I am very grateful. My function at present is to introduce to you Mr. Fremantle, who is going to read a paper. (Hear, hear.) The movement in India owes a very great deal to the tact and judgment and practical application of the Registrars who have been appointed, and among those Registrars I feel that I could appoint no one to a higher place

than Mr. Fremantle, who has shown probably greatest resource when operating upon quite new ground. The Registrars had to feel their way in adapting an old system to new circumstances. In doing this Mr. Fremantle has acted most happily, and some of the movements he has made have proved distinctly successful. I now have pleasure in calling upon him.

The paper was then read, which was received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me—your applause proves that—that we have listened to an admirable paper from Mr. Fremantle, composed of very practical common sense, and condensing a good deal of matter into a very small compass. With the general tenor of the paper I am thoroughly in agreement, but on two points I should like to make reservations: I do not like the compulsory deposits, and I am very sorry to see some of the provincial Governments of India making a point of pressing such on the banks. Their reason for doing this is that the Government advances are made dependent upon the same amount that is asked for from the Government being raised locally. Now, people who join a bank do so, not because they have an overplus of money which they do not know how to employ, but because they *want* money. If you insist upon a man who wants to borrow 20 rupees first depositing 5, that will, in the best case, mean that instead of 20 he will afterwards borrow 25, and it may mean that he will have to go to a mahajan and borrow his qualifying 5 rupees at an exorbitant rate of interest. What we want is, first of all, to get *other* people's money into the bank. The time will come when members will themselves have laid by money; when out of the cheap loans that they have got from the bank they will have raised some sort of capital that they will want to invest. But I do not think that such process ought to be forced. The other point relates to shares—viz., the members of banks with unlimited liability taking up substantial shares. Of course, shares are all to the good when you have them; and the more capital you have to dispose of, the more freely can you act. But my fear is—and we have had examples of that in Europe—that where you base your credit both upon shares and upon unlimited liability, the dangers attaching to unlimited liability will not be fully realized, and people may work rashly without appreciating the heavy liability on all their possessions which lurks behind the shares. Unlimited liability was resorted to in the first instance because the people concerned were too poor to take up shares; their unlimited liability, so it was argued, would make the credit secure, because it would make them strain every nerve to see that things were kept safe. That has proved correct in practice. But, on the other hand, we find—I am thinking of some such cases that have happened in Belgium—that where there was unlimited liability in addition to shares, the danger was not realized. However, shares in themselves are an advantage, and it rests with the people themselves to say whether they will have shares coupled with unlimited liability or not. Only they should make sure that they do not deal recklessly with that liability.

Generally speaking, we may certainly say that the movement of which Mr. Fremantle has given us a sketch has been a magnificent, and, indeed,

a unique success. Sir William Wedderburn, whom I see present here, will bear me out in saying that during the twenty years or so that he and I have talked about its necessity and compared notes upon what ought to be done, we could not really have looked forward to quite so much. It may be objected that, large as the number of societies is, and also the number of members, the amount raised must, if measured by European standards, appear small. But, then, "little things are great to little men," as Oliver Goldsmith said, and the rupee goes very much farther in India than it does here. You need only look at the Registrars' Reports to see what an immense amount of good has been achieved by small advances. In truth, co-operation has raised a fresh horizon for the rayāts, who formerly groaned under debts, which they thought they would never throw off, carrying them from the cradle to the grave, and leaving them as an heirloom to their children. Now they find that they can throw them off, thanks to the banks and their cheap interest, in four, five, or six years—at any rate in a very limited time, and after that they can get firm ground under their feet.

Another objection might be raised, that in applying co-operation you have not got farther than credit. There is, indeed, very little besides. Credit is, however, in India the most urgently required form of co-operation. Co-operative production is the most difficult problem you can have to deal with. We have on this ground a hundred or more failures than we have successes in Europe, and we shall probably have to toil through similar experiences in India. Even distribution is in India not quite easy. Credit has there developed so rapidly, evidently because it represents the form of co-operation most wanted there. In this country we began with distribution. In Germany, which is the premier country in respect of agricultural co-operation—the number of societies is now over 26,000—there was no agricultural co-operation to speak of until credit came into the field. But as soon as co-operation banks came on the scene, agricultural co-operation spread out rapidly. Before that, I think I am safe in saying, there were not more than twenty-four struggling purchase societies. But once there were banks to provide money, agricultural co-operation developed on a tremendous scale; and it is co-operation which has made German agriculture the admiration of the world. Fifty years ago, before there was co-operation, German agriculture was miles behind ours. German farmers looked up to us as their model. Now they will not look at us. Apart from breeding, they consider that they are ever so much in advance of us. And it is quite true that they have got more variety, more power of adaptation to different circumstances, and more business knack of making money out of the land.

In my opinion, Mr. Fremantle was perfectly right in laying so much stress upon co-operation as a self-help movement. The Government in India have shown a very wide discretion in narrowly limiting State aid. I may take some credit for this, because Lord Curzon explicitly quoted me when giving the Royal consent to the Bill of 1904, and explained that it had not been "niggardliness" which had decided them not to give more freely, but regard for my opinion, because I had said that State help spoils the character of co-operation. I have been equally successful, not in this

country, unfortunately, but in the United States, where there is a great move now in progress in favour of co-operative credit, and where, once more, I have been quoted by name in the same connection. A Special Commission has been appointed, and President Taft has addressed a circular to the Governors of the States (because the matter is to be dealt with by State legislation) to consider at a meeting (which has since been held on the 7th of this month) measures to be taken in concert among the States for introducing co-operative credit. President Taft lays it down that what is wanted is a co-operation of the farmers, by the farmers, and for the farmers. In India that policy has proved a complete success, because it has put the people upon their mettle; it has brought out money that would never have come forward otherwise. It is really wonderful how all those obstacles that had been predicted at first have proved to be purely mythical. It was said that caste would be in the way of any success, but the very little obstacle that it has really proved to be is being gradually overcome. It was said there would not be members able to keep the accounts; but that likewise has proved an exaggeration. It was said—Mr. Fremantle's predecessor made a point of this to me in the United Provinces—it would be impossible to get deposits from the people; now they had got a fair amount of deposits coming in. Personally I hold fast by the idea that co-operation, if it is not based upon self-help, cannot possibly be a success. It will be a parasite plant; it will be a "lean-to" instead of an independent house. No doubt circumstances were in favour of the spread of co-operation. The need was very much felt. I remember when eighteen years ago I explained the system to the late Sir Arthur Cotton, who was then over ninety years of age, and who knew India as well as anyone, he said: "Whatever expectations you have formed, multiply them by twenty, and you will still find them exceeded." It looks as if that prediction were going to be fulfilled. There is just one other point that I ought to call attention to. I have spoken of the tact and judgment shown by the Registrars; but if you consider their small number and the wide area, peopled by 300 millions of people, I think you will still better appreciate their work, and know how to value the good results of that work. I do not believe there are more than eleven of them now; they began, I think, with seven. They have got small staffs, indeed. But look at the tremendous mass of people among whom they have had to do their work! The Indian people themselves have shown great aptitude, so that the seed fell upon adapted ground. The Hindoos are keen reckoners, and the Mohammedans have a great sense of collectivism, so that among both races co-operation has been quickly appreciated and understood. No doubt there are the more backward aboriginal races; but on this ground, more particularly, the volunteer workers, to whom the lecturer has paid well-deserved praise, have come in very helpfully. I have, among other evidences to this, received many letters from missionaries who have occupied themselves with the subject; I have received them from all quarters. The missionaries work wholly among the backward races. But elsewhere, also, there are happily many volunteer workers coming forward, and I think the more they are en-

couraged the better will the movement thrive. The Registrars are tightly trying to keep co-operation away from Government influences, or what they call "officialization," and they are trying to put the people upon their own responsibility. On those lines, I think, co-operation is likely to grow and prosper. Mr. Gladstone has laid down that, as long as we do the best that we can for the natives of India, we have a good right to be there as masters. I think in starting the co-operative movement in India we have rendered a great service, and a service for which for a considerable time to come the people will be grateful to those who moved in the matter. Therefore I look forward to the further development of co-operation, for which there are magnificent opportunities in India, with considerable confidence and hope. (Applause.)

MR. CAMPBELL said that he had only a few thoughts that had occurred to him whilst the paper was being read, but he had not come prepared to speak on the subject. He had had some experience in the work in India, but he felt that they were only at present in an experimental stage, and they ought not to forget that. In carrying on the work it was always one of his main points to invite criticism of all sorts; if it was well directed, it was useful; and if it was ill directed, it did not matter. Another thing he always tried to do was to educate those concerned in the matter, and make them think for themselves, and also to make them work for themselves—the latter part being sometimes a difficulty. Whilst being spoken to on the subject the villager generally sat and looked at you, listening carefully; but that, as a rule, was as far as his co-operation would go. They were, however, keenly interested in the work in the villages; he did not know if Mr. Wolff knew about it, but when he left India only a short time ago, they were busily engaged in translating his book. Referring again to criticism, personally he considered it most necessary to have criticism. He was quite sure he often made remarks and did things that were not approved of, and he was glad to be told of them; he liked criticism, but in giving criticism they should try to get hold of certain points on which they could agree as fixed principles. They ought, in dealing with this question, to remember that local circumstances may be such as they had never had experience of before, but they should be in a position to give them these fixed principles as a guide. Then, after education, they needed practical experience. They had recently formed a body of honorary organizers in India, and that was what they wanted—real workers. They held conferences, and they had a yearly Provincial Conference, at which the Governor kindly consented to preside, while other officials attended. Of course, there were more Indian representatives and workers present than there were officials, and one of the highest officials afterwards said to him that he had never been at a conference where the people seemed to know so much about their subject. He therefore felt that something had been done; someone, at any rate, had been educated to some extent in the work of co-operation, and there were those who were willing to give their time and trouble to spreading what they felt to be a good cause. There were tangible results even in figures, and there were obvious results in the education of the actual worker. (Hear, hear.)

SIR W. WEDDERBURN said that he had been much interested to hear what Mr. Fremantle had told them regarding the progress of credit co-operation in India, and he appreciated the spirit in which the lecturer had dealt with the subject; especially he agreed with what he had said regarding the village communities, and the ability of the villagers to manage village affairs. Organization in India should always begin with the village. In building up an edifice we should begin with the foundations, not with the roof. The Chairman had mentioned that they had worked together on this project eighteen years ago, but his own connection with the movement dated thirty years back, when he and his friends in the Bombay Presidency matured a scheme of agricultural banks, which was approved by the Government of Lord Ripon. In preparing that scheme they began with the villagers, bringing together the cultivators and the money-lenders in a friendly way, by showing them that a settlement of their differences would benefit all parties. The scheme embraced the whole Taluka of Purandhar in the Poona collectorate, and for the management of the proposed Taluka Bank they had the support of pensioned officials, revenue and judicial, and of the local landholders and bankers. The difficulty was the great indebtedness and insolvency of the cultivators, and they felt that until the old debts were settled, lending money was like putting materials into a quicksand. They therefore placed the case before the Finance Minister, Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), showing him that for a comparatively small sum in hard cash the inflated debts, which were practically irrecoverable, might be bought up. Accordingly, he agreed to advance 6½ lakhs of rupees, to be made a first charge on the land. The end of the scheme was a tragic one. It was sent up to the India Office in May, 1884, recommended by a unanimous despatch of the Government of India. There was (said Sir William) little use in raking up old grievances, but he might mention that not only did the India Office kill the scheme, but when afterwards they saw the error of their ways, and revived the co-operative movement, they did not call in the aid of the original promoters, or, indeed, make the slightest reference to the work previously done. However, he wished to say that he did not at all care who got the credit, provided only that the work was brought to a happy termination. He would like to ask Mr. Fremantle for information on two practical points: How did they now deal with the old debts of the cultivators? and what was the procedure of the co-operative societies in collecting instalments from defaulters? He would only say in conclusion that the organization of agricultural credit held a first place among measures for the welfare of India. What was needed was capital to provide wells and manure. With a rich soil, an unfailing sun, and abundant labour, skilled and cheap, India should be the garden of the world.

SIR JAMES DOUIE said that it had been his fate or fortune to have had a considerable amount to do with measures recently adopted in the Panjab for the benefit of the rural classes. He meant, of course, the colonization made possible by the construction of new canals, the restrictions put on the alienation of land, and co-operative credit societies or rural banks

The most important of all, he had no hesitation in saying, was co-operation. (Hear, hear.) Colonization had been a great success. But with unlimited supplies of cheap food and an enormous demand for labour, population would increase very rapidly, and the evils from which colonization had freed the congested districts might possibly be reproduced in the colony areas. We must hope that before that time came a rise in the standard of living would prevent the evil arising to its old extent. Colony administrators had also sometimes had to remind themselves with some bitterness of the remark of the Jewish prophet about Jeshurun. That was the *amari aliquid*. When they considered the restrictions on land alienation, he thought no one who had watched that legislation could help feeling that it was required, and that it had been a magnificent success. They were told, when the legislation was introduced, that farming depended upon credit, and that, if they cut at the root of credit by stopping the alienation of land, they would reduce the farmer to greater straits. Their answer was that, if credit was a good thing, inflated credit was a very bad thing. They did not propose to destroy credit, but only to restrict it. The main object in restricting land alienation was to stanch the patient's wounds; they wanted to give him something that would not only stop the process of deterioration, but would restore him gradually to perfect health. That was where co-operation had come in. Perhaps they would like to see the last Panjab figures; they were really remarkable. These were the figures for 1911-12, as contrasted with 1910-11: Rural societies, 1,074; increased to 1727. Number of members increased from 59,500 to 89,750. The amount of capital increased from 29,50,000 rupees to 56,31,000 rupees. That wonderful progress had taken place in face of the vehement objections on the part of Government and the Financial Commissioner to be cautious and go slow. There was room for a great development. Half of the societies and three-fifths of the capital had been supplied by the three central districts; therefore it would be seen that in the other twenty-one districts the movement was only in its infancy. It would not be surprising if in time—in ten, fifteen, or twenty years—there should be a capital, not of 56,00,000 rupees, but of 500,00,000 rupees.

MR. DIVAN SINGH BENDRA said the subject was an important one, and one of those schemes designed to assist the people to get out of the clutches of the money-lender. As such it had been a great success. They all wanted to be agriculturalists as a result. The scheme had been of great benefit, both to the agriculturalist and the money-lender as well. To the agriculturalist it was beneficial because *prima facie* it secured him loans at little interest. In another way also it had been a great success: it was no uncommon thing that the throats of the money-lenders had been cut whilst asleep by agriculturalists who were in debt. Now the system had proved successful, the people had a place where they could safely put their money, although at smaller interest, but still there was a certain interest. There was then no need to be afraid of having their throats cut, and no doubt hundreds of money-lenders had been killed under such circumstances. Previously they had had to go to law to get their money;

now, through the co-operative societies, they could get their money back with greater certainty.

LORD REAY said that he had purposely asked Sir William Wedderburn to speak before him, because he was well aware that Sir William had a legitimate grievance, as the Bombay Government were not at the time able to give effect to his great scheme of establishing agricultural banks. The India Office, formerly not favourable, had since changed its mind. As to Mr. Campbell's remarks on the education required to grasp co-operation, he might, perhaps, tell them how he had been educated.* At one time he was a member of a co-operative society for the sale of fruit, which met with strong opposition from dealers, and after a disastrous career was forced to go into liquidation, and he was sorry to say that liquidation had taken—if he remembered aright—over ten years, and he was still in trepidation, after payment of a recent instalment, that he had not heard the last of it. That was one experience. Another was with co-operative society for supplying the people of a village with certain materials at cheap rates. The villagers thought they could not do better than appoint the man as secretary who had previously provided these articles. He need not tell them the result: the thing was so well managed that it also very soon went into liquidation! Notwithstanding those experiences, not in Scotland, but abroad, he was still firmly convinced that co-operation in agricultural districts was essential to the success of small holdings. Now, coming to the paper, it was a model paper, lucid and concise. He regretted to hear that in Bombay the success had not been so great as elsewhere. He thought the less they had of official patronage and official interference the better. He quite endorsed what had been said about the natural intelligence of the villagers; within their own limits they were exceedingly shrewd, and were well aware of what insured success. He would like to endorse the question, already put by his friend Sir William Wedderburn, as to what had been done in order to cope with the difficulties arising out of the indebtedness of the ryots. He would also like to ask the lecturer how the legislation on agricultural banks fitted in with the co-operative movement, and what relation there was between the two. The paper showed the great agricultural resources there were in India, and the great responsibilities that rested upon us in guiding the self-development and self-improvement of India. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Certainly no suspicion of want of co-operative credit can lie against Lord Reay. I remember with gratitude when the Bill was brought before the House of Lords Lord Reay was the only Liberal member who spoke in favour of it. With reference to the question of native intelligence we had precisely the same question put before us in Ireland, where the people wanted the unintelligent villagers not to serve on the committees. They were not educated men, but they knew all about their business, and that, after all, was the main point.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said with regard to Bombay, which had been

* In the seventies, as a member of the Dutch Parliament, he had taken an active part in promoting a Bill on Co-operation, and he had presided over the Co-operative Congress when it met in Oxford.

invidiously distinguished by the fact that with Eastern Bengal it depended more on Government loans than any other part of India, a possible explanation was that the Deccan was a hard place in which to make a living. It was a saying that out of every three years the cultivators there might expect one year of scarcity; they had to live from hand to mouth. In order to relieve the Deccan peasants from the pressure of their debts, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act had been passed. One result was to shorten the period of credit allowed by the money-lenders. These two circumstances might account for the fact that more Government assistance was required by co-operative societies in the Deccan than elsewhere. With regard to the Raiffeisen system, he would like to ask, as there were no shares, where did the capital come from? Again, would the lecturer tell them the minimum rate of interest demanded by co-operative societies in the United Provinces? He supposed the rate depended to a great extent on the security offered. As a rule, weavers were not landholders, and he would like to know what security they gave for the loans they took from the societies?

The CHAIRMAN said that he could answer the question as to the Raiffeisen Society: they raised all their money by loan. The idea was to have a number of men whose credit being pledged unlimitedly would procure them funds. As there were no shares, there were no dividends; the surplus went to a reserve fund, and in course of time accumulated considerable capital.

SIR JAMES WILSON said he agreed with all the lecturer had said as to the benefit to India from the starting of these societies, and he would like to say a little as to who were most entitled to credit for having initiated that excellent system. He knew of the good effect of what had been done by Sir William Wedderburn in Bombay, but in his opinion the man who did most of all towards introducing it into India was Sir Frederick Nicholson, a Madras civilian, who devoted an enormous amount of time and trouble to the study and explanation of the system, and by degrees converted a great many influential people in India to his ideas. He would also like to mention Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who, as a member of Lord Curzon's Council, carried through the Co-operative Credit Societies Act in 1904. He must also include the Registrars, such as Mr. Fremantle, Mr. Campbell, and others, and the voluntary workers, many of whom gave excellent assistance. Then just one word as to official interference in India. He knew their Chairman had a deadly hatred of all such interference, and he agreed that in a country like England it was better the Government should intervene as little as possible. India, however, was different; circumstances altered cases, and there were officials *and* officials. Certainly in India this movement would not have got along as it had done if it had not been for the help of the Government. There was in India a great dearth of men capable of controlling so widespread a movement without the assistance of the officials; they must have men with knowledge and capacity, and general trustworthiness, to run central and provincial banks, and he was afraid that for a long time to come it would be necessary to draw on the officials to help to administer such institutions.

The LECTURER in reply said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I hardly feel qualified to criticize any of the remarks made by our Chairman, who knows much more about the subject than anyone else in England, and probably in Europe, certainly in Asia. But I should like to say as regards his disapproval of compulsory deposits, and his remark that he does not think it is much use for a man to be asked to deposit 5 rupees if he is going to take out a loan for 20, that that is not our system at all. We have no such thing as compulsory deposits; we have shares which are paid up very gradually by small annual instalments, and in the case of a man who wanted to borrow 20 rupees, the amount he would pay up half-yearly would only be about 8 annas. I do not regard share capital as any very great help towards credit. I stated in the paper the reasons why I considered that members should be required to take out shares, the chief reason being that the possession by each member of a stake in the society gives him a more substantial interest in it, in addition to the somewhat negative interest which his unlimited liability implies. He is much more likely to, and we find in actual practice that he does, take interest in it when he has a small sum of his own money invested in it. That was the reason why we started the system of shares to be paid up by gradual instalments.

Sir William Wedderburn asked two questions, one about the old debts and how we dealt with them. Our principle is that when a man wants to join the society, we see what his financial position is. If it is such that he is practically bankrupt, if his debts are more than he can repay by taking out a loan repayable in instalments spread over four or five years, then we do not take him into the society. If his debts are not greater than he can repay by taking a loan and repaying us in five years, then we take him in. We do not admit to our societies members who are indebted to anyone except the society. We have not a great deal of difficulty in our province with people in that respect, because our members are generally small men only. It is very seldom a man is heavily involved. I understand the position in Bombay is very different. There the question of indebtedness is of very great moment, and I believe special measures have been taken to deal with it. I am sorry I cannot give definite information about it.

I was also asked how the loans are realized. Some years ago there was great controversy as to whether Government aid should be given in the realization of loans, and there were a number of people under the impression that the societies could not realize the loans for themselves, but would require the aid of the Government to assist them in the case of refractory members. The Government did not agree, and no regulations were made as to Government assistance. Now, our experience is that we do not find any difficulty in realizing, always provided that matters are explained properly to the members before they join. If a society were formed without explanation to the members, then difficulties might certainly arise. If, however, it is first ascertained that a real demand has been established for the formation of a society, it is very seldom any difficulty occurs—only, in fact, where there is some dishonesty or some dispute among the members, but that does not very often happen. When a society is formed after

proper instruction the members are only too glad to get further loans, and therefore do not default in those they have got.

I was very much obliged to Mr. Bendra for supplying me with a new argument in favour of the system by his statement that it will save the money-lender from having his throat cut. I think that is a very valuable argument, and I shall make use of it in the future.

Lord Reay inquired about our legislation on co-operative matters. I was in Calcutta last year on the Viceroy's Council, in order to assist in the passing of the new Act. All I can say is that we made the new Act fit in with our particular system. In the first Act there were certain omissions which have now been remedied, and I do not think anyone can now say that the law on matters co-operative has not done all it can to help the movement.

With regard to Mr. Leslie Moore's remarks, I did not mean to convey the impression that the movement had been a failure in Bombay; I feel, on the other hand, that it has done a great deal of good, but the difficulties have been very much greater. For the old debts very much more capital is required there per member, and no doubt it is very difficult to raise that capital from the outside. What I meant to suggest is that there is special need of caution where the money is provided by the State. Some questions were also asked as to the rate of interest in our societies; the rate is certainly not very low. The usual rate in the United Provinces is 15 per cent. In some societies it is 12 per cent., but 15 per cent. is the rate I have always advocated. Before doing that I very carefully inquired into the rates that usually prevailed, and found them to be from 24 to 70 per cent., with an average of about 36 per cent., so I think that in lending money to the people at 15 per cent. we are doing a great deal of good. The high rate is due to the following reasons: Payment has to be made for keeping the accounts. Honest work is not cheap in any country, and certainly not in India, and the accountants have to be well paid. Then, nothing is paid for idle money. Then there is a great deal of inspection required, and out of that 15 per cent. 3 or 4 per cent. would be accounted for by the appointment of inspectors to see that things are working properly; that is absolutely necessary. Then I was asked with regard to security. The principle in a co-operative society is that you should not require any tangible security; the honesty and reputation of the man for reliability is the best security, and that is the principle we follow. The weavers have no tangible security, nor indeed have the cultivators, since they only have very small holdings, and no transferable rights in them. The only security we require is the reputation for honesty and reliability of the members. (Hear, hear.)

SIR M. M. BHOWNADEE said he had much pleasure on behalf of the Association in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman. They had it on the high authority of Lord Reay that the Lecturer had treated ably and concisely an intricate scheme devised for the relief and welfare of the large agricultural population of India. Both the lecture and the interesting discussion it had evoked had amply testified to the vast importance of the project which was passing through the ex-

perimental stage; and the facts and figures adduced held out the prospect of the success of a great measure devised for the benefit of the agricultural community, which is by far the largest section of the people of India. (Cheers.) The well-being of that class was of paramount importance, and deserved the closest attention of all concerned with the administration of that country; and he hoped that the lecture would find wide publicity in both the English and vernacular papers there. He (the speaker) would like to conclude his brief remarks by a personal note, and would take that public opportunity of congratulating his friend Sir William Wedderburn, whom they were all pleased to see among them, on the successful launching of a scheme which he had been years ago one of the first to advocate. (Cheers.) The chairman had made a most valuable contribution to the discussion, as was to be expected from one of his experience and authority. He had much pleasure, therefore, in asking the meeting to tender both to him and the lecturer their warmest thanks. (Cheers.)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. SCINDE IN THE FORTIES. Edited by Arthur F. Scott.
(London: Constable and Co., Ltd.)

This book covers a very interesting period in the history of Scinde, from its conquest in 1843 until 1852. Its sources are the journal and letters of Colonel Keith Young, C.B., who was haled from the Bengal Army a few months after the Battle of Meeanee to act as Judge-Advocate in Scinde to the great *shaitan-ka-bhai*, the conqueror Sir Charles Napier. From Kurrachee, Sukkur, and Shikarpore, he tells us much of the conqueror's difficulties, the restoration of order, the suppression of the Beloochees, and the wife murders which gave Sir Charles so much trouble. From the beginning Keith Young regarded his very odd but great chief as "a fine old fellow, though no civil Governor," and interference with military government brought down upon his head letters which only a wrathful Napier could have written. He did not suffer for his zeal, however, and they became firm allies, and he was able to write later: "His was not a red-tape government, but it might have been more so without disadvantage; and much that is now obscure would have been better understood, and his labours, and the labours of those who acted under him, better appreciated." Young worked with equal success also under R. Pringle and Bartle Frere till 1852, when he was made Judge-Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army. One gets curious glances at many heroes of "the

forties." A letter from Sir Henry Lawrence written the day after the Battle of Chillianwallah is there; a letter of the conqueror of Scinde, now "Commander-in-Chief," showing his appreciation of Captain C. J. Brown, is pleasing to read. Letters from William Napier, Major M'Murdo, and Herbert B. Edwardes, show the warmth of their friendship to the Judge-Advocate. One gets glimpses of intriguing Mir Ali Murad of Kyrpore, whose suspicious doings led to his deposition. The name of Walter Scott, the nephew of the great Sir Walter, the friend of R. F. Burton, flits through the pages; and the Anglo-Indian reader will relish descriptions of their predecessors, such as "Peg Byng . . . very fat . . . very jolly. He gives me the idea of enjoying everything, including funerals!" and the two ladies called "Nikulao" and "Nikuljao" respectively. The book is admirably edited.—A. F. S.

2. YANG CHU'S GARDEN OF PLEASURE. Translated by Professor A. Forke, with Introduction by H. Cranmer-Byng. Wisdom of the East Series. (London: John Murray.)

This philosopher is often called Yang-tsz, and must therefore not be confused with the much later Yang Hiung of that ilk. The commentator of the philosopher Lieh-tsz tells us that Yang Chu lived later than the philosopher M'eh-tsz, the pair of them having been Mencius' special detestation. Now, we know, on the authority of the philosopher Hwai-nan-tsz, that M'eh-tsz defended a city of Sung State against the engineer-warrior Lu Pan, contemporary of Confucius, so that it is quite possible to say that Yang Chu must have lived about 400 B.C. Professor Forke's scepticism about M'eh-tsz's engineering skill ("Lun-Hêng," part I, p. 498) is therefore apparently unnecessary. In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* Mr. Lionel Giles explains why he left out from his "Taoist Teachings" the seventh chapter of Lieh-tsz, dealing exclusively with Yang Chu. As Professor Forke now translates that missing chapter for

us, we are able to excuse Mr. Lionel Giles with good grace for having disappointed us. In his "Lun-hêng" (reviewed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1907, pp. 403 to 408) Professor Forke several times alludes to this Chinese Epicurus, with whose philosophy Professor Fr. Hirth has also dealt in his "Ancient History of China" (reviewed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1908, pp. 197-202). Mr. Lionel Giles himself tells one or two anecdotes of Yang Chu in his "Taoist Teachings" (reviewed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July last). Professor Forke's repute as a careful translator is unquestionable, and as a subtle handler of the Chinese philosophical critics he has, perhaps, no equal. The subject now treated is profoundly interesting, the more so as the period when all these competing peripatetic schools held forth at Liang, the capital of Ngwei, coincided in the main with the period when the Greek peripatetic philosophers were saying almost exactly the same things. The inexorable editor will not grant space for further remarks, so that it only remains for us now to exhort the "thinking classes" to expend a paltry shilling without loss of time, and work out the engrossing subject for themselves.—E. H. PARKER.

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3. ACROSS AUSTRALIA. By Baldwin Spencer, C.M.G., and F. J. Gillen. Two vols. (London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.* 1912.)

This is the account of an extremely hazardous journey through the heart of Australia by two travellers who bear a very high reputation as ethnologists and students of Australian folk-lore. The route taken followed for the most part the route of the transcontinental telegraph from Oodnadatta to Palmerston.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are earnest and enthusiastic workers in the fields of Australian anthropology and folk-lore, and the results of their experiences and observations make a volume as entertaining and readable as it is instructive and informative. The hardships and privations

due to lack of water and inadequate transport are only casually alluded to, but these were no doubt grave. Among the discomforts were the swarms of mosquitoes, of so virulent a type that an ordinary mosquito-net afforded no protection, and the two explorers were fain to stifle at night under improvised nets made of cheese-cloths.

We get an insight into the difficulties incidental to travel in "*Darkest Australia*." Especially diverting is the description of the saddling of the camels. It appears they refuse to kneel for this operation, so that, to pass the girths round the sullen recumbent beast, it is necessary to scoop out a hole in the sand underneath the belly. The process of mounting is compared to a combined pitch and toss and roll, and demands a considerable amount of agility.

The flora and fauna of Central Australia were systematically observed, and as the travellers were escorted for part of the journey by nomad tribes they had excellent opportunities of getting specimens. Among the curious things unearthed by their black companions were specimens of the extraordinary "reservoir-frog" and the honey-ant. This kind of frog hibernates during the dry season, burying himself in the clay or mud, and keeps a supply of water in the belly. The natives use this water (which is quite pure and fresh) when the wells are dried up. Equally strange is the honey-ant. This kind of ant has the peculiar property of storing up honey in its abdomen till it is distended to many times its usual size. This perambulating honey-pot is kept for this purpose by the other ants, who, when they wish refreshment, tap the sides of the abdomen with their feet till the honey exudes from the mouth in drops.

There is a wealth of information on the habits and customs of the nomad blacks, and many hasty generalizations of former travellers are shown to be inaccurate. For instance, the mysterious red hand, which other travellers have noticed inscribed on rocks and caves, used to be thought to have some occult signification, and erudite treatises have been written attempting to show some con-

nection between the red hand so often seen painted on walls in Mesopotamia and the Near East. As a matter of fact, it is a primitive attempt at decoration by means of stencilling. The native places his hand on a flat piece of rock, previously damped, and then blows round the hand powdered ochre from his mouth.

What gives a unique value to this work are the exhaustive studies of the manners and customs of the genuine unsophisticated aborigines. The authors show that the so-called "corroborrees," which casual travellers in Queensland describe, have little in common with the ceremonies that Messrs. Spencer and Gillen had frequent opportunities of witnessing. Many globe-trotters are familiar with the factitious performance called "corroborree"—a meaningless kind of war-dance—performed by the degenerate blacks to be found in the outskirts of townships in the interior, as far removed from the genuine black fellow as the Indian sweeper or bhisti is from the high-caste Brahmin. It is difficult, indeed, to define these curious performances. They appear to be a combination of a quasi-religious ceremony, a tribal demonstration of the totem cult, and a dramatic representation of historical episodes of the tribe, something akin to the English pageants which have obtained so great a vogue among us.—EUSTACE REYNOLDS-BALL.

4. AN AUSTRALIAN NATIVE'S STANDPOINT. By Will J. Sowden. (London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*)

We read here addresses which the speaker claims to represent fairly "the predominant Australian opinion." Beginning with the phrase "Australia has lately suffered many things from globe-trotters," he proceeds to defend his country from the criticisms of Mr. D. Christie Murray and of Mr. Francis Adams. His vehemence shows that these strictures have "gone home," and we are sorry to see have stung. But we are not sorry to have read this book. The author, who is a South Australian, a fact to be

noted, is able to say much for the great country he writes of—its beauty, morality, and patriotism. He exaggerates, perhaps, the statement that "Australia is unpopular in the United Kingdom. A cloud rests upon the old-world estimation of it." Still, there may be something in it. He tells us that the swagsmen who "prepare their tea in billy-cans" will soon be extinct like "the diggers who lit their pipes with bank notes." Alas for romance, it is even leaving Australia! He gives due praise to the late poet, Miss Catherine Helen Spence, and to "The City of Light," in an address which he spoke on Adelaide's seventieth anniversary. He cavils at the idea that English history is not sufficiently taught in Australian schools, yet he writes, "Queen Elizabeth was related by marriage to Mary, Queen of Scots." Apart from this slip, there is much one can like in what he says, and one is sorry the criticisms (Mr. Adams wrote beautiful English) hurt so much.—J. C.

5. THE TOSA DIARY. Translated from the Japanese by William N. Porter. (London: *Henry Frowde*.)

Mr. Porter has taken great pains to translate from the Japanese into English an account of a short sea-voyage devoid of any exciting incident, and only lengthened out by stress of weather. Careful work has been spent on this piece of classical literature, together with exquisite printing and a dainty get-up on the part of the publisher. These are the three items that commend this small volume to the caprice of the English reading public. We may yet add another: the "Tosa Diary," or "Tosa Nikki," was originally written by a Court noble, Tsurayuki by name, who died at Shikoku in 946. It is only when we remember that journeys by sea or land were rarely organized in the Far East during the early centuries that we understand why this journal was written at all. Each incident being of such a slight nature, the fifty-five days' voyage fails to imprint any event connected with it upon the mind, except for the fact that sea-craft was of the frailest description.

As far as translation goes, we have recently had a very pleasant experience of Mr. W. N. Porter's ability. His delightful collection of "A Year of Japanese Epigrams" is full of beauty and sweetness. Of the series of Tanka (or thirty-one syllable verses) that are disposed throughout the pages of the "Tosa Nikki," those that are dedicated by Count Tsurayuki to the memory of his little daughter, "called away" previous to his departure from home, fully justify Shelley's sentiments that

"Our sweetest songs are those
That tell of saddest thoughts."

The original text, which is romanized and interchanges the pages of the diary, should prove a great incentive for study to all who are anxious to learn the Japanese language. Mr. Porter's literary labours lie in a difficult channel. He has elected to burden himself with the task of turning a poet's musings into a language the poet himself never understood. The English and Japanese languages have little in common with each other; our native tongue is quite inadequate to convey intentions in words, much less in sentiment. For this reason, to do justice to "Tanka," or any form of verse that emanates from the heart of an exclusive Oriental, is a colossal undertaking—yet one that may be boldly ventured by the present author, since very few are in a position to dare to dispute the merits of the result.—S.

6. GREEN WILLOW, AND OTHER JAPANESE FAIRY TALES.

By Grace James. Illustrated by Warwick Goble.
(London: Macmillan and Co. 1912.)

Grace James has contributed yet another to the many volumes already published of Japanese folklore stories. Of this collection, with the "Golden Comb," "Reflections," and "Green Willow" (which last supplies the title of the book), we are the least conversant. There is a tender charm in the manner of wording these narratives. We

learn that some of them are reminiscences of childhood, recounted after the Japanese manner of courting sleep by keeping the youthful mind taut on the impossible. For this reason we can understand the pleasure it has afforded the authoress to bring together memories of the past into book form. On the other hand, it is almost a pity to include in the contents many translations that have long, long ago been published by the earlier exponents of Japanese literature. To peruse in quite a new rendering the same story after a lapse of over thirty years rather deteriorates than adds to the labours of the new writer. Nevertheless, Grace James has told her stories well in simple, unaffected language, and for this reason "*Green Willow*" will prove an acceptable gift-book for those who have not already learnt by heart the folklore of Old Japan.

Mr. Warwick Goble's illustrations are truly delightful—full of poetry, life, atmosphere, and mystery. His technique is excellent; it combines all the essentials that constitute the requirements of the theme calling for pictures to complete the illusion. His work reminds us of the *surimono* of the native Japanese artists, Utamaro and Shunshio. "*Kayma*," "*The Moon Maiden*," "*The Peony Lantern*," and "*The Star Lovers*," are beautifully interpreted. Brush and colour have, under Mr. Goble's control, aided the mesmeric power that lies embodied in these Far Eastern idylls.—S.

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7. MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF JAPAN. By F. Hadland Davis. With thirty-two full-page illustrations by Evelyn Paul. (London: G. Harrap and Co.)

After a short lapse of time we are glad to see new volume from the author of "*The Land of the Yellow Spring*." Mr. Hadland Davis has not, however, on this occasion given us another series of those exquisite love idylls of his own creation. His theme is legendary lore. It chiefly concerns imaginary beings and quaint personalities that are

constantly met with in the traditions of Japan. Creatures of the myths are not entirely free from lovable characteristics. Their gruesome aspect is by no means detrimental. Though forbidding in appearance and supernatural in power, they are nevertheless highly interesting, by reason of their unformulated appearance. Their antics are, moreover, eminently superior when compared with those of living personalities.

Mr. Hadland Davis's power lies in his own peculiar method of story-telling. He holds his reader entranced by the manner in which he manages to evoke sympathy and emotion, particularly when he touches upon a tender chord of some sweet memory within our own hearts. In "Myths and Legends of Japan" he leads us swiftly through the realms of fancy. On one page we have to bow ceremoniously to Emperor or Prince, General or brave Samurai, as we learn of their virtues; on another we pause to wonder at the exploits of the giant robber, and the daring undersized forest recluse, calling up the aid of *ogi* and *tengu*; on another we read of enchanted bowl, or antique water-kettle that fascinates us with supernatural accomplishments; on another we are held breathless by the passion of love and revenge, indulged in and carried out to the bitter end. Farther on we are held spell-bound by the invocation to serpents, evil spirits, earth spiders, demons, and alluring snow and fox women, who assist in the contest against unrequited love, together with other romantic situations requiring cunning warfare. The pages sparkle with vivid description, or darken with word-painted picture of fearsome forests, lone mountain-passes, robber-haunted districts, or by the ungovernable display of mighty elements aroused to wrath. Then, in his most unique style, the author leaves fantasy behind for that which stirs the soul, and teaches of a beautiful and remote religious cult. With solemn steps we find we are being ushered into the precincts of the spirit world, where little children who were once alive are doomed to work out a term of waiting

ere they can rejoin parent or guardian who has gone before. The little ones must accomplish the task of piling stones to free their souls. In this difficulty they are not forgotten. They find safe shelter from demons of mischief within the folded garments of ancient and lovable god and goddess, who from time immemorial have been endowed with tender compassion and love, akin to the birthright of all mothers, especially the home-loving mothers of the Orient.

It is by the aid of traditions and legends such as these that we are drawn into more intimate knowledge of a people, particularly the exclusive Japanese. For these legends, which the author has clothed with a charmed setting of his own, commence with the beginnings of all things—the birth and origin of the world (Japan); and we must bear in mind that in the ages long, long ago the only means of transmitting knowledge or sustaining fictional narrative was either by reiteration from one generation to another, or by those fleet-footed mountain men who suffered their limbs to be tattooed, and then passed from village to village as bearers of good or evil tidings. Both these methods proved successful to sustain stories that have become classical, for they have come down to us from an era when even manuscript writing was a great luxury. We must, moreover, remember that the first book extant concerning the Land of the Risen Sun dates A.D. 615, while the Creation of the Empire of the Everlasting Great Japan is placed at 660 B.C.

"Myths and Legends" have been selected with great judgment. Their variety is marvellous. The book is profusely illustrated. The designs are rich in colour and careful in detail. Miss Evelyn Paul has caught the spirit of the text, the mystery of the passion that gives virility to this particular form of romance and legend. Nevertheless, her work savours more of Indian or Persian than of Japanese ethics. We miss the tender effects of mist and moonrise, of winding rivers and distant veiled mountains, of the solitary heron flying towards the goal of coming

daylight, of rivers threading their way stealthily towards the sea. But the cover of gold and silver and moonlight tints in' a measure atones for the absence of atmospheric effects ; it supplies just that touch of ethereal charm we have learnt to look for in all beautiful books relegated to the service and teaching of the Land of the Gods,—S.

8. CHINA AND THE MANCHUS. By Herbert A. Giles, M.A., LL.D. (London : *Cambridge University Press.*)

This is a handy and neatly-turned-out pocket-book of 150 pages, calculated to give the busy man in the street a few easily-acquired notions of who the Manchus were and "how they got there." There is nothing at all new in it to the knowing ones, but what there is is accurate enough, and told in Mr. Giles's usual lucid style. The "list of works consulted" is, under the circumstances, rather a formidable one. One is the "Tung-hua-lu," described as being "a history of the Manchus down to A.D. 1735. 1765." Presumably the latter of the two dates means "published in 1765"; but the original "Tung-hua-lu" has been promptly and steadily continued as each Emperor died. For instance, twenty years ago Wang Sien-k'ien's edition, brought down to the end of Hien-fêng's reign, was published under foreign supervision with clear metal types, and since then the reigns of T'ung-chi and Kwang-sü have come out in turn : the later additions are of precisely equal authority with the original bulk, for all alike consist simply of the actual (reprinted) decrees of the Emperor in reply to memorials ; for instance, the additional forty or more volumes published last year give us all the Russo-Chinese negotiations of 1880-81, together with the full copies of the Marquis Tsêng's treaty and the Russian frontier trade regulations ; the special mission of King Charles of Roumania to announce his accession ; the Japanese wars ; and, in fact, brings us up to the death of the Emperor and the Dowager in 1908. By the way, there *are*, after all, two novelties in the book in the shape of a Kitan warrior resting with his

horse, and a Nüchén ditto with his bow ; we are not told exactly from what book or books they are copied, but they look genuine, and are a decided curiosity, for no one is quite sure who the Kitans were. On p. 21 allusion is made to "some ancient Mongolian archives recently discovered," and "a document dated 1636, under which the Mongol chiefs recognized the suzerainty of the Manchu Emperor." It would have been better to tell us plainly who made the discovery, when, and where ; in any case the extra evidence is not indispensable, for "Tung-hua-lu" is explicit enough by itself on the point, and even the Ming history tells us that in 1633 the Manchu Emperor (not yet so of China) held a durbar of Mongols, and directed their campaign against the Mings ; even in 1628 he had decided upon and adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Chahar Mongols. As to (p. 32) the last pseudo-Ming Emperor strangling himself, it was pointed out in the *Contemporary Review* of January last that both he and his son Constantine were strangled in the market-place of Yün-nan Fu. Professor Giles has got himself rather "mixed" about the Chinese pirate "known to the Portuguese of the day as Iquon," who, "in 1628, tendered his submission to the Manchus." At that date the Manchus had scarcely even heard of the coasts of China, let alone of the sea-pirates ; in 1628 Iquam (*i.e.*, Chêng Chî-lung, father of Koxinga) tendered his submission to the Mings, who made him a general *against* the Manchus ; in 1635 he was still fighting against pirates, but in the Ming interest ; in 1647 he surrendered to the Manchus ; and in 1652 he sent for his family to Peking. He was not executed until 1661 ; this was also at Peking, for traitorously corresponding with his son Koxinga. Yet another point. The "first code of laws, drawn up in 525 B.C." (p. 38), is evidently that of the distinguished statesman Tsz-ch'an, drawn up in 536 B.C., as described in an unworthy book called "Ancient China Simplified." On p. 76 of Mr. Giles's book the singular statement is made that, when Commissioner Lin destroyed

the opium, "the owners received orders on the Treasury at the rate of £120 per chest." What Treasury? As a matter of fact, bills on the London Treasury (the Chinese having only offered the merchants compensation at the rate of three pounds of tea for each pound of opium) were issued for £63,226, the value of a limited number of chests, and even this compensation was not paid until the war indemnity had been secured from the Chinese (see Morse's "International Relations," pp. 225, 226). However, there is here clearly some confusion as to what compensation is meant, and even Mr. Morse might be clearer. The cost of 20,283 chests was over \$11,000,000 at 4s. 10d. the dollar, and we only claimed \$6,000,000 under the Nanking Treaty. Mr. Morse (pp. 306, 307) shows that the traders were a good \$5,000,000 out of pocket, besides interest, so that they certainly never received even half what Mr. Giles says they received. The "*Azalik Ghazi*" of p. 100 should surely be *Azalik*? *Ch'unghou* (p. 101) is said to have been saved from execution "at the express request of Queen Victoria." This may be so, but such occult information does not agree with the "*Tung-hua-lu*," which states positively that the foreign Ministers at Peking protested, and that he was first temporarily reprieved as a mark of friendliness specifically towards Russia, and finally respited at the request of the Marquis Tsêng (who was then in Russia), just as he was beginning to arrange the whole matter with Messrs. Jomini, Giers, and Buetsoff. Speaking of the recent visits of Manchus to Europe, Mr. Giles (p. 113) tells us, "No Manchu had ever visited the West." Perhaps he originally wished to say, "No Manchu Prince or noble." But the Burlinghame mission of 1868-1870 was officially under the Manchu Chikang; *Ch'unghou* himself was a Manchu, who had already been on a mission of apology to France in 1871, eight years before he tried his hand at Livadia. On p. 121 Mr. Giles makes the grave statement that "the Empress-Dowager herself was an opium-smoker." Her worst enemies and her most indiscreet biographers have never, surely, ventured upon this bald accusation?

She has been flippantly accused of poisoning her own child and other close colleagues and relatives, of boxing with the eunuchs, of "larking" with individuals only reported to be eunuchs, of an early liaison with her friend, the well-known Junglu, and so on; but who of her numerous biographers has ever before ventured to accuse her, even flippantly, of opium-smoking? On p. 57 we are informed that "in very early times" the Mahometan subjects of China, or Dungans, "under the name of Gao-tchan" had colonized parts of Kan Suh and Shen Si. The place-name *Kao-ch'ang* existed before Mahomet was born—indeed, even before our era; and in later times the Ouigour Turks, who had meanwhile passed from Manicheism to Mahometanism, made it their capital, and adopted its name as a national designation in a limited way. Who the Dungans are (certainly not Ouigours or Turks) is a complicated question, on which Vicomte D'Ollone's recent admirable books on the Mussulmans of China may be consulted. The mysterious word "Gao-tchan" here used is suggestive of something defectively copied, or only partly understood, from Rémusat, Visdelou, or Gaubil.

The above little points are only touched upon to remind the versatile Cambridge Professor that he is human. The book is readable enough, and typographical defects are few; one awful exception to this rule is (p. 55) "*proclimmed* himself Khan," which, besides the jumble of letters, is redolent of the horrible modern Cockney accent. How came this to escape Mr Giles's eagle eye when he corrected the proofs?—E. H. PARKER.

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9. The *SIN Tsz-tien* (= New Dictionary) by Mr. Chu Tsu-mou. Printed and published by the *Shang-wu Yin-shu Kwan* (= Commercial Press, Shanghai).

This is almost a purely Chinese book, a sort of Chinese "Nuttall," and Mr. Chu writes to us to explain that he has been for years at work upon it. He considers—and he is not far wrong—that in many respects K'ang-hi's well-known dictionary is out of date; the "spelling" system, indeed, was

thirty-five years ago reformed and simplified by Dr. John Chalmers ("Concise Dictionary of Chinese"), whose laborious work was sympathetically reviewed and commended by no less a personage than the late Li Hung-chang. Since those comparatively recent days, hundreds, not to say thousands, of scientific written words have been "invented" by translators, and vast numbers of "bastard Chinese," or hybrids, have been freely admitted even into the charmed circles of Government and official education offices. Mr. Chu's new work is beautifully printed on foreign paper in the clearest possible type, and seems to contain about 1,000 pages, which, however, are not consecutively numbered throughout; it is also bound in foreign style; and, in short is a foreign book in appearance, except that "it begins at the end" as usual. It contains a limited number of European translations in European letters, and also a selection of citations from the Chinese classics and history; but these only when strictly necessary, the evident aim being conciseness, handiness, and precision; moreover, it is in every way up-to-date, and gives us various extras in the shape of comparative tables, weights, measures, and so on. No price is mentioned, but from the look of it, taking "Chinese cheap labour" into consideration, it ought not to be below 4s. or above 8s.; and certainly every serious student of Chinese will find it a good investment at either price. The characters are of course arranged according to "radicals," and the useful 10,000 are kept apart from the useless 30,000.—E. H. PARKER.

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10. THE GOLDEN BOUGH: A STUDY IN MAGIC AND RELIGION. By J. G. Frazer. Third edition. Parts IV. and V. 3 vols., 8vo. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1912.)

In Part III. the author showed us "the dying Gods";* in Part IV., entitled "Adonis, Attis, Osiris," he tells us of

* *Vide Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1912, where the first three parts of this work were reviewed.

the "resurrection of the Gods." The new volume, which is extremely interesting, presents a more striking unity than the preceding ones, for the myths of the Phœnician Adonis, the Phrygian Attis, and the Egyptian Osiris, show a real kinship. The writer studies and describes with particular care the myth of Adonis, the ritual of his worship, and the famous "Gardens of Adonis." In a chapter entitled "Sacred Men and Women" he draws attention to the important fact that prostitution bestowed a certain sanctity, the prostitute being looked upon as a consort of the God. Human sacrifice by fire to the Gods (the burning of Melcarth, of Sandar, Sardanapalus, and Hercules) are other facts no less curious and worthy of study, which lead the author, in an original section entitled "Volcanic Religion," to treat of the relation which may exist between volcanic phenomena and the custom of burning a God in effigy. The purpose of this strange rite, it appears, was the renewal of the divine energies of the God, thus cast into the flames under the form of his material image.

The Phrygian Attis is a mere counterpart of Adonis; his myth and the rites therewith connected have many points in common with the worship of the latter God. Attis may perhaps be considered as a Corn God. As to the manner in which these ancient divinities were put to death (for before their rebirth Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, were put to death), this is kept in remembrance by the famous story of Marsyas—doubtless a double of Attis—and the legend has given the author an occasion to speak of the "hanged God."

The myth of Osiris, the divinity which corresponds in Egypt to Adonis and Attis, is still more charming. It is set forth in rich detail by the writer, who in connection with it gives a study of the Egyptian calendar.

Among the appendices to the volume is a quaint account of certain customs of the islanders in the Pelew (Palaos) Archipelago.

Part V. takes up again the theme dealt with in the preceding volumes: the death and resurrection of the Gods.

This time the author pursues it into other religions and other races, beginning with Greece (the Vine God Dionysus and the Corn Goddess Persephone). His investigations lead him in turn to all the peoples of the earth, and he shows us everywhere man worshipping those things to which he owes his nourishment: cereals, products of the soil, beasts, and fishes. Man's awe and adoration for all which sustains his life, be it vegetable or animal—this is the central subject of both volumes of Part V., and constitutes their unity.

Notwithstanding the relative unity of this part, however, it treats of a great variety of matters: woman's part in primitive agriculture; songs of the corn-reapers; the corn-spirit as an animal; the Pleiades in primitive calendars (note); eating the god, homœopathic magic of a flesh diet; the transmigration of human souls into animals, etc.

The following general criticism might be made on these volumes: They are a systematization of all religious beliefs and practices considered from the view-point of the cult of cereals and all which nourishes mankind. An analogous systematization might be established from the view-point of sexual conceptions in the various religions (it has, indeed, already been attempted), or from any other point of view whatever.—ED. MONTET.

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- II. CHINESE LEGENDS AND LYRICS. By W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D. Second edition, much enlarged. (Shanghai: *Kelly and Walsh*.)

The writer had the honour of slightly knowing the "Nestor of American Sinologues" so far back as forty-three years ago, when he was Professor of Hermeneutics at the Imperial Peking College. He now describes himself as President Emeritus of the same institution and ex-President of the University; but it seems strange that he or his publisher should not have bethought him that "Republican" is now a more suitable word than "Imperial," as the title-page is dated 1912. He has certainly enjoyed for half a century the reputation of being "No. 1" in the

Chinese classics—so much so, indeed, that, according to the “well-informed,” the late Empress-Dowager Ts’z-hi had at one time (1884) fixed upon him to be Sir Robert Hart’s successor as Inspector-General, justly arguing that a man who knew his Mencius so well was manifestly the proper person to sit at the receipt of Customs. But that the venerable Dr. Martin had enjoyed a place among the poets—and now a second edition at that—must come to many as a surprise equal to that of “the people” when they asked:—“Is Saul also amongst the prophets?” The most striking “enlargement” of the particular copy now under review is that pp. 17 to 32 are printed twice over—*i.e.*, a second time—between p. 48 and p. 49. The reviewer is “free to admit” that he is somewhat sceptical about all contemporaneous poetry. From his Philistine point of view even Tennyson seems to have occasionally written melodious verbiage. In the whole of Dr. Martin’s book there are only two “pomes” (as the Irish call them) really deserving (in English dress) of the name: one is a pretty translation (p. 49) of “Lines inscribed on a Fan,” set to music by Mrs. A. E. Pirkis (a charming asset of the British Legation in 1870), and the other (in its original Chinese) a pretty conceit of the first Manchu Emperor, which, curiously enough, is neither translated at all nor placed in the contents list—it simply floats in space. The Chinese have some really beautiful and touching poetry, but it requires a fine *flair* to seize the delicacy of Chinese sentiment and at the same time to pair it off with equally delicate English, so as not unconsciously to glide into the “On a log, expiring frog” style of “feeling.” The reviewer’s hopeless lyric inadequacy having now been confessed, he leaves the public to judge for themselves how far Dr. Martin is endowed with the sacred fire. There are three portraits of him in the book, so that the imaginative reader can picture for himself the cruel workings of those stern, not to say prosy, features under the remorseless writhings of tender sentimentality. A few of the “enlargements” are

not translations at all, but originals—as, for instance (p. 96), the “Ode to Seattle” (pronounced See-attel, accent on the *at*), winding up with “Volcanoes are yoked, And lightnings come down,” “All nations and marts For her favour compete.” Probably even to Wigan a “pome” might be successfully jerked off by a practised hand, but the Seattle ode rather calls to a material mind President Grant’s famous message to Congress when he discussed the probable first consequence of the Franco-German War: “Pork will rise.” The *Saturday Review* of the day dealt with this lightning survey by a master mind in a special article.—E. H. P.

12. VARIÉTÉS SINOLOGIQUES, No. 33: TOMBEAU DES LIANG.
By the Rev. Mathias Tchang, S.J. (Shanghai: *Catholic Mission Press*.)

The learned Chinese author, who writes in perfect French, tells us that it was at the suggestion of the late distinguished Père Havret, S.J. (so well known by reason of his masterly and exhaustive work on the celebrated Nestorian Tablet), that during the past ten years he carried out his archæological studies around Nanking. Everyone has heard of the Nanking tomb of the founder of the Ming Dynasty, to which Sun Yat-sen recently paid a pious visit; but probably no one has heard that the imperial tombs of earlier Chinese dynasties are plentiful, though quite forgotten, in the neighbourhood of both Chinkiang and Nanking. Père Tchang’s labours have now culminated in the publication of an artistic volume full of valuable plates, rubbings, dynastic tables, etc. Liang Wu-ti was one of the most remarkable Emperors of one of the most Buddhistic dynasties of China, and his Court was in constant communication with India and the various Buddhist countries of the South Seas. Though a distinguished warrior, he himself became an ascetic and a practising Buddhist priest. The discussions in this book upon the effects of Western art upon the Chinese are specially interesting.—E. H. P.

13. CHINESE POEMS. Translated by Charles Budd. (London: *Henry Frowde*, Oxford University Press.)

The author writes his Preface from the T'ung-wên Kwan Translation Office, Shanghai, which is a branch of the Imperial T'ung-wên College, of which Dr. W. E. P. Martin (amongst his other titles) is Professor Emeritus; thus, we have two books of poems emanating from the same collegiate source, and perhaps inspired by the same group of Muses. Mr. Budd's book is, however, more business-like and practical than that of his venerable protagonist, for he gives us quite a nice little sketch of Chinese poetic history, and tells us exactly what the technique of their poetry is. In a word, instead of depending on long and short syllables, its essence lies (beyond the mere rhymes) in a conventional use of tones, which, after all, is much the same thing as long and short syllables; for to this day, in at least one modern dialect, the fact of a tone being "even" or "slanting" affects not only the length of the vowel, but the quality of it, too. Chinese etymology is, however, so little understood, even by the Chinese themselves, that it would be waste of time to elaborate the point here. It is difficult for a mere Westerner to understand how Chinese poetry can possibly be affecting and beautiful; but some of it—especially where separation from home and cherished ones is sung—is undoubtedly touching in the extreme. But it is a mistake for translators to introduce Chinese proper names, which look as absurd and undignified in English dress as do Apulohan (Abram) and Po-li-si-tien-têh (President) in Chinese dress.—E. H. P.

14. OUT IN CHINA! By Mrs. Archibald Little. (London: *Sampson Low, Marston and Co.*)

Mrs. Archibald Little has already achieved immortality in connection with squeezed Chinese female feet, but it would seem from this new and cheaper edition that at some bygone period, not disclosed here, she had also chosen as a novelist the alternative route to fame. It is essentially a lady's book

that she has written, manifestly intended, also, chiefly for ladies' reading; and consequently the writer of these lines, as a mere man, will not venture upon serious—and dangerous—criticism. There is a kind of Elder-Miss-Blossom-out-in-the-cold marriage, a massacre, and a second marriage, when the Elder Miss Blossom comes to her own. We have Consuls, Commissioners of Customs, "boys," a touch of pidgin-English, and generally all the paraphernalia and phenomena (real or supposed) of "China hands." It is a strange book, my masters!—E. H. P.

15. RECUEIL DE NOUVELLES EXPRESSIONS CHINOISES. (*Imprimerie de Tou-sé-wai.*)

This exceedingly useful little pocket-book of 100 pages, printed on gossamer-like paper, contains about 1,200 of the "barbarous" new words which for about ten years past have been gradually creeping into, first the Chinese press, and finally the Government diction. At first the present writer was so astonished at this intrusion into the classic domain that he could hardly believe his own eyes; and fancied his own literary taste must be at fault; it was only after a few years of repeated and painful shock that he gradually realized the undoubted fact that hideous "barbarisms" were being deliberately introduced, mostly from the bastard Chinese called Japanese. It is as though the *Times* should deliberately start off with "considerable of Englishmen," "this fall," "the new location," "getting round some," and other Transatlantic bouquets, to be next followed by their formal introduction in the King's speech. But just as some Americanisms—e.g., "this fall"—are good old obsolete English, so many of these Chinese Nipponisms are in reality good old obsolete or forgotten Chinese. However, for good or for evil they have now come again to stay, and a fair number of them are really indispensable. Time was—and not so long ago—when it seemed passing strange to see such "barbarisms" as "telegraph," "insurance," and "newspaper," mentioned in an imperial

edict; but now foreign ideas and words are coming in wholesale, together with top-hats, cigarettes, silk stockings, female suffragists, and other acquired tastes.—E. H. P.

16. *ANDORRA, THE HIDDEN REPUBLIC.* By Lewis Gaston Leary. (New York: *McBride, Nast and Co.*)

The history of this "oldest, highest, poorest, and in population smallest republic in the world" is traced by the author from the days when it was founded by a few Catalans fleeing to the fastnesses of the Pyrenees from the relentless attack of the hated Moor. But even in this remote corner they would not have survived independently were it not for the timely intervention of Charlemagne, and afterwards Louis le Debonnaire, who successfully resisted the enemy and established a republic for this plucky little race, of whom the only tribute they demanded was a couple of trout from the Valira which watered their valley.

Mr. Leary very graphically, aided by some thirty-four excellent illustrations and three sketch maps, depicts the situation and beauty of this ancient refuge, whose people still retain a curious taciturnity which has become proverbial among their Spanish neighbours—a legacy, no doubt, of their terrible early struggles. The difficulties of the approaches to Andorra will, it is to be hoped, for long save it from the crowds of travellers who rush hither and thither to "do" all possible sights within the shortest possible time. The most natural approach is from the south, but as the railway stops short eighty miles distant, and the intervening roads are exceedingly poor, it is advisable that those travellers possessed of walking powers equal to one whole day's strenuous effort should enter it from the French side, where the railway approaches within a few miles.

We feel confident that Mr. Leary's object in this volume will be attained, and that his readers will be inspired by "something of the same respect and affection" which he himself feels "toward the sturdy citizens of Andorra."

17. COMPENDIUM OF PHILOSOPHY. Being a Translation, from the original Pali, of the Abhidhammatha-Sangaha. With Introductory Essay and Notes by Shwe Zan Aung, B.A. Revised and edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A. 300 pp. 5s. net. (Published for the Pali Text Society by *Henry Frowde*, Amen Corner, E.C.)

"For probably eight centuries," says Mrs. Rhys Davids in her preface, "Anuruddha's Abhidhammatha-Sangaha has served as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Ceylon and Burma." To the best of the editor's belief, it is "the first attempt to treat of Buddhist philosophy by East and West working hand in hand." It is a sympathetic attempt "to set down, as distinguished from the *etymological* connotation, the living meaning" of Buddhist philosophical terms, as interpreted by the living tradition. "I am persuaded," she says, "that we shall not understand Buddhist philosophy, as it appears to a Buddhist, till we have learnt to see life and mind as these see them, who have been nourished on its age-long yet living and growing tradition of culture. If, indeed, we shall even then understand! We approach the subject wearing the spectacles of our own Greek tradition. Our perspective is based on space, rather than on time; on substance statically filling space, rather than on movements and moments; on permanence and identity, rather than on change and transmitted force." The Introductory Essay, in which the translator deals illuminatingly with "The Processes of Thought," forms a valuable key, in terms of Western psychology, to the "Compendium" itself, and thereby to the intelligent study of the whole of Buddhist philosophy.—W. M.

18. A COLONY IN THE MAKING. By Lord Cranworth. (London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*)

A book written like this one does one good. Lord Cranworth sets himself to describe the new colony of British East Africa from the points of view of sport and profit, and does so admirably. He considers the country—

or at least ten million acres of it, for he wisely excludes the comparatively unhealthy regions—as admirably suited for white colonists, particularly the now flouted public-school man, to rear a white race, and points out that the healthy portion—rich in many ways, but not in minerals—will grow more healthy year by year. He gives us many naïve pictures of the inhabitants; the warlike Masai, and the, to him, unpleasing Kikuyu, are the chief natives of the land, but since the advent of the European they have been supplemented by the clever Swahili, the undesirable Somali, and the British Indian, whom the author regards as a parasite in the colony, and in some ways undesirable in himself. Then he turns to the settlers (the Boers, who from a chivalric feeling were allowed to come in, now form rather a problem) and the officials, and their difficulties with the land laws—that vexed question. He next deals with the prospects of the colony, which are, roughly speaking: timber, sisal (for fibre), coffee, and wattle (for tannin), all kinds of grain, linseed, potatoes, ground-nuts, chillies, and tobacco; horses, pigs, sheep and cattle, and ostriches; and points out that, rich as the province will become with some of these, it is too soon to say definitely with which. Sport takes up a large part of the book, and is delightfully written about. The labour problem is treated of, and Lady Cranworth adds a chapter for women settlers. The author does not forget to give a tribute to the single-mindedness of the late Governor, Sir Charles Eliot, whom many regard as a martyr, nor to allude to the difficult case of the deportation of the Hon. G. Cole; and he gives a full meed of praise to the pioneer settler Lord Delamere, to whom, and to his wife, he dedicates his excellent description of every phase of British East Africa.—A. F. S.

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19. THE INDIAN SCENE. By J. A. Spender. (London: Methuen and Co.)

The views and impressions of a thoughtful publicist like Mr. Spender, which originally appeared in the *Westminster*

Gazette, are certainly worth preserving in book form. His observations are striking, and throw fresh light on various burning questions; and if his views are slightly tinged with political bias, they are still deserving of consideration by all who have at heart the welfare of India.

Besides the ordinary experiences of a "Durbar tourist," which are dealt with very pleasantly, the author touches on such topics as the relations between Anglo-Indians and natives, and the much-discussed question of "official sympathy," the significance of the recent manifestations of "unrest," the choice of Delhi as the future capital of India, the Purdah question, the North-West Frontier problem, etc. Mr. Spender has a nice turn for description, and is able to say something fresh and illuminating about the Taj Mahal, but wisely refrains from any attempt at presenting a word picture of the indescribable Taj.—E. A. R.-B.

20. AN AMERICAN GIRL AT THE DURBAR. By Shelland Bradley. (London: John Lane.)

This book is very brightly and pleasantly written. It would have been better if the author could have made up her mind to write either a novel of Anglo-Indian life or a record of a tour in India at the time of the Durbar. As it is, one rather feels that it falls between two stools. Those interested in the story grow impatient over the glowing descriptions of the ceremonies at the Durbar, and those who want to know about the Durbar find too many pages taken up with the preliminaries of the voyage and the rather tepid love affairs of one of the American girls. The most amusing part of the book has nothing to do with the Durbar at all, but deals with the adventures of Lady Hendley and the enterprising Miss Lamb when they decide to leave the beaten track of the ordinary globe-trotter and see a part of India unvisited by the average tourist.

The author goes out of her way to pay a high compliment to Anglo-Indian life and morals when, in writing of the numerous prospective brides on the *Minatia*, she says: "Yet India is a wonderful land, and, though many abuse

it, there are few who leave it, when their time comes, without regret. I think one comes across more happy couples in India than anywhere else in the world. . . . There could be nothing more proper than Anglo-Indian society so far as I saw it."—M. S. S.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

A Primer of Hinduism, by J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., Literary Secretary, National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, India and Ceylon. Second edition, 222 pp. (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press.)—It is the conviction of the writer of this *Primer* that Hinduism cannot be understood unless it is studied historically, and he here gives an interesting outline of the growth of the religion in connection with the political and literary annals of the country. Illustrative readings from the various scriptures help the reader to envisage more vividly the character of the leading books. Frequent photographs of temple architecture are also a useful feature. It is regrettable that the sympathetic statement of facts in Part I. should be marred by the author's obvious missionary bias in Part II., where he deals with "Hinduism as a System."—W. M.

The Real Siberia, by J. FOSTER FRASER. (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd.)—This account of what may be regarded as a pioneer journey along the famous Trans-Siberian Railway, taken by Mr. Fraser in 1901, is well worth reprinting; and at the popular price of one shilling it should appeal to a wide public. Still, we think the author would have been well advised had he added a supplementary chapter dealing with the recent development of this great Trans-Continental Railway. For instance, what was then a hastily-built strategic line has now been in a great measure double-tracked, while Dairen (Dalny) has displaced Vladivostock as the port of departure for Japan. Then, some reference might have been made

to the recently completed Chosen railway, running the whole length of the peninsula from Antung to Fusan, which is the last stage in the "New Overland to China and Japan."—E. A. R.-B.

Handbook of British East Africa (1912-13), by H. F. WARD and J. W. MILLIGAN. (Nairobi: The Caxton Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd.)—Messrs. Ward and Milligan's handbook is a good example of what such a guide should be—practical, concise, lucid, and full of skillfully-arranged details on subjects which closely concern the prospective colonist. Nor are the needs of the mere globe-trotter forgotten, and the modernity of the practical information enhances the value of this guide. The authors, who modestly claim for themselves the title of compilers only, have enlisted the services of many of the leading authorities of this rising Protectorate in compiling the handbook.

Cairo of To-Day: A Practical Guide to Cairo and the Nile, by E. A. REYNOLDS-BALL, B.A., F.R.G.S. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912.)—This handy little volume contains maps, plan of Cairo, and a number of illustrations of places of note. We would recommend its possession by anyone intending to visit that ancient city of the East.

The Buddha's "Way of Virtue." A Translation of the Dhammapada. Wisdom of the East Series. (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.)—The object of the editors of this series is a very definite one: to furnish in these books "ambassadors of good-will and understanding between East and West, between the old world of thought and the new of action." The Dhammapada, which was accepted at the Council of Asoka in 240 B.C. as a collection of the sayings of Gautama, and has been used in Buddhist lands as a handbook of meditation, summoning to the life of contemplation and of strenuous mind culture, has not lost any of its austere beauty and cogency in its passage through the centuries. Its call to "play the man," its exhortations to that contemplative activity whose fruits are "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control," are as appropriate to-day as

ever they were. The cool stillness of its precepts and its "half-humorous sweet reasonableness" soothe in these days of thronging petty circumstance, invigorating minds harassed by the specious claims and interests of an over-artificial mode of life.

The Dive for Death: An Indian Romance, by T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. (London: George Allen and Co., Ltd., 44 and 45, Rathbone Place, W.)—This little volume, which tells with Oriental wealth of circumstantial detail the working of destiny in the lives of two lovers, Vijia and Devamani, will be enjoyed by readers who have sympathy or acquaintance enough with India to approach it from an Eastern point of view. To others, we fear the style in which it is written will be a barrier to full appreciation. To use the words of Mr. J. D. Anderson, in his article in the present number on "Contact and Comprehension," there is here too little of the "inspired paraphrase." Such a tale should be told in the homelier speech of the people. To make a play upon words: There is too much Romance for the romance; which is a pity, for the story has in it much that is charming.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1912 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, September, October, and November, 1912 (published by the Society

at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Wealth of India*, a monthly magazine of information and instruction on agriculture, trade, industry, economics, etc., edited by G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A. (Madras: G. A. Vaidyaraman and Co.);—*Kashinath Trimbak Telang: The Man and his Times*, by Vasant N. Naik, M.A. (Madras: Natesan and Co.);—*The Life and Teaching of Buddha*, by the Anagarika Dharmapala (Madras: Natesan and Co.);—*Rad Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar: A Sketch of his Life and his Services to India* (Madras: Natesan and Co.);—*Pennell and Bannu* by A. L., with which is included a paper by Major-General G. K. Scott - Moncrieff, C.B., C.I.E. (London: Church Missionary Society);—*The Encyclopædia of Islam: A Dictionary of Geography, Ethnography, and Biography, of the Muhammadan Peoples*, prepared by a number of leading Orientalists, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann, No. XV. (Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac and Co.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Art and Swadeshi*, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, B.Sc. (Ganesh and Co., Madras);—*International Language: Past, Present, and Future*, by W. J. Clark, M.A., PH.D., B.ES-L. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.);—*Die Kultur des modernen England* in Einzeldarstellungen herausgegeben mit Unterstützung des deutsch-englischen Verständigungskomitees von Dr. Ernst Sieper (Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, München und Berlin);—*Gitanjali (Song Offerings)*, by Rabindra Nath Tagore, a collection of prose translations made by the author from the original Bengali, with introduction by W. B. Yeats (Chiswick Press, for the India Society);—*The System of the Vedānta*, by Dr. Paul Deussen, authorized translation by Charles Johnston (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company);—*The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny, LL.M. (London: Smith, Elder and Co.);—*The Dāśarūpa: A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy*, by Dhanamjaya, translated from the Sanskrit by George C. O. Haas, A.M., PH.D. (New York: Columbia University

Press);—*The Arabs of Tripoli*, by Alan Ostler (London : John Murray);—*The Significance of Ancient Religions in Relation to Human Evolution and Brain Development*, by E. Noel Reichardt, M.D. LOND. (London : George Allen and Co., Ltd.);—*The Book of Protection* : Being a Collection of Charms, edited from the Syriac manuscripts, with translation, introduction, and notes, by Herman Gollancz, M.A., D.LITT. (London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press);—*Dew and Mildew* : Semi-detached Stories from Karabad, India, by Percival Christopher Wren (London : Longmans, Green and Co.);—*The Principles of Hebrew Grammar*, by the Rev. D. Tyssil Evans, M.A., B.SC., Part I. : Signs and Sounds ; Words and their Inflections (London : Luzac and Co.);—*A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca, and a Siege in Sanaa*, by A. J. B. Wavell, F.R.G.S. (London : Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*History of Aurangzib*, by Jadunath Sarkar, M.A. ; 2 vols. (Calcutta : M. C. Sarkar and Sons);—*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, translated into English, with notes and historical essays, by Jadunath Sarkar, M.A. (Calcutta : M. C. Sarkar and Sons);—*From Pole to Pole* : A Book for Young People, by Sven Hedin (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*The Little World of an Indian District Officer*, by R. Carstairs (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* : A Description of their Physical, Moral, and Intellectual Condition, with Some Discussion of their Ethnic Relations, by Charles Hose, D.SC., and William McDougall, M.B., F.R.S., with an appendix on the Physical Characters of the Races of Borneo, by A. C. Haddon, D.SC., F.R.S. ; 2 vols. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*Art in Egypt*, by G. Maspero (London : William Heinemann);—*Recent Events and Present Policies in China*, by J. O. P. Bland (London : William Heinemann);—*Through Shên-Ran* : The Account of the Clark Expedition in North China, 1908-09, by Robert Sterling Clark and Arthur de C. Sowerby (London : T. Fisher Unwin);—*Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, by Arthur Anthony Macdonell, M.A., PH.D., and Arthur Berriedale Keith, M.A., D.C.L. ; 2 vols. (London : John Murray).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—On October 1 was completed the great territorial readjustment involved in the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi by the formation of an Imperial enclave comprising that city and its neighbourhood west of Jumna. Although this intention was not expressly announced by the King at the Delhi Durbar, it was covered by the general statement of His Majesty's declaration that, in connection with the transfer of the capital and the separation of Bengal, there would be such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries "as our Governor-General in Council, with the approval of our Secretary of State for India in Council, may in due course determine."

The enclave thus created is formed by the tahsil of Delhi, and by such part of the southern tahsil, Ballabgarh, as is comprised within the limits of the police post of Mahrauli. The Delhi tahsil has an area of 429 square miles, and the police post serves an area of 128 square miles, bringing up the total extent of the enclave to 557 square miles.

This Punjab territory ceased, on October 1, to form part of the province of Punjab, and is taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor-General of India in Council, and forms into a Chief Commissionership to be called the Chief Commissionership of Delhi. Mr. William Malcolm Bailey, C.I.E., has been given charge of the enclave.

In consequence of the creation of the Chief Commissionership of Delhi, the Delhi division of the Punjab will have to be renamed. The districts which are unaffected by the

change will form the Umballa division, with headquarters at Umballa civil station.

On the anniversary of the Coronation Durbar the King telegraphed to Lord Hardinge expressing the hope that the historic ceremony will prove to have been the beginning of a new era, insuring greater happiness and prosperity to India under the Crown.

The first meeting of the Indian Public Services Commission will be held in Madras on or about December 29, and the taking of evidence will begin during the first week in the new year.

The general report on the health of British troops in India for the year 1911 has been published. It shows the average strength of European troops serving in India during 1911 as 72,371 warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and men. The year's report on their health is the most favourable one ever recorded.

The Right Hon. John Baron Pentland, Governor of the Presidency of Madras, has been appointed an additional Knight Grand Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

Colonel Sir David Barr has been appointed chairman of the Political Committee of the India Council, in succession to Sir William Lee-Warner.

Mr. Michael Francis O'Dwyer, C.S.I., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in succession to Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., whose term of office expires in May.

Sir Thomas Holderness, K.C.S.I., secretary in the Revenue Department, India Office, has been appointed permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, and Mr. F. C. Drake succeeds him as Secretary in the Revenue Department.

Prabashankar Pattani, now Diwan of Bhamagar, will succeed Mahader Bhaskar Chanbal as member of the Governor's Executive Council, Bombay.

Sir William Lee-Warner, who was appointed to the

Council of India by Lord George Hamilton on November 12, 1902, has retired at the end of his statutory term of ten years, and so brings to a close an official career in the service of the Indian Government and people extending over forty-three years.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the renewal of survey operations in the Abor and Mishmi country in continuation of the work carried on last cold weather concurrently with the primitive expedition against the Abors.

The King has commanded that the "India General Service Medal, 1908," with clasp "Abor 1911-12," be granted to all troops who took part in the expedition, and served under the orders of Major-General H. Bower, C.B.

CEYLON.—Sir H. E. McCullum, the Governor of Ceylon, has resigned on account of ill-health.

Mr. Reginald Edward Stubbs of the Colonial Office has been appointed Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, in succession to Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., who has been appointed Governor of the Gold Coast.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—The Council of the Federated Malay States has resolved, on a motion moved by the Sultan of Perak, to offer a first-class armoured ship to the Imperial Government. The Sultans of Perak, Selangor, and Pahang, and the ruler of Negri Sembilan declared that they were in favour of the offer because they were deeply sensible of the benefits of British protection. It was a sign of the loyalty of the states. The resolution provides that the cost shall be not less than £2,250,000, payable within five years. This offer was accepted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on behalf of the United Kingdom.

PERسيا.—The new programme of the Cabinet expresses the intention of the Government to reopen Parliament, to link up the Caspian or Rome point in Azerbaijan with the Persian Gulf by means of a railway built with international capital, to restore order in the trade routes, and to organize

an army of 28,000 men. The Government also intends to approach England and Russia for an advance of £200,000.

In consequence of the Kurdish robberies and excesses on the part of the Fidais, and to protect the Russian trade route to Tabriz, Khai, and Urumiah, Russian reinforcements were sent from the Northern Caucasus to Azerbaijan on the order of the Governor.

The British Government has advanced the Persian Government £15,000 for administrative purposes in the province of Fars.

At a meeting of the Persia Committee held in London a resolution was carried drawing the Government's attention to the recent return of Saad-ed-Dowleh, which has been in effect an attempt to recall the ex-Shah, which His Majesty's Government have repeatedly declared they could not tolerate, and being convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the present disturbances until the Constitution, which was suspended eleven months ago, has been restored, urged His Majesty's Government to do what is possible to facilitate the summoning of the Mejlis with a view to carrying into effect the policy outlined by Sir E. Grey on December 14, 1911, for providing an adequate loan to the Persian Government to enable it to enforce order and procure the recall of the Russian troops.

Captain A. B. Eckford, of the 39th Central India Horse, was killed by tribesmen near Shiraz on December 11. He was proceeding with Major Kettlewell and a number of Indian sowars to Dasht-i-Arjin to shoot, when the party was attacked by a body of tribesmen. Captain Eckford was killed, and a number of mules were carried off, as well as a whole caravan of merchandise proceeding to Bushire.

The British Minister at Teheran addressed a note to the Persian Foreign Minister stating that His Majesty's Government considered the occurrence as of a serious nature. The Governor-General of Fars is taking measures, and is sending 2,000 men against the Boerahmadis, the guilty tribesmen.

PERSIAN GULF.—Special land operations in Mekran are being effectively carried out against the gun runners. Many captures have been reported during the quarter.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—The Legislative Council held its first meeting in the new session on November 16, when Lord Kitchener, accompanied by Mr. Ronald Storrs, Oriental Secretary, was present. In his opening address Mahomed Pasha Said, the President, referred to the possibility of an eventual change in the mode of election, the composition, and the functions of the Council.

SARAWAK.—The Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke, has issued a proclamation establishing a Sarawak Government Agency in England and an Advisory Council to carry out such administrative or other functions relative to Sarawak as can be discharged in London. The first members of the Council are Mr. B. W. D. Brooke (the Tuan Muda), Mr. C. A. Bampfylde, and Mr. H. F. Deshon (late residents of the first division), and Mr. C. H. W. Johnson (legal adviser of the Raj).

JAPAN.—Sir William Conyngham Greene, K.C.B., has been appointed to be His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Tokyo in succession to the Right Hon. Sir Claude MacDonald, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

The Japanese Minister of War resigned on December 2 as the result of the decision of the Cabinet adverse to the scheme establishing two military divisions in Korea. Under existing regulations the War Minister must be appointed from among military men, all of whom are believed to hold the views of the ex-Minister, and are described as being against the Government.

The Marquis Saionji, the Premier, has resigned.

CHINA.—For the supervision of expenditure and the control of security the Chinese Government are instituting Audit and Salt Departments, to be conducted with the aid of foreign assistance voluntarily engaged.

Great festivities were held throughout China on Octo-

ber 10, and continued for three days, to commemorate the revolution, the entire population giving itself up to rejoicing.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Congress of the South African Party opened at Pretoria on November 20 in the presence of 200 delegates. General Botha, in his Presidential address, hoped the races would work together to create the nationality for which they were striving. He urged the strengthening of the bonds between South Africa and the Motherland. He saw great progress in South Africa, commercially and agriculturally. The Union was a great success, and he looked forward to a glorious future. He explained that the chief business of the Congress was a settlement of the constitution of the party.

After sitting in Committee, the Congress adopted the following principles and programme: Acknowledgment of the Divine guidance of the destinies of nations, and the maintenance of religious freedom. The development of the South African spirit of national union and self-reliance through the attainment of a lasting union between the various sections of the people.

General Botha, the first Prime Minister of South Africa, has resigned.

RHODESIA.—The Chartered Company has decided to increase the numbers of the Legislative Council of Rhodesia, which will consist of twelve elected and eight nominated members.

MOROCCO.—The situation in the four commands of Fez, Mekinez, Rahat, and Shawia has much improved during the quarter. The Harka gathering in the country twenty-five miles to the east of Marakesh dispersed on reception of the news that the Rehamna had submitted.

AUSTRALIA: NEW SOUTH WALES.—Sir Gerald Strickland, K.C.M.G., Governor of Western Australia, has been appointed Governor of New South Wales on the retirement next March of the present Governor, Lord Chelmsford, G.C.M.G.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Major-General Sir Harry Barron,

Governor of Tasmania, has been appointed Governor of Western Australia in place of Sir Gerald Strickland.

TASMANIA.—The Right Hon. William Ellison Macartney, has been appointed Governor of Tasmania in succession to Sir Harry Barron, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., who has become Governor of Western Australia.

NEW ZEALAND.—The House of Representatives has passed the Defence Bill on second reading. In the course of the debate, the ex-Premier, Sir Joseph Ward, insisted that the compulsory system was an absolute necessity.

This passed the Committee stage in the House of Representatives substantially unaltered.

The Government Bill, reducing the term of future appointments to the Legislative Council from seven years to three years, thus facilitating special appointments to carry the Council Election Bill, has passed the House of Representatives, but has been rejected by the Council.

The New Zealand Public Service Bill, which substitutes the management of an independent Commissioner for the district control of the Executive, has passed both Houses.

The labour outlook in New Zealand has greatly improved during the quarter, the strike of Huntley Miners having ended and the work at Waihi having increased. The Arbitration Union at Waihi is steadily growing.

CANADA.—The Canadian Parliament was opened at Ottawa on November 21 by the Duke of Connaught. In his opening speech, the Duke referred to the naval defence of the Empire, and said that during the summer four members of the Government had conferred in London with His Majesty's Government on the question of naval defence when an important discussion took place, and conditions have been disclosed, which, in the opinion of his (the Duke's) advisers, render it imperative that the effective naval forces of the Empire should be strengthened without delay. He went on to say that his advisers concluded that it would be the duty of Canada at this juncture to afford reasonable and necessary aid for that purpose, and a Bill would be introduced accordingly.

The trade of the Dominion for the past fiscal year was the largest on record, and it was anticipated that for the current year it would greatly surpass that of any previous year in the Dominion's history.

Mr. Louis Coderre, M.P., succeeds Mr. Monk in the Cabinet, and becomes Secretary of State in place of Mr. Roche, who becomes Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Rogers becomes Minister of Public Works in place of Mr. Monk.

Sir George Ross, the former Prime Minister of Ontario, has been appointed leader of the Liberal majority in the Canadian Senate.

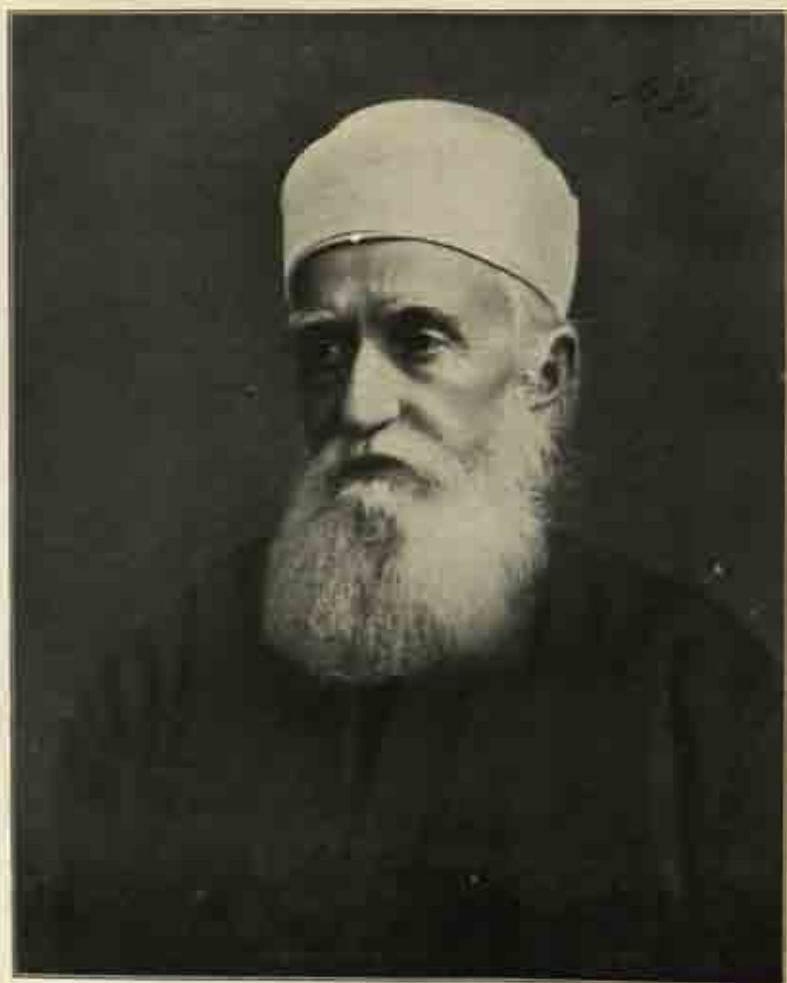
As a result of a conference it has been decided to introduce new fishing regulations to give preference to white fishermen over Japanese, who hitherto have largely controlled the fishing industries. On March 15 each year there will be reserved as many licences as there is reason to anticipate will be applied for by white fishermen owning their own boats. Formerly all licences were assigned to the big canning firms, who farmed them out to the Japanese.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter:

Sir Robert Egerton, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the senior surviving retired Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab;—James Henry Apperley Tremenhoe, late Madras Civil Service;—General Sir Charles Lawrence D'Aguilar, G.C.B., Colonel-Commandant R.H.A. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel George Conrad Sartorius, C.B., late Indian Army (Afghan war 1879-80, Egyptian expedition 1882-84, Burmese expedition 1886-89);—Colonel Edward Brown (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852, Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier 1863);—William Henderson Buchan, of the Indian Civil Service;—Colonel Henry George Gore-Browne, V.C. (Indian Mutiny);—Sir William Dring, K.C.I.E., Agent of the East Indian Railway;—Colonel G. A. Curzon, late 2nd Life Guards (Indian Mutiny);—Surgeon-Colonel H. Martineau Greenhow (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel E. A. Birch, M.D., F.R.C.S., late of the Bengal Medical Service;—Colonel P. W. Bannerman, Indian Army (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General R. Russell Woodhouse, late Bombay Staff Corps;—General H. C. Dowker, C.B., late Madras Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny);—Brigadier-General Bruce Inglefield, C.B., D.S.O. (Afghan war 1878-79, South Africa);—General Sir Howard S. Jones, K.C.B., late R.M.L.I.;—William B. Jones, C.S.I.;—

Lieutenant-General L. D'Arcy Dunsterville, Bombay Staff Corps;—Major W. M. M. Edwards, v.c.;—Captain William Anderson (South Africa);—Sir John H. Morris, k.c.s.l., late Bengal Civil Service;—Robert Thompson Hobart, late Bengal Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Young (North-West Frontier of India campaign 1863);—Major J. S. St. John (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Sir Francis Boyd Outram, late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel W. S. Churchward (Jowaki expedition 1877, Afghan war 1878, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Loch, c.l.e. (North-West Frontier campaign 1863-64);—Major A. J. Badcock (Isazai expedition 1892, Chitral Force 1895, Tirah 1897);—Sir Robert Eyles Egerton, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab;—Zalim Singh, the ex-chief of Jhalawar;—Major-General J. A. Smith, late Bombay Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, Abyssinian expedition 1868);—Colonel Henry Phillips (Persian campaign 1856, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Major H. S. Buckle, commanding Army Service Corps in Ceylon (South Africa 1899-1902);—Major-General George Money Batty, late Indian Army (Burmese war 1852-54, Indian Mutiny);—Sir Richmond Thackeray Ritchie, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, India Office;—Sir Gerald Fitzgerald;—General George Napier Campbell (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General James Turner Cummins, c.b. (Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian expedition 1882, Soudan expedition 1885, Burmese expedition 1886-89, China 1900);—Deputy-Surgeon-General J. F. Corbyn (Indian Mutiny);—Dr. Andrew Duncan, late Lieutenant-Colonel of the Indian Medical Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Graves (Afghan war 1878-79);—Captain Dermont Affeck-Graves, r.e. (North-West Frontier);—Sir John Page Wood (Waziristan expedition 1894-95, South Africa);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Pollard (Afghan war 1878-80, Mahsood Wuzereee expedition 1881, Burmese expedition 1886-87, Hazara expedition 1888);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Rogers (Burmese expedition 1885-89, China-Lushai expedition 1889-90);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. S. O'Brien (Waziristan expedition 1894-95);—William Brittain Jones, c.s.l., formerly Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces of India;—Major-General Edmund L'Estrange (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Persian expedition 1856-57);—Major-General William Jackson, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Surgeon-General A. M. Dallas, c.l.e.;—Colonel E. W. Cunliffe, Indian Army;—Captain Douglas Wimberley (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel C. Sewell (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Owen, late L.M.S.;—F. W. Robertson, late Indian Public Works Department;—Henry Luttmann-Johnson, late Bengal Civil Service;—Major-General G. A. Craster, late Bengal Engineers (Burmese war 1852-53);—Colonel F. Peel (Afghan war 1878-80);—Brigadier-Surgeon T. S. Veale (Mutiny, Bhootan expedition 1865-66, Afghan campaign 1879-80);—Sir William Robinson, formerly Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong-Kong.





ABDUL BAHÁ.

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THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL, 1913.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DIVINE CIVILIZATION.

BY ABDUL BAHÁ—HIS EXCELLENCY ABBAS EFFENDI.

When listening to Abbas Effendi's address at the Mosque at Woking, (of which a brief report is given elsewhere in the present number), it occurred to us that readers of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" would be interested to have from so distinguished and widely revered a visitor some account of the impressions made upon him by our Western life and institutions during his recent tour through America and Europe, which tour may be briefly characterized as a pilgrimage among the many shrines which are being erected of late to the Spirit of International Concord. We therefore asked him would he be good enough to write an article for our pages. The result is here given, and affords a typical instance—with its Eastern warmth of metaphor and simple directness of phrase—of that "Contact and Comprehension" which is becoming possible between the mind of the East and the mind of the West, on which Mr. Anderson wrote in our January issue, which also is one of the chief aims of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review."—ED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

YOUR letter was received. It indicated the spiritual susceptibilities which emanate from your spirit and consciousness, and it imparted the utmost happiness.

During this journey it has become manifest and evident to me that the Western world has made extraordinary progress in material civilization, but Divine civilization is well-nigh forgotten.

This is the result of the submission of all human thought to the world of nature.

All that one observes in the Western Hemisphere are the appearances of the material world and not of the Divine world.

As there are many defects in the world of nature the lights of Divine civilization are hidden, and nature has become the ruler over all things.

In the world of nature the greatest dominant note is the struggle for existence—the result of which is the survival of the fittest. The law of the survival of the fittest is the origin of all difficulties. It is the cause of war and strife, hatred and animosity, between human beings.

In the world of nature there is tyranny, egoism, aggression, overbearance, usurpation of the rights of others and other blameworthy attributes which are the defects of the animal world. Therefore so long as the requirements of the natural world play paramount part among the children of men, success and prosperity are impossible. For the success and prosperity of the human world depend upon the qualities and virtues with which the reality of humanity is adorned; while the exigencies of the natural world work against the realization of this object.

Nature is warlike, nature is blood-thirsty, nature is tyrannical, nature is unaware of His Highness the Almighty. That is why these cruel qualities are natural to the animal world.

Therefore His Highness the Lord of mankind, having great love and mercy, has caused the appearance of the prophets and the revelations of the holy books, so that through Divine education the world of humanity may be released from the corruption of nature and the darkness of ignorance; be confirmed with ideal virtues, the susceptibilities of consciousness and the spiritual attributes, and become the dawning-place of merciful emotions. This is Divine civilization. To-day in the world of humanity material civilization is like unto a lamp of the utmost transparency, but this lamp—a thousand times alas!—is

deprived of light. This light is Divine civilization, which is instituted by the Holy Divine Manifestations.

This century is the century of light. This century is the century of the appearance of reality. This century is the century of universal progress.

A hundred thousand times alas ! that ignorant prejudices, unnatural differences and antagonistic and inimical principles are yet displayed by the nations of the world toward one another, thus causing the retardation of general progress. This retrogression comes from the fact, that the principles of Divine civilization are completely abandoned, and the teachings of the prophets of God are forgotten.

For instance, it is the clear text of the Old Testament, that all humanity are the creatures of God. They are under the protection of the Almighty. "The devil" had nothing to do with their creation. It is the text of the New Testament that the sun of God shines upon the just and the unjust alike. It is likewise written in the Koran, "Thou shalt not see any difference in the creations of thy Lord." These expressions, which convey the same idea, are the foundation of the Holy Divine Manifestations of God.

A thousand times alas ! that misunderstanding has completely uprooted this basis.

Firstly, religion must become the means of love and amity ; secondly, it must proclaim the oneness of the world of humanity.

But the leaders among the people have caused it to become the means of hatred and enmity. For the last 6,000 years there has been bloodshed and rapacity amongst the children of men. These blameworthy attributes are the manifestations of the animal nature. Outwardly it has been called religious prejudice, racial prejudice and patriotic prejudice. Men have taken an axe and cut through the root of the tree of humanity. A hundred thousand times alas !

In short, I have travelled throughout many countries in the Western World, especially America. In many big

churches and large meetings I proclaimed the oneness of the world of humanity in accord with the teachings of His Holiness Baha' Allah. I promoted the principle of universal peace, and with resonant voice I summoned all to enter into the Kingdom of God.

I said: Praise be to God that the Sun of Reality has shone forth with the utmost brilliancy from the Eastern horizon. The regions of the world are flooded with its glorious light. There are many rays to this Sun:

The first ray is heavenly teachings.

The second ray is the oneness of the world of humanity.

The third ray is the establishment of universal peace.

The fourth ray is the investigation of reality.

The fifth ray is the promotion of universal fellowship.

The sixth ray is the inculcation of Divine love through the power of religion.

The seventh ray is the conformity of religion with science and reason.

The eighth ray is the abandonment of religious, racial, patriotic and political prejudices.

The ninth ray is the universal spread of education.

The tenth ray is the organization of the arbitral court of justice, or the Parliament of Man, before the members of which all the international and inter-governmental problems are arbitrated.

The eleventh ray is the equality of the sexes—the giving of the same educational facilities to women as to men, so that they may become adorned with all the virtues of humanity.

The twelfth ray is the solution of the economic problems of the world, so that each individual member of humanity may enjoy the utmost comfort and well-being.

The thirteenth ray is the spread of an auxiliary world-language.

Just as the rays of the phenomenal Sun are infinite, likewise the rays of the Sun of Reality are infinite. The above summary only contains a few of its rays.

The spreading of these rays will deliver the world of humanity from the darkness of ignorance, strangeness, and narrowness, and will guide it to the centre of all these rays. Then the foundation of warfare and strife, animosity and hatred, will be destroyed from amongst the people, and the misunderstandings existing between the religions will be dispelled. The foundation of the religions of God is one, and that is the *oneness* of the world of humanity.

Praise be to God! while travelling in America I found attentive ears. I associated and became intimate with many people. I observed that their object is the spread of fellowship amongst all people, and their highest hope is the extraordinary advancement of the human world. Similarly in London I met many blessed and enlightened souls who are striving with heart and soul to create love and amity between the various nations and races. It is my hope that from day unto day these lofty ideals may find greater spread, and these philanthropic intentions may more and more appear, so that all the nations of the world may become the manifestors of merciful attributes, and there may remain no strife and ill-feeling amongst religions and communities. This is the everlasting glory! This is eternal prosperity! This is the paradise of the world of humanity!

ON MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL EDUCATION.

Education in the world of humanity is divided into two parts :

1. Material education.
2. Spiritual education.

Material education confers upon man the means of physical comfort ; the complicated physical needs of humanity are assured and material advancement is made possible in worldly affairs. For example, the European nations, through the blessings of material education, have made marvellous progress.

The founders of the school of material education are

the past and contemporary philosophers and thinkers. Scientists and inventors, through the application of their mental faculties, bring forth upon the arena of existence wonderful enterprises and undertakings; thus man enjoys the benefit of the labours of these leaders of thought.

However, the teachings of these material educators do not have effect in the world of morality, and if they display any effect it is very small, for material education simply develops the physical side of humanity. It is incapable of illumining the dark regions of the great world of morality. Eternal beatitude is not made possible through the spread of material education.

Consider, after all, how the sphere of material education is limited. Even if man satisfies his greatest desires for material comfort he is but like unto a bird! Imagine the happy state of a bird which flies in the immensity of space, hops from one branch to another, and builds its nest upon the loftiest branch, whence it can view the whole panorama of nature spread before its eyes—a scene of ravishing beauty and enchantment. Its tiny nest is more beautiful than a King's most sumptuous palace. Its wealth consists of all the seeds in the fields, of the cooling springs flowing from the breast of the mountains, and of the green meadows. This is the highest point of physical bliss and enjoyment, which is made possible in a more perfect manner for the birds of the fields than for men. These things are prepared for them without any hard labour or suffering. They know not sorrow, neither any danger or fear, such as men experience in their lives. In the utmost ease and happiness they live.

Such, then, is the happiness of the animal world. But the happiness of the human world comes from the virtues of the world of humanity, which enjoyment the animals know not of. That comes from the extension of the range of vision, the excellencies of the world of humanity: the love of God, the knowledge of God, equality between the people, justice and equity and ideal communication between hearts.

These are the principles upon which the structure of human happiness is built. Spiritual education consists of the inculcation of these ideals of Divine morality, promotes these high thoughts. This spiritual education is made possible through the power of the Holy Spirit. As long as the breath of the Holy Spirit does not display any influence, spiritual education is not obtained; whereas if a soul is inspired by the Holy Spirit, he will be enabled to educate a nation.

Consider the records of bygone philosophers: the utmost that they could do was to educate themselves. The circle of their influence was very limited; all that they could do was to instruct a few pupils. Of such a type was the influence of Plato and Aristotle. These philosophers were only able to train a limited number of people. But those souls who are assisted by the breath of the Holy Spirit can educate a nation. The prophets of God were neither philosophers nor celebrated for their genius. Outwardly they belonged to the common people, but as they were encircled with the all-comprehending power of the Holy Spirit, they were thus enabled to impart a general education to all men. For instance, His Holiness the Christ and His Holiness Muhammad were not among the thinkers of the age, neither were they counted great geniuses; but through the power of the Holy Spirit they were able to confer universal instruction upon many nations.

They illumined the world of morality. They laid the foundation of a spiritual sovereignty which is everlasting. Similarly with those souls who have entered the Tabernacle of the Cause of God. Although not important in appearance, yet everyone is confirmed in stimulating the cause of general moral instruction. Therefore it has become evident that real spiritual universal education cannot be realized save through the breath of the Holy Spirit. Man must not look at his own capabilities, but think of the power of the Holy Spirit.

In this age His Holiness Baha' Ullah has breathed the

Holy Spirit into the dead body of the world, consequently every weak soul is strengthened by these fresh Divine out-breathings—every poor man will become rich, every darkened soul will become illumined, every ignorant one will become wise, because the confirmations of the Holy Spirit are descending like unto torrents. A new era of Divine consciousness is upon us. The world of humanity is going through a process of transformation. A new race is being developed. The thoughts of human brotherhood are permeating all regions. New ideals are stirring the depths of hearts, and a new spirit of universal consciousness is being profoundly felt by all men.

Translated from the original Persian by Mirza Ahmad Sohrab.*

* We have pleasure in printing, for the benefit of our Persian friends, the original from which the first part of this article was translated, as written down by Abbas Effendi's secretary.—Ed.

الفت محبت بقوه دین است بطریق علم عقل و دین و ترک تعصب و بی حیثی
 و وطنی و سیاسی و تعلیم معارف عمومی و تکلیف محکم که برای عموم مردم
 مسائل مختلفه بین المللی و بین دولتی و تربیت عموم انانیت و نظریات
 در فضیلت انانیت و حل مسائل اقتصادی و تاسیس انانیت
 تا عالم انانیت از غفلت ضلالت نجات یابد و مطلع انوار هدایت رسد و تکلیف
 این نزاع و جدل و خصومت و عداوت در بین بشر از میان افتد و یگانگی
 که بین ادیان است زایل گردد زیرا اساس ادیان الهی یکی است و آن وحدت
 عالم انانیت است. الحمد لله در بریکه کوششهای باز یستم و نفوس میهم و مبارز
 دیدم که مقام شان الفت بین جمیع بشر است و نهایت اندویشان ترقیات
 فوق العاده عالم انانیت و همچنین در لندن نموس برارکی را ملاقات کردم
 که بجهان و دل در القاء محبت الفت و بین بشر میگویند امیدم چنان
 که روز بروز این افکار عالی نشمار و این مقاصد بزرگ جلوه نماید جمیع
 مظاهر سنوعات رحمانیه گردند و در بین ادیان و اقوام نزاع جدلی نماند
 این عزت ابیه این سعادت سرمدیه اینست خت عالم انانیت

خلق رها کند و در ظل لطف پروردگار نه قلم شیطان نصیج است
 که آفتاب الهی بر مطیع و عامی جمیع برپا انداخته و در قرآن میفرماید
 لا تری فی خلق الرحمن من تفاوت این است اسس مظاهر تقدیر الهیه و لی
 هزار فرسوس که شود تا فاهم لکلی بیان انبیا را برانداخته لهذا در کتب
 و الفت باشد و مؤسسه وحدت عالم انی اگر دو سبب نقض و عداوت
 شش هزار سال که درین بشر خویشی و درگیری که از خصال عالم
 حیوانیت و لی بظاهر نام تعصب و نبی تعصب حسی و تعصب وطنی بنا
 و تیره بر ریشه عالم انی میزنند صد هزار فرسوس باری من در
 ممالک غرب سیاحت نمودم و در جمیع مجامع و کلاس علمی بود
 تعالیم حضرت بخت اعلی اعلان وحدت عالم انی نمودم
 و تیر و سچ صلح عمومی کردم نعره زبان جمیع را بملکوت الهی دعوت
 نمودم که الحمد لله شمس حقیقت اراقی شرق و در نهایت اعلان
 نموده و بر جمیع افاق برپا انداخته بر تو او تعالیم آسمانی و
 اعلان وحدت عالم انیست و تیر و سچ صلح عمومی و سحر حقیقت

جنگوات طبیعت جو نوارات طبیعت سمکارات طبیعت غافل
 از حضرت پروردگار است اینست که ملاحظه میفرمائید که این صفات
 دزدگی در عالم حیوانی طبیعی است لهذا حضرت پروردگار محض لطیف و
 بعث رسل و انزال کتب فرمود تا بترتیب الهی عالم انبیاء را
 طبیعت و طبیعت نادانی نجات یافته بکمال است معنی احسان و
 و فضائل روحانی متوفی گردد و مصدر رسوبات روحانی شود اینست
 مدینت الهی امروز در عالم انبیاء مدینت الهی مانند رجای در
 لطافت اولی هزار افسوس که این رجای محروم از رحمت
 و سراج مدینت الهیه است که مظهر مقدس الهیه متوسل اند
 باری چون این قرن قرن انوار است قرن ظهور حقیقت است
 قرن ترقیات است هزار افسوس که هنوز من شبر تعصبات
 و منازعات طبیعی و خصومت و عداوت در نهایت مانع است
 و جمیع این ضرر با ازان است که مدینت الهیه بکلی از میان رفته
 و تعالیم انبیاء فراموش شده مثلاً نقی تو را است که جمیع شبر

میر محترم مجله شرقی لندن
 باشد

دوست محترم من نامه شما رسید از آن ردابط مدعانی که غیبت
 از جان و بدنان بود نهایت سرور حاصل شد در این سفر هر چند
 مشغول و واضح گردید که عالم غرب در مدنیّت مادیّه ترقیات فوق العاده
 نموده ولی مدنیّت الهیّه نزدیک است که بکلی فراموش شود زیرا
 جمیع افکار در عالم طبیعت غرق گردیده هر چه هست جلوه جهان
 طبیعت است نه جلوه الهی و چون در عالم طبیعت نقایص بسیار
 لهذا الوار مدنیّت الهیّه نهیجان طبیعت حکمران شده است که عالم
 قوه عظم سازع در بقا است و این سازع در بقا مبد و شایع
 مشکها و سبب خنک و جدال و عداوت و بغضا بین جمیع بشر است
 زیرا در عالم طبیعت ظلم و خود پسندی و از روی غلبه و تعدی بر حقوق
 سایرین و صفات غیر ممد و مد که از ردائل عالم حیوانیت موجود
 پس تا مقتضیات طبیعت بین بشر حکمران است فلاح و نجات
 محال زیرا فلاح و نجات عالم انسانی بقضائل و خصائل است که نیست
 حقیقت انسان است و این مخالف مقتضای طبیعت است طبیعت



GATHERING AT THE MOSQUE, WOKING, ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF ABDUL KAHAR, JANUARY 17, 1913.

THE SUPPRESSED DEBATE ON THE INDIAN COTTON EXCISE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

ON February 14 last, Sir John Spear, M.P. for the Tavistock division of Devonshire, put the following question to the Under-Secretary of State for India :—

"Whether he is aware that the Indian Blue-book, No. 155 (copy of the Indian Financial Statement and Budget for 1911-12, and Discussions thereon in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General), contains no report of the Debate in the Legislative Council of March 9, 1911, on the Indian cotton-duties, though it contains full reports of all the other debates on the Budget on March 1, March 7, March 8, and March 27, 1911.

"Whether this omission was sanctioned by the Hon. W. H. Clark, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

"And whether any full official report of the debate of March 9, 1911, is available to the public in this country."

Mr. Harold Baker, M.P. for the Accrington division of Lancashire, who is doing duty as Under-Secretary (and incidentally placating Lancashire) during the absence of Mr. E. S. Montagu in India, answered this question.

Mr. Baker, though very young both in years and in Parliamentary experience, has already shown himself to be a past-master in the valuable Parliamentary art of answering questions without imparting undesirable information. The prolonged efforts of Mr. Rupert Gwynne, Mr. Touche, Colonel Yate, and other members to obtain some light from him on the mysterious methods of Sir Felix Schuster and the Finance Committee of the India Office, in such small matters as the purchase of millions' worth of silver for the Government of India and the lending to fortunate Banks of the Government of India's millions of gold, were likened in the House of Commons to the tooth-drawing operations by which our Plantagenet Kings were in the habit of getting at the hidden treasures of their Jewish subjects. Here is Mr. Baker's answer to Sir John Spear:—

"The Blue-book, No. 155, contains full reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Council on those days on which the Financial Statement and the Budget were under discussion. Neither of those Statements was under discussion on March 9, 1911, and that is why the debates of that day were not included in the papers sent home by the Government of India for presentation to Parliament and published as a Blue-book.

"The Proceedings of the Viceroy's Legislative Council are on record in the India Office, and can be consulted in the Library of that Office."

Now, neither Lord Crewe nor Mr. Baker would deny that the Debate in question was by far the most momentous, and the most interesting to the general public both in Britain and in India, of all the debates which have taken place in the Council as enlarged and reformed by Lord Morley and Lord Minto. It may be assumed that Mr. Baker was correct on some abstruse technicality—very possibly, because the new rules of procedure, then brought

into force for the first time, were imperfectly understood by many members—in his bald declaration that neither the Financial Statement nor the Budget was technically “under discussion on March 9, 1911.” As a matter of fact, several propositions by hon. members were ruled “out of order,” some by reason of the changes in the administration and the creation of an Education Department with an Executive Member at its head, but mostly by reason of the total change that had been made in the rules of procedure. But the facts were as stated in Sir John Spear’s question. The Finance Minister introduced his Financial Statement on March 1. On March 7 it was debated, and on March 8 certain resolutions were discussed—*e.g.*, the Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu moved to abolish the subsidy to a vernacular paper, the Hon. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha moved that a library should be provided for the Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale moved to abolish the allotment for Famine Insurance, and so forth. On March 8, the Council adjourned to March 9, and on March 27 the Budget was passed. All these proceedings are reported *verbatim* in the Blue-book presented to Parliament.

On March 9, the Council met, and after questions, the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy moved to abolish the excise-duty upon cotton goods manufactured in India. Brief summaries of the proceedings were telegraphed home by Reuter and by the *Times* correspondent. And from these we learnt that the proceedings had been long and “heated”—that every Indian member of the Legislative Council, whether elected or nominated by Government, voted against the Government in support of the resolution—that most of the Indian members spoke in favour of the abolition; while the sole champion of the duty was the Hon. Mr. W. H. Clark, the very able and eloquent young gentleman whom Mr. Lloyd George had provided for the Indian Ministry of Commerce and Industry, presumably for this purpose. And a subsidiary account of the pro-

ceedings stated that when the Vice-President put the question to the Council, so great was the eagerness of the Indian supporters of the resolution in shouting "Aye," and so faint (and presumably shamefaced) were the shouts of "No," that the Vice-President was constrained to declare that "The Ayes have it!"—and it was not until the Hon. Mr. Clark claimed a division that it was discovered that the Government was saved from defeat by the votes of its English official nominees!

Before the close of the same meeting—so one learns from the *Gazette of India* in the library of the India Office—another financial resolution of absolutely first-rate importance was moved, briefly discussed, and similarly defeated by official votes. It was moved by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that such a duty should be imposed on imported sugar "as to make it possible for the indigenous sugar industry to survive the competition to which it is at present exposed."

While the discussion on the question of providing a library for the Council is thought worthy of being reported *verbatim* to Parliament in this precious Blue-book, if M.P.'s or journalists want to know anything about these two great debates on the cotton excise and the sugar industry, they must betake themselves—so Mr. Baker informs us—to the Library of the India Office! Is it possible for Cobdenite obscurantism to go further than this?

At the close of the impassioned speech in which Mr. Dadabhoi replied to Mr. Clark and wound up the debate, the hon. member declared his belief that the debate "will also have the effect of vividly bringing to the notice of the people in England the injustice of this duty. I have abundant faith in the English race, with their characteristic independence, with their traditional sense of honour; before long they will intercede, and will see that this duty is abolished." Could anything be more pathetic than this appeal? Mr. Dadabhoi naturally believed that the words of the numerous distinguished Indian statesmen who had spoken that day

would be honourably brought to the notice of the British public, instead of being hidden away under the cobwebs of the India Office. He had neglected to reckon with the artfulness of your good honest Free Trader! But I trust that it may even yet be possible for a Member of Parliament to move for a return of the report of these debates as a Parliamentary Paper, and that Lord Crewe and the Government may be shamed into producing it.

It is probable that there has never been such a crushing and complete exposure of the cruel and oppressive character of the so-called "Free-Trade" fiscal system that we have imposed on India, than is contained in the absolutely unanimous testimony of all the Indian members of the Legislative Council. For they, one and all, show conclusively (1) that the excise duties absolutely strangle the nascent Indian cotton-industry; (2) that it is not the competition of the fine cottons imported from Lancashire, but rather the coarse goods that are made in Japan, and beginning to be made in China, from which the mill industry of India is in danger; (3) that the Indian industry is handicapped by the fact that the Japanese mills have the tremendous advantage, not only of an elaborate system of protection and subsidies, but also of free silver, which gives them a clear bounty of at least 3 per cent. *ad valorem* (so Mr. Dadabhoy showed) in addition to everything else; and (4) that India, although she is quite willing to receive any amount of the fine Lancashire cotton-goods which she does not manufacture for herself, is compelled to be swamped in her competition with the mills of Japan and other makers of coarse goods, merely because of the mistaken fears of Lord Crewe and the Lancashire Free Traders!

As the report of this Debate was securely tucked away in the dusty shelves of the India Office library, it is probable we should never have heard anything of all this, but for the prominent attention directed to the subject in the speeches of Lord Crewe at Cheltenham and Bournemouth.

In those speeches the Secretary of State for India poured all the vials of his supercilious ridicule on the suggestion that India wanted any protection from anyone save Lancashire. Did not Lancashire furnish 91·7 per cent. of the Indian imports of cotton-goods? Therefore he concluded that it would be futile to remit the excise duties on Indian cottons and the import duties on British goods, while taxing goods from outside the British Empire; he did not condescend to notice the undoubted fact that a moderate duty on the export of some Indian monopolies (such as raw jute and lac) to countries outside the Empire would easily provide sufficient revenue to recoup India for these remissions, and at the same time cheapen the cost of the clothing of the Indian masses, if Cobdenism would only allow of such differential treatment. All that Lord Crewe with his Cobdenite prejudices, could see was that India must continue these iniquitous excise duties, which, as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale declared, in his speech on Mr. Dadabhoy's motion, are "drawn from the pockets of the poorest of the poor" in India!

Thereon people began to remember what Mr. Dadabhoy had said in his closing speech in this debate:

"I, sir, venture to state with great respect that no Secretary of State for India, however powerful he may be, and to whatever party he may belong, can indefinitely ignore the unanimous opinion of the non-official Members of this Council."

In accordance with this view the Indian Cotton Bureau of London and Bombay, containing such able writers as Mr. Gazdar, Mr. Bunbury, C.S.I., Mr. Cumming, and others, wrote many letters to the *Times*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and other papers of influence, directly challenging the statements of Lord Crewe. On January 27 a great meeting was held at the National Liberal Club to discuss "Indian Fiscal Policy," in which the chief speaker was Sir Henry Cotton, the Liberal ex-

M.P. for East Nottingham, and he denounced the excise duty in unmeasured terms. Dr. Rutherford, the Liberal ex-M.P. for the Brentford division, was in the chair, and among the speakers was the President of the Political and Economic Section of the National Liberal Club, and other well-known Liberals. Sir Henry Cotton declared, truly enough, that such an excise duty on the products of cotton mills existed in no other country on earth. He declared that Lord Cromer had introduced such a duty into Egypt, but that its result had been to cause the closing of the cotton mills! And he added a clear expression of his belief that the excise duty ought to be withdrawn, whilst the import duty both on British and on foreign cottons should be maintained. It will thus be seen that the view taken at the National Liberal Club, so far from supporting Lord Crewe, was actually identical with that taken by Tariff Reformers, save that the latter would, with the abolition of the excise duty, also abolish the tax on Lancashire and other British goods, and would propose for the Indian revenues to be recouped by taxing the foreigner.

It was, I believe, due to the industry of the Indian Cotton Bureau that the Report of Mr. Dadabhoy's debate was once more dug out of the recesses of the India Office. I will conclude by one or two quotations from the speeches which are now before me.

Mr. Dadabhoy declared that, owing to the fiscal measures of the Government, "the Japan market is thus entirely lost to India. . . . The countervailing excise duty is in effect a clog to the Indian cotton industry." The Maulavi Sayyid Shams-ul-Huda appealed "to those who are the guardians of India's interests to take, in this matter, the only course which I think righteousness and justice demand." The Hon. Sir Sassoon David said: "The fiscal arrangement of the Government of India gives the advantage to foreign markets and a distinct disadvantage to the Indian industry." The Hon. Mr. Chitnavis declared that "there was never

any real competition between England and India in cotton manufacture," and that "the Indian appeal is against a tax which is clearly not wanted for revenue purposes, and which has weighted the Indian industry." The Hon. Partab Singh "strongly supported Mr. Dadabhoy's motion." The Hon. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey declared that the excise duties were "not only unjust to the manufacturers, but also to the poor of the country"; and he pointed out that this opinion had been expressed by everyone, and not only by those interested in the industry. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale quoted Mr. Gladstone, who in 1879 declared that Free Trade principles were being applied to India "without a grain of mercy." The Hon. Mr. Mudholkar said that "all Englishmen owe it to themselves to repeal this anomalous and iniquitous impost." The Hon. Bhupendranath Basu pointed out that even the author of the tax had declared that his only excuse for imposing it was the "mandate" from London! The Hon. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, all spoke with equal vehemence against the tax; and when Mr. Clark rose, he was obliged to admit the strength of the Indian feeling against it, and the truth of the broad fact that the trade to China and Japan had "very largely fallen off," and that many Indian spinning mills had had to close down.

Any honest and disinterested observer who will take the trouble to read these speeches will no longer be astonished that a Free Trade Government has not been over-anxious to bring them to the knowledge of the British public.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was in type, the joyful news has been telegraphed from Delhi that the leaders of the newly-elected Indian members of the Governor-General's Legislative Council have resolved, in a spirit of the highest statesmanship, to modify their demand for such rigid protection

as would increase the prices of necessities to the poorest of the poor in India, and would be hostile to British industry, which they recognize to be hardly practical politics. On Monday, March 17, the Hon. Sir G. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E., member for the Central Provinces—a gentleman who has filled with remarkable distinction many of the highest offices in India—in bringing forward in the newly-elected enlarged Council the usual motion (more urgent now than ever) for some protection for Indian “infant industries,” and to meet the prospective loss of the opium revenue, moved: “That it is desirable to consider the possibility of increasing the revenue under a system of preferential tariffs with the United Kingdom and the Colonies.” Sir Gangadhar is to be congratulated on having put himself at the head of a great movement that is absolutely certain to be successful, I think, in the near future. It is a movement that will at once cheapen the clothing of the Indian masses, which is the only “necessary” that is largely imported, and will at last give a fair field to every Indian nascent industry, while retaining for India the closest alliance with the cheap capital and the technical skill of the United Kingdom.

Every intelligent reader will observe that the reply of Sir Guy Wilson—full of sympathy and knowledge—was a powerful confirmation of the view that Imperial Preference will be far more beneficial to Indian industries than the most rigorous Protection. As Finance Minister under a Cobdenite Government, of course he had to acknowledge that Indian policy “must be governed by the policy obtaining in England.” But his references to the development of Japan and China—and to the claims of India to be considered whenever a preferential policy is adopted at home—testified to his sympathetic appreciation of the strength of the contention of the representatives of the Indian peoples.—R. L.

BUBBLES.

BY IGNOTUS.

*The air has bubbles as the water has and these are
of them.*

"I LOOK forward to a day when every man in this country shall follow out the same dictate of civic patriotism for which this country is more renowned than any other."—COLONEL SEELY, M.P., Minister for War.

"The genius of our law is a very remarkable one. Its main purpose, its sole purpose, is to see justice done according to the standard of rectitude which prevails in a country such as ours."—THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"He was very jealous of the reputation of the Judges of England—a reputation which had been built up by generations of wise and great men, and which was the pride of the Empire."—LORD JUSTICE FARWELL.

"It had been said that there was a desire that justice should be expedited. The Bar of England supported that desire in the interest of the general public."—THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

These utterances are placed in the order of their delivery, which happens to be also the order of their importance. The occasion was the Lord Mayor's banquet; the date November 9, 1912. It is the date which invests Colonel Seely's pronouncement with its chief significance. Three short weeks previous to November 9 had sufficed to destroy

the Turkish power in Europe. Its most prominent assailant was a nation of no more than 4,400,000 people, of whom nearly 10 per cent. took the field. The perfection of their preparations; the lightning speed of a series of smashing blows which descended upon the unready Turks are the most startling object-lesson that our own unready nation has ever received. How far we are from profiting by it and taking the demonstration to heart may be judged by the War Minister's facile rhetoric. Good, easy man, he has a compliment for our pre-eminent renown among the nations, and he cherishes the pious aspiration that we shall come out in our millions on some auspicious day in the fulness of time when civic patriotism has ripened into a demand for the honour of national service. But the most renowned of the nations must not be hustled, nor will the Secretary for War incur the risk of losing the vote of a single Second-Adventist, even if we are menaced by an Armageddon. An Empire may perish of unreadiness in three weeks, but our military sophist is unmoved. He is opposed to national service here and now, although a new Empire is emerging as the guerdon and crown of national service. A glittering promise is strengthening a grave warning, but the Secretary for War has no saving grace of wholesome militancy; but he has all the smooth, deceptive platitudes, the titillating arts of advocacy.

The Bar-habit has invaded all departments of our national life. As we approach the source we shall expect to find its characteristic qualities in all their freshness. Nor are we disappointed. The second extract is from the speech of the Lord Chancellor. It will repay a careful examination. As "the main purpose, the sole purpose" of all law is supposed to be justice, it is not obvious at first glance wherein the genius of our law is remarkable. But when we are told that the peculiarity consists in seeing justice done "according to the standard of rectitude which prevails in a country such as ours," we have an admirable specimen of the Bar-habit, which keeps the word of promise

to the ear, and breaks it to the hope. On June 25, 1215, at Runnymede, the following declaration was made an essential part of the organic law of this kingdom. It appears in Magna Charta: "To no man will we sell, or deny, or delay Right or Justice." Continuous recognition has been accorded to this great principle. It is understood that Lord Chancellors have repeated the formula, in a slightly modified form, throughout the intervening centuries; the Chief of our legal system makes oath and says: "To no man will I sell, or deny, or delay Right or Justice." No undertaking could be surrounded by circumstances of greater solemnity. No contract could be more precise or more comprehensive. And yet it is a matter of common knowledge that justice is denied and delayed, while its counterfeits are sold at continually enhanced prices, barristers' fees having increased about 50 per cent. in the last thirty years. It needs no cloud of witnesses to establish a truth so obvious; one will suffice. In its issue of September 22, 1911, the *Times* made this assertion in a leading article: "Magna Charta notwithstanding, we sell justice and not cheaply." We note parenthetically that the oracles ancient and modern are mistaken in supposing that justice can be sold. Not so. When a price prohibitive to the poorest is put upon this supreme quality, it is no longer justice, but a spurious article, subject to the haggling of the market. Admitting the accuracy of these statements—and they cannot be impugned—does the Lord Chancellor find himself in a quandary? Not at all. And now we perceive the true inwardness of the qualification: "Justice is done according to the standard of rectitude which prevails in a country such as ours." The reader is advised to ponder over this cryptic deliverance. Everything depends upon the standard of rectitude. Who fixes it? That is the crucial question. Is it established in accordance with the national love of fairplay? A multitude of phrases that have entered into the popular speech and proverbs, unflattering without one single exception, combine to pour scorn on the suggestion, and answer in a decided

negative. As a matter of fact, it never occurs to anyone to associate law with fairplay in this country. They are as the poles asunder. But fairplay is merely the Anglo-Saxon expression for justice. Hence we learn that Anglo-Saxon fairplay has neither part nor lot in Anglo-Norman law. Nor is this surprising. At the time of its introduction there was no pretence that Anglo-Norman law was intended to subserve the welfare of the people of this country; it was imposed upon them by the Conqueror. At first it served the interests of a ruling caste; subsequently those of a professional class. They have fixed the standard of rectitude, defying fairplay and outraging Magna Charta, while rendering it lip-service with the kiss of Judas. The genius of our law is indeed remarkable, inasmuch as it is a perpetual travesty of the prevailing characteristic of the people. Despite the fact that fairplay (which is justice) repudiates all connection with it, Anglo-Norman law usurps the symbols and the seats of justice. The Bar has captured the Bench, the Department of Justice, and, finally, the machinery of Government. That is to say, the parasite is directing the policy of the host after establishing a parasitical policy of rectitude.

Our third extract is not a judicial but an after-dinner utterance. We desire, however, to treat it with all the respect it deserves. Admitting that our Bench is the pride of the Empire, there is a more pertinent question: Is this pride a well-grounded faith or a popular fetish? Before our readers dismiss this query as impertinent, let them consider the following circumstances. During the later portion of the Stuart period the occupants of our Bench, in a great majority of cases, were not only a disgrace to the ermine but to our common humanity. Subsequently there was a marked improvement. But to go no further back than three generations, we find Judges of the old Court of Chancery "standing in" with barristers and attorneys in "milking" estates. Charles Dickens tells us that "a Chancery Judge once had the kindness to inform

me, as one of a company of some hundred and fifty men and women *not* labouring under any suspicion of lunacy, that the Court of Chancery, though the subject of much popular prejudice, was almost immaculate." Upon what basis of fact, then, is such a high degree of excellence attributed to the Bench that it is a legitimate source of pride to the Empire? We make answer and say, "Upon the fact that the English Bench has produced some of the greatest Judges that have ever adorned the seat of Justice." But on investigation we shall find small ground for boasting. The great Judges—whose names posterity will not willingly let die—were few in number. Not only so, they were a mark for the slings and arrows of contemporary advocates and attorneys, and even of their own colleagues, because they dared to defy pseudo-principles and super-subtleties and administer justice rather than legalism. Witness Lord Mansfield's outspoken denunciation of the demoralizing applications of the pseudo-principle of "consideration" and his discomfiture at the hands of the Law Lords. That is only a single instance. What is to be thought, then, of the special pleading which attempts to cover the defects of the legitimate products of the Bar—the Legalist Judges—with the mantle of the great men who, defying the miasma of the Bar, administered justice? Our law is admittedly chaotic, expensive, dilatory, and uncertain, chiefly because the great majority of lawyers, including Judges, are opposed to codification. Another attempt at tinkering is about to take place. In legal matters we are a century behind our neighbours. Does no responsibility devolve upon our Judges for a condition which ministers to the interests of the Bar but is grossly unfavourable to those of the public? And are the claims upon our generosity and admiration so imperious that we are not permitted to discriminate between the great majority of our Judges who have resisted codification in the past (and do not move a finger to secure it to-day) on the one hand, and those great names, on the other, who fought for

codification in and out of season a century ago? Our Judges are difficult to please. Receiving four times the emoluments of their confrères on the Continent, and twice those of the occupants of the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, they still consider themselves a source of legitimate pride to the Empire notwithstanding the fact that they administer a system which is from eight to ten times as expensive—and, on occasion, eighty to a hundred times—as that of our neighbours. How many times more uncertain our system is no formulæ known to us will adequately express. The United Kingdom is a small portion of the British Empire. If we turn to our great Eastern dependency what do we find? In a leading article in its issue of April 6, 1912, the leading journal says: "The latitude enjoyed by counsel in India, especially in the lower Courts, has reached the dimensions of a general scandal, and points to weakness in the bulk of the judiciary." Returning to the subject on July 23 of this year, the same authority writes: "We urge again, as we have repeatedly urged in recent years, that the time has come for a thorough investigation into the working of the Chartered High Courts of India, and more particularly of the Calcutta High Court. This is no new question. It has been a secret ulcer in the administration of India for more than a century." Is it demanded of us that we shall ignore such evidence as this and render unstinted tribute of gratitude, admiration, and pride? That demand would subject the allegiance of the devotees of Mumbo-Jumbo to a breaking strain.

Our last extract need not detain us long. Fortunately, the Lord Chancellor's casuistry has provided us with a key to the protestations of that ineffable pundit, the Attorney-General. The standard of rectitude adopted by the Anglo-Norman legal system is a better illustration of the wisdom of the serpent than of the harmlessness of the dove. It professes to subserve the interest of the general public. The Bar, according to this luminary, desires that something, which it is pleased to call "justice," shall be expedited. There

is little doubt that the Bar is being found out. The marked diminution in causes involving the solid interest of litigants side by side with the increase in gambling cases are disquieting features from the point of view of both Bench and Bar, and an indirect vote of censure on our legal system. But to those of our readers who may be disposed to attach importance to the possibility of a belated conversion, we would point out that such protestations are part and parcel of the standard of rectitude, and in no respect inconsistent therewith. Innumerable instances prove this statement. The Bar Council opposed the extension of the jurisdiction of the County Courts on the ground that it would break up the Bar and reduce its efficiency "in the service of the public." Similarly the jury system is declared to be the palladium of our liberties, whereas it is really the main contributory cause of uncertainty of appeals, fresh trials, and therefore a godsend to the Bar. Mr. Asquith assured us on a previous occasion that "the Common Law of England has been, still is, and will continue to be, both here and where English communities are found, at once the organ and safeguard of English justice and English freedom." This turgid rhodomontade being interpreted means that the Common Law of England is the chief asset of the Bar. Codification would be a valuable asset for the general public. The figures of speech just cited are perfectly intelligible in the mouths of a pampered class who readily fall into Louis XIV.'s error, and mistake themselves for the State.

On a review of our four specimens of the Bar-habit, we find certain features in common. They flatter our insular self-complacency to the top of its bent. The bubbles are highly coloured on purpose to fascinate the eye of childhood, for it is manifest that, legally we, as a nation, are still in leading-strings; and "Trifles, light as air, Are to such foolish children confirmation strong As proofs from Holy Writ." Our readers will observe that this is no fortuitous concurrence of pretty air-balloons launched unconcertedly into space; it

is, on the contrary, part of an organized and deliberate policy. Some months ago another legal luminary assured the public that "the duty of the advocate is to aid the Judge in ascertaining the truth." We find that the usual rule of interpretation is justified in this case, and out of the mouth of one of the greatest of advocates shall our contention be established. During a period of less mellifluous cajolery than the present, Lord Brougham declared that "the advocate must not regard the suffering, the torment, or the destruction he may bring upon others: he must go on, reckless of the consequences, if his fate should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion for his client." It has been considered tactful to restate the whole duty of the advocate. The Bar-habit is equal to the occasion, and the advocate is brought up-to-date and proclaimed an eager searcher after truth. In the outspoken period to which Lord Brougham belonged, Mr. Asquith's encomium on Common Law, and the Lord Chancellor's standard of rectitude, find an appropriate corrective. "The Common Law," says Jeremy Bentham, "carries in its hand a rule of wax which lawyers twist about as they please, a hook to lead the people by the nose, and a pair of shears to fleece them withal."

Legalism, with the microscopic eye and the rule of wax—rechristened the standard of rectitude—has long been the seamy side of our island story; it has been productive of profound demoralization, and it is indeed the chief factor in that singular apathy which all workers in national causes deplore: its inroads on the political domain have been a characteristic feature of recent years. The most vital interests are the sport of the jury habit, and the verdict-snatching of the Law Courts finds imitators in the highest political circles. There is no promise that may not be broken and no undertaking that may not be repudiated. Just as theologians are not infrequently the worst enemies of religion, so lawyers are found to exalt the letter of the law to the prejudice of the spirit—which is justice. Litigation is increasing by

leaps and bounds in India. In the opinion of a competent foreign observer, who is a friendly witness, "the lawyers are sucking the substance of the people." Each country has its own special danger, and its own besetting sin. The extreme gravity of the position of this country will be appreciated when we fully realize the fact that in the Europe of to-day—an armed camp more than ever before—we are ruled by illusory figments, the facile compliment to national vanity, the rounded period, plausible rhetoric: when we find that the Minister for War, chameleon-like, has succeeded perfectly in assuming the colour of his surroundings, and that the military bubble is as highly coloured, as flimsy, and as fragile as its legal congeners.

When the Lord Chancellor poses as a strategist, and ventures to administer a rebuke to Lord Roberts, we are conscious of an addition to the gaiety of other nations. It is, indeed, the crowning illustration of the overweening arrogance of the Bar-habit and its confidence—hitherto unshaken—in the illimitable credulity of the public. Can we be surprised if our neighbours across the North Sea persuade themselves that our silence gives consent, and that our tolerance of such grotesque exhibitions of triumphant parasitism is the clearest evidence of national decadence?

‘THE ULCER OF EMPIRE’: A REPLY

BY MIDDLE TEMPLE.

THE causes of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire were, as we all know, many and various. Enemies without and corruption within ultimately led to its undoing, its last agony being decently protracted over several centuries.

Some of us, complacently sanguine, have hoped that our own Empire, even if doomed to extinction, might similarly have the comfort of a lingering end induced by a complication of disorders.

But this expectation, if “*Ignotus*”^{*} is to be believed, must be disappointed. The British Empire is, at this very moment, suffering from an ulcer—the metaphor is his own—which will carry it off in its prime. Nobody else has discovered the fact; but there it is, plain for all folk to see. The imposthume in question is on the surface. “*Ignotus*” has had his eye upon it for some little time, has submitted it to the microscope, has discovered its fatal properties and now gives the distressing result of his investigations and analysis to the world.

And where in the Empire is the ulcer? Primarily, says “*Ignotus*,” it is in India; secondarily, it is situated in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—notably in that part of the United Kingdom known as England.

The man who could guess from these geographical hints the solution of the riddle would be a wise one. “*Ignotus*,”

^{*} See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1913, pp. 5-25.

in his startling article, spares us the trouble of speculation and puts us quickly out of our misery.

Our boasted judicial system—the glory of all ages, the model for all peoples, the apple of our Imperial eye—is the morbid growth which is eating into our vitals!

It is melancholy to think that we have been living for so long in a fools' paradise.

But if "Ignotus" has succeeded, like the Fat Boy before him, in making our flesh creep, not a few of his readers will be inclined to think that he has somewhat over-stated his case. He has clearly thought much and deeply upon the subject, yet there seem to be flaws in his argument.

"Ignotus" appears to have spent some portion of his career in India, and such of his observations as deal with that country are to be regarded as the fruit of personal observation and experience. Those who have no special knowledge of the East must, therefore, criticize his Indian views with the caution which ignorance imposes, and confine themselves to the particulars which he offers in support of his thesis. The High Court of Calcutta is his principal object of attack. Bombay, Madras, and the North-West Provinces may be all similarly afflicted, but the High Courts of those regions "Ignotus" leaves severely alone. Whether this singling out of Calcutta is intentional or accidental is not explained. Possibly "Ignotus" intends us to believe that the High Courts, other than that of Calcutta, are as yet in sound health. But that the High Court of Calcutta requires the surgeon's knife he is in no doubt at all. His main charges are four in number.

First, the *High Court of Calcutta is dilatory and costly. Quoting a correspondent of the *Times*, "Ignotus" observes that in August last there were 8,000 appeals pending on the civil side alone.

Here the writer makes a point, the excellence of which none would dispute. That 8,000 appeals should be waiting a hearing is undoubtedly a scandal of the first magnitude. Having made the point, however, "Ignotus" leaves it and

hurries on, perhaps with a feeling that the obvious remedy would be an increase in the judicial staff, or a revision of the rules relating to the power of appeal.

Secondly, the High Court of Calcutta is "powerless to punish evil-doers." This is, indeed, a grave charge to bring. How does "Ignotus" support it? Eighteen persons composing the "Khulna gang"—what the charge against them was "Ignotus" does not add—"pleaded guilty and were acquitted." The terminology employed is a little difficult to follow, but may be taken to mean that the "gang," having pleaded guilty, were not sentenced to imprisonment. This, says "Ignotus," was an "unparalleled course," and with a side rebuke to Lord Morley for defending it, he abandons the topic of inability to punish the wicked and proceeds to the third head of indictment.

With all respect to "Ignotus" this is not fair fighting. Without a close examination into the why and the wherefore of the release of the accused, no impartial man would censure the Judge for what, on the face of it, was a not unusual act of mercy. Is the release of an accused person who has confessed his guilt an incident so novel in India as to justify the use of the epithet "unparalleled"? In England, Ireland and Scotland, at any rate, the order that a prisoner who has pleaded guilty shall enter into recognizances to be of good behaviour is of almost daily occurrence, and passes without remark. And when "Ignotus" tells us that the judge released the prisoners, and that Lord Morley approved of his so doing in Parliament, the comment of the man in the street would be that there must have been some very good ground for his action. Nor would he be discouraged from making it by the silence of "Ignotus" as to the nature of the indictment, the circumstances in which the offence was committed, or the character of the individuals composing the "gang."

Thirdly, proceeds "Ignotus," the Calcutta High Court "is extraordinarily vigorous in harassing European magistrates who have been under the necessity of taking prompt

measures during outbreaks of sedition." These unhappy officials have been "put to enormous expense by vexatious actions-at-law," and their authority, by reason of the misguided encouragement given by the High Court to the plaintiffs therein, "has suffered to the detriment of the Empire and the delectation of disloyal factions." Two "notorious" instances are given—the Mymensingh case, and the Midnapur case—in support of this eloquently drafted count.

But here "Ignotus" tells us more than he did about the "Khulna gang," and distinctly weakens his position in the process. Mr. Clarke, a District Magistrate, was the defendant in the Mymensingh action, the allegation against him being that he had improperly instituted a search in the house of a person suspected of complicity in a seditious outbreak. The Court of First Instance fined him, and the appellate side of the High Court affirmed the judgment of the lower tribunal. Had the matter ended there, "Ignotus" might have claimed to be on strong ground. He proceeds, however, to point triumphantly to the fact that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed both the Court of First Instance and the High Court of Calcutta. "Ignotus" cannot have it both ways. The disease is not a fatal one if the Empire itself supplies the antidote; and the highest Court of the Empire having done justice to Mr. Clarke, "Ignotus" should derive some comfort from the fact that it exists.

And so with the Midnapur case. "Ignotus" is faced with even greater difficulties when formulating his complaint as to the treatment of Mr. Weston; for he has to confess that, though defeated in the proceedings before a Judge of the High Court, the defendant was "unanimously exonerated" by the Appellate Court in Calcutta. Without invoking the assistance of the Judicial Committee, Mr. Weston was able to secure a favourable judgment in the Court whose misdoings are the subject of the author's melancholy tale.

Fourthly, the High Court is largely manned by barrister-judges, who are not strong enough to resist the insidious wiles of the *vakil*, and one finds accordingly a "creeping paralysis of justice in India" engendered by "an orgy of advocacy."

And behind the oratory and the wiles of the *vakil* there lurks a sinister motive. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Weston, it appears, were representatives of a class highly repugnant to the native pleader. "It must be borne in mind that in the rapacious exploitation of his fellows by the oppressor, the *vakil* is too frequently the agent, while the magistrate, or civilian-Judge, is everywhere an uncompromising opponent." And so "the crowning triumph of the Bengali *vakil* is achieved when he has manœuvred the Bench into fining and discrediting the European magistrate, the truest friend of the dumb millions of India." After which reflection "Ignotus" pens a passage containing a germ of hope. Can it be that he himself is, or was, a civilian-Judge? Or, perchance, did "Ignotus" desire to be one and fail to achieve his ambition? So confidently does he describe the abundance of their virtues and the richness of their intelligence that the inquiry is forced upon one. But, be that as it may, "Ignotus" sees a ray of daylight struggling through the surrounding gloom in the shape of a High Court Bench, from which barrister-Judges have been eliminated, manned exclusively by civilian-Judges. Whilst barrister-Judges have earned the scorn and contempt of all right-thinking men, their civilian brethren, it appears, have secured the confidence and esteem of the community. Listen to the panegyric of "Ignotus." "In hardly a single instance," he declares, "during the last quarter of a century has a civilian-judge been concerned in the deplorable succession of blunders which have amounted to grave scandals." But did the Bar applaud the authorities when they hit upon the excellent idea of recruiting the Bench from the Civil Service? Not at all. "This innovation has encountered the open or covert hostility of the Bar, and received

indifferent treatment at the hands of the Government of India, in which the legalist element is not less predominant than at home." Which is exceedingly sad, for "Ignotus" is of opinion that in the appointment of an abundance of civilian-Judges the "antidote to the ulcer" is forthcoming. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will quickly follow the course so confidently recommended by "Ignotus," and by purging the High Court of Calcutta of its barrister-Judges, rehabilitate both the High Court itself and the British Empire. Serious opposition to such a plan is not to be expected, for "Ignotus" will be at hand to point out that the 8,000 appeals will melt like snow, the seditious will be duly consigned to dungeons, and the European magistrates will be patted on the back.

Sad to relate, "Ignotus" does not see his way to doing anything for the High Court of Justice in England. Perhaps, if he thinks the matter over again, he will suggest a similar remedy for this country. The civilian-Judge, who can be relied upon to dispense even-handed justice in India, can surely do so in Great Britain. "Ignotus" is so outspoken a man that he can be trusted to push home any point in which he really believes; and as he does not recommend a Government Bill having for its object the promotion to the Bench of clerks from the Treasury, the Home Office and the Education Office, in order that England also may be saved from her ulcerated condition, one must assume that he has considered and rejected this panacea. This is a pity, for, in the view of "Ignotus," Great Britain is as sorely afflicted in the matter of lawyers as India herself. Indeed, the state of England is the worse of the two. For we have not only barrister-Judges but barrister-Ministers, and "the arrogance of the predominant caste increases." Instead of going about their tasks with diffidence and humility, these barristers are full of insufferable conceit, and have succeeded in capturing both the Bench and the machinery of Government. And the Attorney-General, the head of this mischievous body, with "splendid audacity" has dared to

dwell upon the fairness and chivalry of English Courts. With such humbug as this "Ignotus" has no patience, for he can remember the Archer-Shee case, to say nothing of a criminal appeal which resulted in the release of "a brutal ruffian," who (says "Ignotus") ought properly to have gone to gaol.

Was Cadet Archer-Shee treated "fairly"? And where is the boasted "chivalry" of the Courts if, on a technical point, a criminal can escape? "Ignotus" brushes aside as irrelevant the fact that, in consequence of legal proceedings in the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal, Mr. Archer-Shee was compensated, and does not trouble to mention the peculiar circumstances surrounding the case of the "brutal ruffian." His indignation increasing apace, the author points to the number of accused persons who are allowed to remain in prison for weeks awaiting their trial, to the swollen salaries of Lord Chancellors and ex-Lord Chancellors, and, as a tit-bit with which to wind up a scathing attack, recites a piece of history in connection with the circuit system.

"As a result of the Great Judicature Act of 1873," writes "Ignotus," quoting from a work entitled "A Chance Medley," "the Chancery Judges began to 'go circuit' . . . they naturally put in a claim for travelling expenses. This was admitted, and, as the Common Law Judges were put to exactly the same expense, they, too, were held to be entitled to the same augmentation, although circuit had, so to say, been part of *their* contract from time immemorial." If "Ignotus" will make a few inquiries he will ascertain that this account is strangely erroneous. The Judicature Acts of 1873 and 1875 imposed upon Lords Justices, Chancery Judges and the Judges of the Probate, Admiralty, and Divorce Division the duty of "going circuit." In 1884, the scheme having failed, the Queen's Bench Judges were directed to do the whole of the Assize work of the country. This meant that, roughly speaking, instead of going two circuits a year, each Common Law Judge must visit the

provinces three times; and, as the travelling expenses of each circuit were calculated at £300, the Queen's Bench Judges complained that their £5,000 a year would become £4,100, whilst the salaries of their Chancery brothers would remain intact. So it came about that the Treasury made a bargain with the Queen's Bench Division, the Judges receiving a circuit allowance and relinquishing, as a *quid pro quo*, their second clerks.

That our legal system has shortcomings is undoubtedly true; but that it constitutes an "ulcer" is not established by the wild language and peculiar arguments of "Ignotus." Is it nothing that our judges are incorruptible, that their courts are open to the public, that their judgments are offered to the criticism of a free press, and that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the House of Lords are ever ready to set right their errors? "Ignotus" must really try to cheer up.

THE PRESERVATION OF BIRDS.

BY SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

WHY do we advocate the preservation from extinction, and in many cases the abundant increase, of birds throughout the world? I would say at once that there are amongst the 15,000 species of birds three or four which, far from wishing to preserve, all rational people must desire to see exterminated, or, at any rate, reduced to very small numbers. Of such is the sparrow, more especially of the English species. It is small, ugly, and no songster, and is almost the only bird which does unmitigated harm wherever it exists, in that it devours, not only grain in very large quantities, but fruit and fruit-buds, and many ornamental plants, especially carnations; and although it consumes a certain amount of insects, the good it does in this direction is small in proportion to its devastations. In some countries and districts pigeons of the genus *Columba*, and especially our own wood-pigeon, can become an unmitigated nuisance; one or two corvine birds also. I only quote these exceptions to show that advocates for bird preservation are strictly reasonable people, who would not seek to preserve or to allow to exist in large numbers any type of bird that was really harmful to the general interests of humanity.

But it is because considerably more than nine-tenths of the 15,000 species of birds are of actual benefit to humanity in their effect on the world, that we champion so

strongly their preservation, their intimate association with the life of mankind. And we do this for two main groups of reasons.

The first of these is the æsthetic; what one might call with truth the religious and the moral. Birds are remarkable beyond all other forms of life for their beauty of outline or of coloration, and there is the very distinct pleasure to be derived from the song or call-notes of many birds. I shall not enlarge on the question of the æsthetic beauty of birds, especially as features in a landscape, because it must be obvious to all educated men and women, as, indeed, to many who are not conscious of being educated.

The second group of reasons, and perhaps the one which should carry the greatest force with hard-headed, hard-hearted Englishmen, hard-hearted, shrewd French women, practical Germans, and business-like Americans, is the economic side of the question. Birds are the greatest allies that man has possessed in his age-long warfare against insects and the more harmful forms of tick, fresh-water crustacean, centipede, trematode worm, and leech.

Let me illustrate this question with a few examples out of many. Ducks and flamingoes destroy an enormous number of insect larvæ in the water, often, for example, those of the mosquito family, which are of small size. They also eat many fresh-water crustaceans, which in their turn would devour the ova, or fry, of fish. Thus the wholesale destruction of water-birds, more especially ducks, on the rivers of Australia has led to an unwonted increase amongst fresh-water crustaceans, and, consequently, to the actual disappearance of many species of fish valuable to man as a source of food-supply. White herons—the so-called "egrets"—and all the smaller species of herons live largely on flies as well as on the larvæ of insects in water. This fact is evident if one watches the habits of big game or the surroundings of oxen or buffalo in Tropical Asia or Egypt. There you will see the smaller white herons—the paddy-birds of India—living with the cattle or the buffaloes,

and perpetually picking the flies or the ticks off their bodies. The late George Grenfell noted on the Congo the eagerness with which white herons snapped up the tsetse-flies. The ruling passion was strong even on the approach of death, for he noticed how a dying white heron, which he had thoughtlessly shot and put into his canoe, roused itself to snap at the tsetse-flies settling on his boatman's legs.

In the Jamaica of the early nineteenth century bird-life was extraordinarily abundant, and those grass ticks, which now make the keeping of most breeds of cattle impossible, and are a confounded nuisance to both tourists and colonists, are never mentioned in the records of that time. But in order to check the rats mongooses were introduced, and the mongooses, having devoured most of the rats, began to attack many of the birds. [As a matter of fact, their destruction of bird-life was small compared to the ravages of the gunners, both of European and negro race, and these gunners, needless to say, shot the birds in order to sell them for their plumage.] The decrease of insect-eating birds led to the inordinate increase of the ticks and the dying-out of all but Indian cattle. Although this correlation of birds and ticks—to say nothing of mosquitoes and other insect plagues in Jamaica—was put fully and circumstantially before the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation in 1909, nothing so far as I can learn has been done to check the destruction of bird-life in the British West Indies.

Mr. E. D. Morel has recently pointed out how the reckless destruction of the guinea-fowl in French West Africa is coincident with the increase of certain germ diseases, and, above all, with ravages to crops on the parts of the larger insects, especially beetles, the grubs of which were devoured by the guinea-fowl, who scratched them up out of the soil.

But not only are birds the most efficient allies we possess in our war against the real Devil—the arthropod destroyer and the insect conveyer of germ disease—but they are of

immense economic importance in at least three other directions. Sea-birds produce the most valuable form of manure, which is known to us under the name of "guano." The destruction of sea-birds in order to trim white women's hats—for they can serve no other purpose—is peculiarly insensate, because we thus get rid of the producers of guano which the impoverished soils of the world will require in ever-increasing quantities. Then the flesh of a great many species of birds is for man the most delicious and wholesome form of animal food; and although it is true that many eatable birds are already domesticated, and thus saved from extinction, yet the reckless destruction of others, which can only subsist in a wild state, will before very long deprive our palates of some of the most toothsome and wholesome viands. I need hardly instance snipe, woodcock, plover, quail, partridge, and canvas-backed duck to bring this home to the reader. Then there is the eider-duck, which at nesting-time produces a down that is of actual benefit to shivering humanity as a warm covering. Birds also in general are great distributors of seeds, especially in the tropics. Some trees of great economic value, it is believed, can only be distributed by birds—for example, by certain species of fruit-pigeon, which being of very lovely coloration, are greatly sought after for their plumage.

Having briefly recounted the reasons why we should proceed to enact measures for the preservation of birds all over the world, let us deal with those who obstruct this policy, those who largely from ignorance, but partly also from sheer malignity, oppose all reasonable steps for the preservation of birds. Most of them sin from inaction, and others through active wickedness.

It is the fashion in this contention, when the writer or speaker is a man, to launch invectives against brainless women as being the chief encouragers of bird destruction for the decoration of their hats, their necks, and their garments. But, as a matter of fact, after a prolonged study of

man in history and in his primitive state as he exists to-day, I have come to the conclusion that it was Adam who tempted Eve. It is certainly so in the matter of bird destruction. Man destroys the wild fauna now as he has been doing for a million years. Originally (and in savage lands at the present day) he would adorn or clothe himself with the pelts, horns, beaks, teeth, or feathers. But to-day he procures wonderful bird-skins and plumes, and sets them out before the gaze of woman, who is tempted to buy and to wear in the belief that by so doing she renders herself additionally attractive to man. It is not women who go to the distant islands of Malaysia and the Pacific, to the forests of South America, or up and down African rivers to procure bird-skins; it is men; and it is men who, in London above all, in Paris, Marseilles, Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and New York, carry on the trading-houses which prosper on this monstrous traffic. It is men who are serving in great Government departments in our own country, in India, in France, and Holland, at the present day who oppose subtly or openly, doggedly or slyly, all preventive legislation which would check the destruction of rare or economically useful birds in the tropical dominions of the British Crown, or in the Asiatic possessions of France and Holland.

I believe myself that when the fashions of 1913 are reviewed a hundred years hence, people will shake with laughter as they see reproduced the foolish women of the present day, strutting about with enormous hats surcharged with plumes or winged with dyed pinions; while many of their feather-trimmed garments will recall the savage adornments of the Stone Age. Yet there is no denying that in the present development of our optic taste we do regard as most attractive the weaving of birds' plumes into the female costume; and indeed not a few of us sigh for the privilege of wearing the plumed hat which is still a feature in the military and official castes amongst males. Well, in the bird preservation crusade the wearing of feathers is not discountenanced. It is almost approved as an incentive to

the taming and breeding of all beautiful birds which lend themselves to domestication. The rage for ostrich plumes which has probably affected Europe for about 2,000 years was bringing the ostrich near to extinction. But it occurred to a few intelligent colonists in South Africa that the ostrich might be reared from the egg, and as easily domesticated as the common fowl. Not only has this been achieved in South Africa and added great wealth to that Dominion, but ostriches are now being bred for their feathers in California, in North Africa, and in North Germany, and the ostrich is now secured from extermination as long as civilization lasts.*

Women can obtain all the plumes, the feather-trimming, the boas, the hat decorations that they can possibly desire, both for form and beauty, if they confine themselves to those which are produced in the poultry yard or in game preserves. The domestic fowl in its innumerable breeds and varieties, most of the more striking among the pheasants, tame swans, ducks, geese, ostriches, emus, rheas; most of the grouse and partridges, guinea-fowl, a few parrakeets, pea-fowl, and pigeons, can now be relied on to furnish these adornments, or the still more necessary down, feathers for stuffing cushions and pillows, without danger of their extermination. Rather the contrary. And the keeping or the supervision of these birds, tame and wild, provides profitable and healthful occupations for men and women.

But in clearing the obstacles from our path we have to take into account a very formidable one—the opposition of men of science, so filled with the collector's ardour, so engrossed in the museum and indifferent to the charm, the beauty, and the instruction which is to be conveyed by birds in the open landscape, that they bar the way to legislation, so that no difficulties may be placed in the path of

* I wish as much could be said for the rhea of South America, or the emu of Australia and the cassowaries of Australia and Papuasia. Several iniquitous British firms of feather traders are doing their vile best to exterminate the rhea in Argentina, and sell its feathers as ostrich plumes.

the collectors they send out all over the world, and so that their museum shelves may be stuffed with skins to repletion. It is in their case the hypertrophy of the collecting instinct. As a matter of truth, however, the damage which is done even by the most zealous of museum makers and lovers, is trivial compared to the insensate wreck and ruin of the bird world wrought through the procuring and purveying of skins and plumes for women's clothes. I am far from unmindful of the services rendered to the world at large by collectors like the Hon. Walter Rothschild. Such a man as this—there are several of his kidney in America—has spent much money in purchasing islands and saving bird colonies, and has made use of his social or political influence to frighten Government officials into stopping the slaughter of beasts, birds, and harmless and remarkable reptiles. I think it would be easy to reconcile all men of science if it was explained that the crusade for the preservation of birds will *not* militate against a reasonable enrichment of museums and dissecting rooms with specimens, and still more the providing of zoological gardens throughout the world with examples of living birds.* The comparatively few specimens wanted for these purposes could be obtained without materially lessening the numbers even of rare species.

But we have to war against ignorance as well as malignity. Our present system of education in the great public schools, and I fear also in the State-provided schools where gratuitous instruction is given to the mass of the people, is so faulty that most young men and women go out into the world with no proper appreciation of zoology or of botany, no teaching to check that baboon-like love of destruction for destruction's sake which is so terribly characteristic of the

* The agitation against Zoological Gardens and aviaries, public and private, is silly to an extreme degree, and militates against much good which the British Preservation Leagues might otherwise effect. Such things, *properly conducted*, should be encouraged and multiplied—should be regarded as are regarded churches and temples.

white peoples of the world. In no caste is it more developed, unhappily, than in the military; and although the records of British zoological science number not a few great zoologists who have been soldiers, and a few zealous champions of the birds' cause (such as the late Colonel Irby and the late Captain Shelley) yet it is chiefly against military opinion and influence that one has to fight in championing the preservation of the fauna of British Africa and British India. I was told the other day by a military official of a British officer in India who spent much of his spare time shooting egrets in the delta of the Ganges, and who realized £400 by the sale of their plumes when he returned to England. He had, of course, evaded the Customs regulations of India in smuggling those plumes away with him. It is almost entirely to British military officers that we owe the practical extinction of several remarkable forms of goat and sheep in the Himalayas, for though they may only have killed a proportion of them themselves, their influence and example set the Afghans and the Ghurkas on the path of destruction. And similarly it has been the example of soldiers in India which has created a vast army of native gunners bent now on the destruction of birds for the sale of their plumes and skins. And what is the result? That in various directions we hear complaints of the spread of germ diseases in man and beast and in the crops; of the direct destruction of crops by insects; and all because the insect-destroying, worm-eating, tick-swallowing, snail-gobbling bird, is being shot down.

The Zoological Society of London has been gently reproached by certain American scientists for its apparent silence and indifference on this great question. It has certainly evinced timidity in grappling with the indifference towards bird protection on the part of the present administrators of public affairs in Britain. But at any rate we owe to the Zoological Society's Secretary the publication of an article by Mr. Stebbing a year ago, which ripped up the incuriousness and the ineptitude of Indian officialdom in the matter

of bird preservation. This publication at any rate prevented the promulgation of an inadequate edict which might have barred the way for many years to better legislation. But the project of law drawn up by the Viceroy's Council in 1911 having been criticized and withdrawn, nothing further has been done. Some parts of British India maintain a partial preservation of birds, or any rate edicts, very little enforced, which forbid the exportations of birds' skins. But the Government of Burma remains notorious for its criminal indifference to the preservation of its birds and beasts.

Another subject for regret among bird lovers is the present hostility in our own land of the Board of Trade, which is understood to oppose the enactment of preventive legislation at this end of the Empire. But for its opposition it is possible that our rulers might have done something to legislate against the making of London the main centre of an iniquitous traffic in the skins of rare birds.*

* London is the greatest mart in the world for the sale of birds' skins and plumes. The sales take place in the City or East End auction-rooms about six times a year. At the last sale of which I have particulars, on December 10, 1912, there were offered the plumes, or the entire skins of, approximately 75,000 egrets and other herons, of about 5,000 bird-of-paradise plumes (many of these being the entire skins of very rare species), 8,000 crowned pigeons of New Guinea, about 200 tails of very rare pheasants, and the debris of about another thousand of Amherst and scintillated pheasants, 1,600 skins of terns or "sea-swallows," 200 skins of the emu (though the export of this bird's skin is prohibited by the Australian Government), 75,000 skins of rare kingfishers (many of these being only insect-eaters, feeders on locusts and grasshoppers, not on fish), and in addition thousands of bundles of wild peacock feathers, of the skins of beautiful wild jungle fowl, of Argus pheasants, Impeyan pheasants (smuggled out of India), of the darters or "water-turkeys" of Florida or Brazil, of rheas, South American vultures, flamingoes, falcons, hawks, owls, cranes, and other maintainers of the balance of Nature which live on man's enemies—insects, snakes, molluscs, voles, rats, or on noisome carrion.

Who can contemplate sales like this in the heart of the Empire's capital without wishing to resort to violence—to injure physically the ignorant ghouls who conduct this trade, which is affecting adversely the agriculture, the health, and the beauty of the Empire, for no other purpose than the decoration of women's costume? Who but can feel a holy indignation against our rulers for permitting this devastation of Asia, Malaysia, and

Outside our own dominions the most guilty among the nations is France. At the present time we are told that a hat adorned by a real bird-of-paradise skin can be purchased for £20 in the Paris shops. When I was at Vittel, a French health resort, last autumn, every third woman seemed to be wearing a real bird-of-paradise plume, or the entire skin of the now nearly extinct great bird of paradise. We know as a fact that the French Government has intimated to our own in the most positive fashion that it absolutely refuses to take any interest in this question (namely, the prohibition or restriction of the importation into France of bird-skins). We are beginning to feel in other ways French ignorance or malignity in this matter. The universal destruction of bird life in France, which includes the shooting of swallows and many migrant birds, is causing the spread of insect pests in British fields and orchards. The same is the case in regard to Italy. The destruction of bird life in Italy is a great international crime. Belgium batters on the sale of rare bird-skins at Antwerp and Brussels, and the destruction of bird-life throughout the Belgian Congo at present receives no check whatever. Holland is even more disgraceful, for she has been constituted by Fate the principal warden of the bird-of-paradise family, one of the most splendid gifts that Nature ever bestowed on man for his delectation. Dutch statesmen simply cannot conceive why an Englishman or anybody else should mind the extirpa-

parts of Africa and South America, and a profound contempt for those of our legislators or officials who prefer the interests of five or six firms of feather-dealers or auctioneers in East London to the welfare of the Empire as a whole?

The argument of these miserable vaticinators is that if we closed our marts in England to this traffic, it would only flourish on the soil of France or Belgium. That is not true. But let us first set our house in order, and then, or concurrently, plead with France, Belgium, Holland—with any country which stands out of a self-denying ordinance and refuses to act similarly, to put a stop to the import, export, or sale of birds' skins and plumes of specified categories. We don't want to interfere with the dealing in the skins and plumes of all domestic or game-preserve birds.

tion of the birds of paradise. The Queen of Holland declines to receive any deputation on the subject.

Then there is Britain's ally, Japan—perhaps the country above all which has made us sentimental about birds. For it was the art of Japan, especially that of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, which brought home to our middle classes the almost divine beauty of bird forms. But no sooner did Japan become Europeanized in her ideals than she sent out squadrons of murder-ships to ransack the islands of the Pacific, to destroy perhaps in one voyage 30,000 specimens of terns at their nesting-places; in fact, to make it impossible in many directions that the stores of guano should be renewed. And all this, not for food, not for the grebe feathers or the eider-down necessary to shivering people, but for the insensate trimming of hats. Japan has succeeded in exterminating within the last few years several of her mammals and a large proportion of her birds.

Then there is China. But China has only been so recently awakened to an intelligent outlook on the world that I suppose it is unfair to address her in the same terms of bitter reproach as those I am applying to more civilized peoples. But in China, largely owing to the advent of the Pekin Railway through Siberia, the destruction of bird-life is going on at an appalling rate, several species of pheasant being menaced with extinction in order that their bodies may be sold for food throughout continental Europe.

What are the remedies? Some will tell you the institution of bird reserves. Well, so far from scorning this resource I wish its advocates all possible success. But the formation or the guarding of reserves will take a considerable time to effect, and this measure, even at its best, will not cover the field. It will be no satisfaction to the peasant-proprietor of India that there is a bird reserve a hundred, two hundred miles away from his fields, if his cattle and crops are being ruined by insect plagues because European

and native gunners are shooting down the insect-eating birds on or around his farm.

No. Those of us who are enlightened, and are in earnest, must, in addition, advocate the declaring contraband the skins and plumes of specified birds, and the fining of any man or woman found selling such skins or plumes. I know that this would not stop the abuse all at once, but it would make the trade of the five or six firms in Whitechapel, Poplar, and elsewhere in East London, very difficult. After a brief notice or respite the storerooms of the London Customs-House and of the other Customs' houses in the United Kingdom, should be visited by authorized experts, and the skins of all birds on the protected list confiscated. We might at any rate take measures to check importation into the port of London. It might be possible to institute similar measures at Liverpool, Glasgow, and Bristol. It would soon be apparent if the wicked trade was sending skins to other ports of entry into the United Kingdom, where they could be pounced on likewise, and the consignees additionally punished.

Then the Indian laws of fauna preservation must be improved, and, above all, enforced, the severest punishment being dealt out to civil or military officials who abused their position and broke the law either by action or inaction. Having set our house in order, we might next proceed to negotiate with the other civilized nations for the institution of common legislation to effect the same purpose.

If France would come into line, Belgium and Holland likewise, together with the United States and all other colonising countries, we should soon get the worst of the business over. We are almost secure in advance of the co-operation of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Scandinavia, and the United States; and I am sure a little reasoning at Peking would bring China into agreement, and I am far from despairing of Japan. I cannot believe that so intensely artistic a people could all at once have lost their love of beauty and their reverential appreciation of Nature.

But we require to be armed at all points in this crusade. We want no sentimentalism, no unfounded statements. Concurrently with other measures and negotiations—for the matter cannot be allowed to drift, it is too vitally important to the human race—we want the most accurate information possible regarding the fauna and flora of the whole British Empire (for example). A little while ago in a somewhat covert manner, a Commission was appointed, or said to have been appointed, “to enquire into the resources of the British Empire.” When I heard that this was being contemplated, I pleaded most strongly in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* and other organs of public opinion, that the terms of reference should include an inquiry into the present condition of the fauna and flora of all parts of the British Empire, to show what prominent, or remarkable, or hurtful species of beast, bird, reptile, and fish, existed in this or that colony or dependency; to enumerate all the more striking and useful (or harmful) trees and plants; and at the same time to draw up a catalogue of the principal insect and other invertebrate pests. Acting on such a report, the Imperial Government, either by direct action, or by advice or pleading, could have determined what was worth preserving and what was either negligible or actually harmful, and thus to be destroyed by active or passive means. But the suggestion was not adopted, and no such provision is to be found amongst the terms of reference of this somewhat obscure Commission.

Lastly, there is the effect of social influence. Much has been done of late to check the abuse of alcohol and over-eating by the influence of the highly-placed in the social world, who have pronounced such things as vulgar, provincial, suburban, or antique. If all the great ladies made it known that they would cut women of any class wearing real or imitation aigrettes or birds-of-paradise plumes—whether they met them at home or abroad—this would deal a serious blow at the bad side of the feather trade. And if great gentlemen would bestow their approval far more on

the use of the camera than on the employment of the sporting rifle and shot-gun, above all, if they would direct the ardour of our full-blooded manhood into preparedness for war, not against birds and beasts, but against the enemies of the Empire, they, too, might materially assist in the preservation of birds and beasts.

THE LEGEND OF SATI.

BY J. D. ANDERSON.

IN the preceding number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, I was allowed to say a few words on translations from Indian literature, and the late Tārak Nāth Gānguli's little romance of Svārṇa-lātā in particular. I tried to show that by reading vernacular books, in the original or in translations, we may get nearer to the Indian heart and imagination than by reading books of travel by preoccupied or prepossessed foreigners, or novels which are often merely reflections of the characteristic Anglo-Indian sense of the disabilities and compensations of exile. Perhaps I can adduce a stronger proof of my case by describing another specimen of popular literature—Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's charming version in modern Bengali of the ancient legend of the self-immolation of Sati, the accepted Hindu type of wifely duty and devotion. It happens that Mr. Sen is now translating his tale into English. The occasion seems apt to explain why a modern rendering of an old-world Hindu story may be of the most fascinating interest to Western students of Indian life.

To European minds the distinction between things secular and things sacred seems obvious enough. For us, reverence regards the Divine nature as something wholly above human frailty and fallibility. The attribution of human motives to the Deity, and, still more, the discussion of the workings of

Providence in a spirit of amusement and humour, present difficulties of taste and treatment only to be overcome by writers of unusual tact—or audacity. But our classical education reminds us that there is a stage of ethical and intellectual development when the pantheistic idea finds expression in the conception of a society of gods and goddesses, immortal indeed and idealized, but resembling mortals in the fact that they are mere simulacra in face of the one fact—the single entity which pervades and constitutes all Being. The world of divine and supernatural forms is as much a matter for literary treatment of all kinds as human society, since it only differs from our own life in being on a higher and an idealized plane. It affords matter for pathos and humour, for smiles and tears, every bit as much as its human counterpart in the visible and tangible world. It is as existent, and yet as much a result of the *māyā*—the illusion from which we snatch our emotions of joy and sorrow, of laughter and tears. No doubt the ancient legends of Greece and Rome still pervade our Christian imaginations, and colour our poetical and religious phraseology. If so, we are no longer conscious of the fact. But, through all the social and political changes wrought in India by contact with Western minds, the polytheistic aspect of pantheism survives as a living religious and intellectual influence, even in those minds which have received the completest tincture of Western culture. For a European, however benevolent, it is a delicate and invidious task to analyze such survivals at a time of transition, when, it may be, our Indian fellow subjects are themselves perplexed, and do not perhaps discern whither they are drifting between conflicting currents of scientific observation and traditional belief. We should the more readily welcome the frankness of an Indian scholar of wide repute, who strives to tell us, candidly and unshrinkingly, what hold the old mythology still has on the imagination and conscience of his contemporaries. We have all been reading, with sympathy and admiration, the poet Ravindranāth Tagore's delightful

Gitanjali, his rendering into exquisite English prose of the wistful and pathetic speculations of an Indian man of genius. Mr. Sen's versions in modern Bengali of such ancient legends as his "Fullora," "Behula," "Sati," "Jad-bharat," etc., come aptly to tell us on what basis of immemorial tradition and fancy the poet's imagination is founded. It is a happy accident that out of the many old tales which Mr. Sen has told in Bengali prose, he should have chosen the legend of Sati as his first attempt to explain to English readers how Hindu minds are still loyal to inherited traditions. The name of Sati is familiar to us all, if only by reason of its lugubrious connection with the rite of self-immolation, still sometimes practised by Hindu widows in defiance of the law passed by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. To Western consciences the suicide of widows is a shocking barbarity. We find it difficult to imagine a state of mind which regards the performance of *Sati* with the same proud approval with which a patriotic Englishman thinks of the death in battle of a Nelson or a Wolfe, or the quiet resolution with which the captain of a sinking liner goes down with his ship. European races value physical existence, but admit that there are occasions when life must be risked or freely surrendered. The ancient legend of "Sati," as retold by Mr. Sen, may explain why, after more than a century of Western rule, a Bengali widow can still feel it a duty and a privilege to abandon an existence which, according to the ideas of her race, has no longer any value for her or for the community to which she belongs.

Let me not be understood to imply that Mr. Sen advocates the continuance of the rite of *Sati*. His purpose is rather to explain how it is that, in the minds of a race not more callous or cruel than our own, voluntary submission to a painful end is regarded as an act of virtue in the widows of Bengal. It is well, surely, that we should know from what traditional sources flow beliefs which influence the conduct of the men and women with whom British administration in India has to deal. We may note, in passing, that

the story of the immolation of Sati does not deal with widowhood at all. It is the tale of a tragic dilemma, an impossible choice between conflicting duties, the only exit from which, according to Indian tradition, lay in the final solution of death. The legend, as Mr. Sen relates it, is one of great ethnical and anthropological interest. Perhaps I may be allowed to attempt a brief summary of it here.

There was once a great sacrificial gathering of gods and heroes at the abode of the *prajāpati*, or demigod, *Bṛghu*, and in the midst of the brilliant assemblage, *Dakṣa*, son of *Brahmā* and father of *Sati*, made his appearance. In Mr. Sen's rendering, *Dakṣa* is represented as the typical haughty and worldly Brahman, too assured of inherited social consideration to ask himself whether it was earned by his personal qualities. All the assembled guests—with three exceptions—rose to their feet as *Dakṣa* entered. The exceptions were *Dakṣa*'s father, *Brahmā*, his father's friend *Viṣṇu*, and, lastly, his own son-in-law, *Sati*'s husband, the half-nude hermit god, *Śiva*, a startling contrast in dress and mien to the splendid multitude of gods and mortals around him. That *Śiva* was absorbed in *samādhi*, in profound meditation on the vanity of things of sense as compared with the immanent Essence, mattered nothing to his ambitious and arrogant father-in-law. To the consternation of the company, *Dakṣa* proceeded to vent his mortification at the fancied slight in words which were none the less offensive because they were true. Who was this *Śiva*, he cried, to whom he had rashly confided the fortunes of his favourite daughter? A barbarian and an outcast from the rugged Himalayas, a contemner of ancient social conventions, a haunter of obscene abodes, of places for the burning of the dead, a deity of unknown origin, a rough, pale-faced highlander, a being unfitted for civilized society! *Śiva* replied to these objurgations by a single mild and pitying glance, and returned to his meditations, thereby, naturally enough, adding to the anger of *Dakṣa*, who resolved henceforth to exclude *Śiva* from the sacrificial rites

by which the gods are honoured, and the three worlds preserved. After various attempts to persuade others to organize entertainments from which his son-in-law should be omitted, Dakṣa was driven to issue invitations for the famous ceremony with which the memory of Sati is traditionally associated in the minds of pious Hindus. All the potentates of earth and heaven were bidden, save only the husband and wife who dwelt, remote from transient cares and vanities, on the forest-clad slopes of the peak of Kailāsa. Sati, sitting in her woodland garden, saw the midnight sky illuminated with the flashing equipages of gods and goddesses, among them her numerous deified sisters, who were hastening to the world-famed sacrifice. In spite of her unwavering devotion to her ascetic lord, in favour of whom she had abandoned the pretty dresses and ornaments dear to her feminine heart, pangs of homesickness filled Sati's gentle breast, and she longed to be with her parents on this occasion of domestic parade and hospitality. With reluctance, Śiva consented to her going, an uninvited guest, to her paternal home. Mr. Sen describes with delightful humour the reception which the bark-clad little Yogini received from her fashionable sisters, and admits us to a glimpse of what might easily happen behind any Bengali *parda* if such a rustic figure were to appear in a throng of gay and worldly little Bengali women to-day. Sati was depressed and frightened already, but worse was to follow. Her mother, Prasūti, welcomed her, indeed, with the tender fondness characteristic of Bengali mothers. But in her father's heart, for all his affection for his best-loved daughter, lurked hot embers of wounded pride. At sight of Sati, attended by her husband's hated servant Nandi, a rude mountaineer like Śiva himself, Dakṣa's smouldering wrath burst into flame again. He cursed his son-in-law as an uncivilized alien, and called upon his devoted daughter to choose between husband and father. Śiva was far away in distant Kailāsa, and all that the frightened victim of paternal anger and jealousy could

remember was that, in her natural wish to hasten to her mother and sisters, she had omitted to perform her wonted daily obeisance to her lord. The thought of this ominous lapse from duty filled her with new apprehensions. She was standing near the sacred sacrificial fire, which in pity touched her with its pure flame. She was not consumed, for it was destined that Śiva should again behold and clasp her inanimate but incorruptible form. But she exhaled her spirit into the all-pervading Essence, and, in our human phrase, died. Nandi hastened to his master, roaring uncouth grief and despair, and Śiva, filled with the divine wrath, which is manifested in the cataclysms and catastrophes for which Western philosophy has no final explanation, dispersed the glittering assemblage, and took summary vengeance on those rash beings who had insulted a godhead, not inherited, but acquired by supernatural austerities. He seized the prostrate form of his beloved Sati, and, during unknown periods of time, carried it about the world in unrestrained rage, sorrow, and remorse, thus sharing for a while the emotions of bereaved mortals. But the three worlds suffered while Mahādeva was thus giving reins to his grief, and Viṣṇu came to the rescue of the society of gods and men. With his magic discus he cut the lovely and imperishable form of Sati into fifty-one portions, which fell at the fifty-one *pīṭhasthānas*, some of which are to this day thronged places of pilgrimage. To those of us who have lived in Eastern India, the best-known of these are the shrines of Kālighāt in Calcutta, and of Kāmākṣā in Assam. Relieved of his beloved burden, Śiva relapsed into inspired meditation, till, in another age, he found a fresh companion in the *Śakti*, known variously as Kālī, Umā, Durgā, etc., who is the object of one of the most interesting cults in modern Hinduism—an emanation of his own heroically ascetic temperament, and strangely different from the devoted and submissive Sati, gained by an early mésalliance with the polished community of the primitive Vedic gods.

Mr. Ravindranāth Tagore, in his rendering into English prose of his remarkable poems, refrains from direct references to the ancient legends with which every Hindu's imagination is fed from earliest childhood. He appeals the more easily to sentiments which are common to all humanity. Mr. Sen has, perhaps, attempted a more difficult task in asking Europeans to comprehend, if they can, what ethical ideas underlie the legends of Old Bengal. He has courageously chosen, at a time when Western women are proclaiming their independence of masculine control, to tell of Sati's inability to find any other issue from conflicting duties to father and husband than self-immolation. Lest his readers should think that Mr. Sen's choice was due to early associations, or was made in view of the romantic incidents of the story, he is careful to tell us that his versions of the traditional legends of Hinduism in Bengal are intended to show that social progress in the East can only be brought to good results if reform is based upon indigenous conventions, and is a true development of native ideals. It is easy to imagine with what delicate humour a Jules Lemaitre would narrate such a tale as that of Sati, *en marge du Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. In Mr. Sen's version of the legend there is no lack of spontaneous humour, but there is more. There is a tender reverence for Hindu womanhood, which, to European minds, may seem inconsistent with feminine seclusion and *sati*. Such antinomies abound in all social systems, in all religions, and must not be ignored. Christian races reconcile their beliefs with the continuance of international war, and the mildest of Hindus is haunted by the need of bloody sacrifices, with all that they imply. It is well, surely, that these surviving inconsistencies of belief and practice should be stated frankly by those who are in the best position to appreciate their real significance, and the power they exert over men's consciences.

Perhaps it is only fair to say that the Śiva and Sati legend has also a philosophical explanation, which may

be crudely summarized as follows: It puzzled early Anglo-Indians to find that, of the supreme Trinity of the Hindu theogony, Brahmā had no followers among existing Hindus, while those who took either Viṣṇu or Śiva to be their *iṣṭa-devata*, did not at all deny the divinity and power of the other. The devotional neglect of Brahmā is easily explicable, since he, the Creator, rests from his labours in an eternal Sabbath. Viṣṇu, the Preserver, is dear to the hearts of conservative and optimistic believers, since the vain simulacrum of existence continues to occupy and amuse our senses. It is Śiva, we suppose, who is the chosen deity of those puzzled souls who would fain find an explanation of the fact of sin and sorrow in a universe intuitively recognized as the handiwork of divine benevolence. The explanation, seemingly, is that good and evil, pain and pleasure, sorrow and joy, light and darkness, are in some obscure fashion the complements of one another, are necessary to one another's existence. They are dispensed by Śiva or his feminine Energy, and correspond respectively to his periods of divine *samādhi* and intermediate relapses into contact with the fleeting shows of worldly life.

In the year 1897, a terrible cyclone and storm-wave devastated the sea-coast of Chittagong, and in a few moments drowned some 14,000 human beings. The survivors behaved with true Hindu fortitude and patience. Among the officials of the district at that time was the late Navin Chandra Sen, one of the most distinguished of Bengali poets. During the anxious and busy weeks that followed the cyclone, when every nerve had to be strained to bring help to a population suddenly deprived of all its material resources, the poet laboured with his more prosaic colleagues to help his afflicted fellow-countrymen. But when the time of stress was over, he sat down to compose a little novel called *Bhānumati*, in mingled verse and prose, to relieve the accumulated pressure of thought and emotion due to the crushing calamity which had fallen on his native

district. We all remember how Addison made poetical use of such a catastrophe :

"So when an angel, by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
(Such as of late o'er pale Britannia passed),
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast ;
And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."

The English poet compares the ordered tumult of the battle-field to a hurricane directed by a Destroying Angel. The Bengali poet speaks of the Chittagong littoral, ravaged by the pitiless cyclone, as *Prakrtir Kuruksetra*, the Battle-field of Nature. He indites an ode in which he pictures Kālī abandoning herself to an orgy of destruction, happy in the consciousness that all this ruin must result in recreation : out of the eater shall come forth meat ; out of sorrow renewed joy. He addresses the goddess as *Rana-ranjini*, Rejoicing in Battle, and seems to find a fierce joy and solace in the thought that destruction, loss, and misery are as necessary as death itself. His imagination warms at the vision of the excitement of Kālī, manifested in the mad onset and furious speed of wind and wave. These things, too, he seems to feel, are natural, are divine, are as beautiful and worshipful in their way as the sunny calm of which they are the prelude. The goddess's exhilaration is rendered by the Hindu poet into thrilling and throbbing verses, curiously different from the placid beat of Addison's Augustan heroics. If we could analyze the emotion in the English and Bengali poets' account of scenes of cataclysmal destruction, we might perhaps come near understanding the differences between the European and the Oriental temperament. But can any critical ingenuity capture the faint shades of feeling which separate these two ways of regarding our common inability to explain, except in terms of human experience, the forces whose playthings we are ? In us survives, perhaps, a hereditary lust of battle. In the Hindu there lives the transmitted sense of the helplessness

of man in the face of overwhelming calamity, plague, famine, cyclone, earthquake, all more frequent and disastrous in the tropics than under our equable sky. It is easy to picture the seeming excitement of God-driven forces under an Indian sky, and perhaps the Indian temperament is more excitable in consequence. It finds expression for passions easily stirred in languages rich in words of emotional connotation, borrowed freely from the parent Sanskrit. There are verses of Navin Chundra Sen which are intelligible to a Sanskrit scholar without the aid of a Bengali dictionary, such as :

"Prakṛti ulāṅga ! Mātā vivasanā,
Lalāte anala, aṅgār-varaṇā,
Cāri bhuja, trinayana,
O Mā ! dhvāṁsarūpe sarvavyāpini !" etc.

Such lyrical rapture and emotion have, of course, their counterpart in Western verse, and I confess that my quotation from Addison was a little malicious. Let me admit that it was intended to show that the courtly urbanity of our Augustans is, I think, wholly absent from Bengali poetry, compact of an emotion whose defect is that it is sometimes somewhat facile. It does not, on the other hand, descend into the comfortable commonplace to which Western poets have sometimes misapplied the resources of poetic diction.

Mr. Sen's Sati may serve to show us that the Bengalis are as resolutely and romantically credulous as the Athenians to whom St. Paul preached. They have inherited a language as copious and expressive as Greek itself. They have intellects as ingenious and imaginations as vivid as those of the Greeks. Their ancient legends are very dear to them, and sway their emotions just as powerfully as in the days when the European schoolmaster had not yet introduced Science Primers and other matter-of-fact instruction into Bengali schools.

Surely he is hard to please who cannot see in Mr. Sen's Sati a typical Bengali housewife, an attractive specimen of feminine humanity, kind, serviceable, unselfish. She is

possessed, perhaps, by an exaggerated reverence for her ascetic mate ; but she is charming in her eager response to his milder moods, and always happy in her conscious ability to give pleasure to her lord. Her tragic fate is a harsh ending to a gentle and blameless existence, but that is only one more reminder that—

“ All that is fair must fade,
The fairest still the soonest.”

Whether Sati's story explains the problem of unmerited suffering it is for the philosophers to say. But does any European literature contain a more touching type of womanly devotion? We at least must not question Mr. Sen's claim that Sati is but an exemplar of many such—merely a typical Bengali wife. Observe, too, that she is still a model accepted by Hindu women themselves for imitation. Bengali literature abounds in stories which show that the fair inhabitants of the zenana often exercise capable and masterful rule over their households, including their lords and masters. But theirs is seemingly a gentle sway, willingly accepted, and exercised within traditional limits of outward deference and submission. No doubt Indian ladies influence politics through their male relatives, and chiefly in the direction of conservatism and inherited custom. That, at least, is what we would expect of true daughters of luckless Sati, whose name is accepted all over India as the appropriate title for the loving wife, to whom duty is dearer than her own happiness. The Indian Sati is the absolute counterpart of Milton's imagined Eve, who could address her husband in words that have a singularly Oriental ring :

“ My author and disposer, what thou biddest
Unargued I obey, so God ordains ;
God is thy law, thou mine ; to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.”

The whole passage that follows might almost be a verse translation of some of the sayings of Sati in her forest

retreat. Even if modern Bengali ladies have eaten of the fruit of the tree of Western knowledge, the old ideals survive, and dominate their quick intelligences and vivid imaginations. Perhaps in another number of the *Asiatic Quarterly* I may be allowed to give an account of a romance of contemporary life, in which we may see how the old traditions linger in minds that have acquired some notion of Western freedom of thought and conduct, but do not on that account reject the hereditary conventions, literary and social, which belong to their ancient race and civilization.

POSTSCRIPT.

If I have succeeded in interesting readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly* in my friend Mr. Sen's version of the ancient legend of Sati, they may like to know what manner of man the historian of Bengali literature is. The following is a brief account of his life, chiefly taken from materials which he himself was good enough to supply, to compensate, as far as possible, for the fact that my acquaintance with him was made after I had left India, and by means of a correspondence which has been to me a source of much pleasure and profit.

Dinesh Chandra Sen was born on the 17th of Kārtik in the Śaka year 1788 (November, 1867), in the little village of Bagjuri, in the district of Dacca, in the house of his maternal grandfather, Munshi Gokul Krishna Sen, who was then Government pleader in the court of the District Judge. In that capacity, the Munshi (it is interesting to see that Muhammadan titles of honour still survived) acquired considerable authority and riches, and a verse still runs the countryside in which he, with three others, is described as one of the local heroes, particular mention being made of his luxuriant moustache!

The Sens belong to the physician, or Vaidya, caste of Bengal, and hold themselves to be descendents of one Śaktidhara, who came to Bengal from Kanauj at the invitation of the Hindu King Adisura in A.D. 720. Mr. Sen's ancestor Dhoi, from whom he is eighteenth in descent, was a renowned poet in his day, and enjoyed the friendship of Lakṣman Sen, the last Hindu ruler of Bengal. Dhoi's Sanskrit poem entitled "Pavana-dūta" (the Breeze-Messenger) is still admired, and he had the signal honour of being mentioned by his famous contemporary Jayadeva in the *Gita Govinda* (Sir Edwin Arnold's translation of which is probably known to most readers of this *Review*) as "Prince of Poets."

Mr. Sen's father, Iswar Chandra Sen, was a convert to the then new sect of the Brahma Samaj, though he never wholly severed his connection with orthodox Hinduism or abandoned Hindu customs. He no doubt held that the Samaj was essentially Hindu, though at that period it was

regarded with distrust by old-fashioned people. He was a schoolmaster by profession, and had a scholarly knowledge of English, Sanskrit, and Persian, as well as of his native Bengali. He was even a frequent contributor to the Anglo-Indian *Englishman*, then the leading daily newspaper in Calcutta.

Mr. Sen's mother, Rupalata Devi, was, on the other hand, a sturdy supporter of Hindu orthodoxy, and, in spite of the traditional submissiveness of Bengali wives, made many gentle and half-humorous attempts to convince her husband of the error of his ways. She was naturally jealous of the father's influence over her only son, and succeeded, with motherly devotion and patience, in communicating her own religious ideas to her boy. She had borne no less than eleven girls, when, as the result of prolonged prayers, fastings, and other austerities (so she piously believed), she gave birth to twins, one of whom was the future historian of Bengali letters.

Mr. Sen's maternal grandfather was a typical Bengali country gentleman, lavish in expenditure on the musical plays called *Yatras*, and other such amusements, which, being performed before the family temple, are held to give pleasure to gods as well as to mortals. All such dissipations were uncongenial to Mr. Sen's father, who thought them at once frivolous and irreligious. He was something of an authority on the doctrines of the *Samaj*, and wrote books on the subject. He also composed hymns and spiritual songs, one of which is, roughly translated, to the following effect: "My soul, if you would enjoy the sight of beautiful dancing, what need is there to frequent gaudily-dressed dancing girls? What is more entrancing than the dance of the peacock? What *bayaderi's* dress can compare with his splendid attire? And if you love the brilliant midnight illumination of royal palaces, what can compare with the glorious firmament where the moon holds court among his minister stars? In courtly entertainments a petty question of precedence may cause jealousy and heart-burning, but here is an entertainment open to us all, king and cowherd alike."

Mr. Sen's lifelong love of old Bengali poetry originated in the teaching of his widowed elder sister, Digvasini Devi, who was a storehouse of indigenous story and legend. When her little brother was only three years old, she had taught him to recite long passages from Krittibas's Bengali version of the *Ramayana*. At seven the boy already knew great part of both *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* by heart, having picked them up from his sister's evening recitations to an eager audience of women and children. Digvasini Devi had married into a Vaisnava family, and had thus learned a great number of the Visnuxite hymns, charged with deep religious emotion, which form an important part of medieval Bengali literature. One of these was a special favourite with the boy, and may be thus roughly rendered:

"It was an August night, when the soft rain was falling, falling fast. I lay on my couch asleep, my garments all discomposed in careless slumber. In the hills hard by echoed the peacock's cry, and the gay note of the *kohil*. The frogs in the tank croaked their joy at the welcome showers, the beetle's drone mingled with the quaint chirrup of the *dahuk*. And all these

happy and familiar sounds but gave zest and sweetness to my sleep. And so it was that I dreamt that the Lord himself came to me. His image was clear in my dreaming eyes, my heart brimmed over with love and gratitude, my ears were filled with the sound of his dear voice."

In later years the boy's instructor, Purna Chandra Sen, taught him the mystical and theological interpretation of verses which at that time merely touched his hereditary love of beautiful and haunting sound. But an innate taste for vernacular poetry was already roused, and young Dinesh read Vidyapati Thakur, Chandidas (part of whose works were translated by the late Professor Cowell), and other poets. He also retained a great affection for the Visnuvite hymns. His native village of Suapur, like most Bengali villages to this day, contained many amateur choirs, who would walk the streets of an evening chanting the religious songs known as *kirtan*, *kathākatā*, and *mangal-gān*. In these the boy took much delight, and acquired early memories, which in later years helped to convince him that the indigenous poetry (scorned by bookish and pedantic scholars) was a beautiful and spontaneous expression of rustic religious feeling.

In 1886, when Sen was reading for his B.A. degree at the Dacca college, his father died "while he was in his accustomed attitude of prayer," and the good wife, who had so often scolded him for his unorthodoxy and independence, survived him by only two months. It was a year of misfortunes. Two of Sen's sisters, seemingly healthy and happy girls of fourteen and sixteen, died suddenly, one of heat apoplexy, and the other of tetanus. Dinesh himself had a stroke of paralysis, and feared that this singularly early visitation had wrecked his prospects of a successful career. Slowly, however, health returned, and the young scholar recovered sufficiently to become a schoolmaster at the subdivisional headquarters of Habiganj in Sylhet. It was at this time that he became a diligent and delighted student of English poetry. He knew by heart many favourite passages from the plays of Shakespeare and Milton's "Paradise Lost." He read attentively the works of the Elizabethan dramatists, and had a special liking for the Lake poets. Like most men of his generation in England and India, he was a fervent admirer of Tennyson's verse, and he tells me that on the day, in 1891, on which the news of the poet's death reached Habiganj, he fasted as if for a brother or other near relative. He adds, with a kindly chuckle, that his good wife was so convinced that her husband could not be mourning for an unknown and unseen foreigner, but was really vexed with her, that she fasted also!

In 1889 Mr. Sen graduated, and was appointed to be headmaster of the Victoria School at Comillah, in the Tipperah district, a post which he retained till the December of 1896. His duties left him leisure for what had by this time become the business of his life—the zealous collection and collation of the manuscripts of the forgotten and neglected medieval poets of Bengal. With the indefatigable zeal of a true *pandit*, he laboriously built up the materials for his now classical "Vanga Bhāṣā o Sāhitya," an account in Bengali of the origins and growth of the Bengali language and literature, which was published in 1896, at the charges of the Mahamajah of Tipperah.

There can be no doubt, on his own admission, that he indulged to excess in the congenial labour this work gave him. Often he gave himself only a couple of hours of sleep out of the twenty-four. It is hardly surprising that the result was an attack of extreme nervous prostration. In spite of ill-health, however, he managed to compose the series of Bengali books, of one of which I have tried to give an account. Lord Curzon's Government recognized Mr. Sen's services to Bengali literature and scholarship by conferring upon him a small pension, which was a godsend to the exhausted and impoverished scholar. But brighter days were in store. His works brought him the regard and friendship of many influential persons, European and Indian. Some of his Bengali books were prescribed as textbooks for schools, and so obtained a comparatively lucrative sale. Among the kindest and most valued of his friends is the Honourable Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who in 1908 secured for him the appointment of Reader in Bengali Literature. This resulted in the series of lectures out of which was compiled the "*History of Bengali Language and Literature.*" In 1909 Mr. Sen was elected a Fellow of his University, and was also made an Associate Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He is now employed in preparing for the Press a volume of "*Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature,*" which will be a much-valued boon to both European and Indian students of the language.

The statement has more than once been publicly made that Mr. Sen began his investigations at the suggestion of the admirable society for the study of the antiquities and language of Bengal, known as the Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat. The exact contrary is the case. It was Mr. Sen's enthusiasm which drew the attention of the Parisat to the forgotten treasures of Bengali poetry hidden all over the country in humble homesteads and the country-seats of the Bengali gentry. Even, however, if the Parisat had suggested, and not merely encouraged, his labours, that would not have diminished the achievement of a humble and indefatigable student, who, though himself a writer of unquestioned distinction, has given the best part of his life to reviving the forgotten glories of his native literature. Much of the poetry thus recovered will not seem to Europeans to have much value unless they are unusually conscientious students of the Bengali language. It is so purely Hindu in treatment and temper, in allusiveness and connotation, that few can hope to do for the majority of mediæval Bengali poets what Professor Cowell has done for Chandidas, whom he called the "*Bengali Crabbe.*" Not many of them, perhaps, attain to the literary merit of Chandidas, of Vidyapati, of the eighteenth-century Bhārat Chandra Ray. But for pious and patriotic Bengalis the resuscitated mediæval poetry of Bengal will be a source at once of pleasure and instruction.

Few of the Indian literatures owe a greater debt to European influences than does that of Bengal. The epics of Madhu Sudhan Datta, the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, are frankly based on English models. But at a time when all literary London has been admiring the poems of

Ravindranath Tagore, when artistic London has been astonished by the delicate charm of the drawings of his relative, Avanimdranath Tagore, it is easy for even untravelled Englishmen to understand that Bengali art and literature can still find inspiration in indigenous sources. It was Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen who rediscovered and restored forgotten and disused springs of Bengali poetry, and probably did a better service for his race than by indulging in literary ambitions on his own account, for which the not inconsiderable list of his published works of imagination might have given ample justification.—J. D. A.

NESTORIAN CHRISTIAN CHARMS AND THEIR ARCHAIC ELEMENTS AND AFFINITIES.

BY L. A. WADDELL, LL.D.

THE cult of protective charms is commonly supposed to be restricted almost entirely to the lowest and most primitive savage forms of religious belief. In reality, however, it is found still surviving also within all the more advanced great world-religions at the present day, to a much greater extent than is generally suspected. An examination, therefore, of the charms in use by the more civilized peoples may throw some light upon the rise of the religion associated with them, and of its relation to other religions and to earlier stages of civilization. Thus, some of the Nestorian Christian charms now in question exhibit, I find, features which suggest affinities and a common origin with the spells of early Brahmanism of the fourth or fifth century B.C., and of the Buddhism of India.

In Buddhism, the important fact has hitherto been overlooked that charms are in universal use amongst all sections of that faith—"Southern" (including Ceylon, Burma, and Siam) as well as "Northern," amongst the monks as well as laymen, and that this cult plays an important practical part in that religion, as has lately been shown by the present writer.* I have also in that article shown from almost

* "The Dhāraṇī Cult in Buddhism: Its Origin, etc.," in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (The Far East), ii. Berlin, July, 1912, pp. 155-195.

unimpeachable evidence that *charms were probably used by Buddha himself.*

In Christianity, the extensive currency of magical charms has been traced and described in considerable detail by Dobschutz and Worrell in a recent volume of Dr. Hastings' great work, "*The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.*"* The practice appears to date from the earliest period, and to have been due to the early converts being already inveterate users of amulets and spells, and still continuing after their adoption of the Christian faith to cling to their ancestral belief in the efficacy of spells as a protection against disease and misfortune, which were popularly supposed to be caused by evil spirits and sorcery.† For this purpose many of the pre-Christian charms were manifestly adapted to the new religion by replacing some of the pagan elements with Christian formulas and extracts from the New Testament. Such charms and "white magic" were used in Europe with the sanction of the Churches till long after the Middle Ages, and many are still employed at the present day amongst civilized European peoples; whilst some protective magic still survives in the modern ritual and mysticism of Christian Churches.

Some additional material for the study of the more primitive Christian charms is now made available by Dr. Gollancz in two collections of Syriac manuscripts, the texts of which he has just published‡ with a translation and some literary notes tracing the Biblical source of many of the sentences used in the spells.

It is, however, rather the pre-Christian and archaic elements which are more likely to attract the most interest. And, as no analysis of these texts from the ethnological or comparative standpoint has yet been published, I have noted down here some of the results of my examination of

* Vol. iii., 1910, pp. 439-472.

† For examples of Hebrew charms, see article by Gaster, *Encyclop. Relig. and Ethics*, iii. 454.

‡ *The Book of Protection*, by H. Gollancz. London, 1912.

the texts, in the hope that this may prove helpful as an indication of the contents and their import.

THE PEOPLE USING THESE "NESTORIAN" CHARMS AND THEIR ETHNIC POSITION.

The people using these Syriac Christian charms form a very ancient ethnological group of much historical interest. They occupy the district of Lake Urmia in Asia Minor, amongst the mountains of Kurdistan, which latter country stands between two of the earliest centres of civilization—namely, Chaldæa on the south, and Iran or Aria (ancient Persia), the supposed motherland of the proto-Aryans, on the north. They call themselves "*Kaldani*," that is, Chaldæans;* by others they have latterly been termed, after the religion they now profess, "Nestorians."

Racially, they are regarded as Semitic in stock. They are the descendants of the Nestorian Christians who flourished in Western Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era, from the fourth century A.D. onward till suppressed by the Moslem invasion. They still speak a dialect of the Syriac, which elsewhere is no longer a living language,† and wrote it in a form of the Syriac called "*Estranghelo*." The chief manuscript of Dr. Gollancz's texts is written in this character, and dated from the neighbourhood of Lake Urmia in the year "2114 of the blessed Greeks," which, according to Dr. Gollancz, corresponds to A.D. 1802-3 of our style. The other manuscript is also in this character, and the third (in Cambridge University Library) is written in "inelegant Nestorian, possibly of the eighteenth century."

The Kurds, their fellow-countrymen, on the other hand, now profess the Moslem religion, but are Iranian in speech, and supposed to be of proto-Iranian or proto-Aryan

* Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, 1900, p. 496.

† Hovelacque, *Science of Language*.

stock.* This latter circumstance, it seems to me, may explain the apparent affinities of some of these charms with those of Brahmanist India and Buddhism. It was from the Iranian priesthood of ancient Zoroastrism, the "*Magi*," who derived their title from the Chaldean priests, that the cult of magic derives its name. These Nestorians may thus be said to live in the ancient home of the magic art.

NESTORIAN INFLUENCE IN THE CIVILIZATION OF ASIA.

That a profound influence was exerted by the Christian Nestorians of Asia Minor upon the civilization of Asia, Western and Central, also of Ancient China, has long been known; and the fact has been further confirmed by the recent discoveries in Central Asia and Western China by Sir A. Stein, Grunwedel, von Lecoq, Müller, Chavannes, and others. Muhammadanism itself is held by most authorities to be an offshoot of Nestorianism.

The Nestorian schism from the Imperial Roman Church dated from A.D. 431, when Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed by the Œcumenical Council at Ephesus for maintaining the true humanity of Christ. It soon became powerful in Asia Minor, and developed a strong missionary spirit among the Mongol and Turkish tribes of Central Asia. Its missionaries are believed to have reached China as early as A.D. 505.† Their inscribed monument, erected in A.D. 781 at Singan Fu, the imperial capital of China, records the arrival of "Olopen" in Central China in A.D. 635, and mentions by name many monks working there.‡ In A.D. 845, at the date of their temporary suppression by the edict of Wu Tsung, the

* Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 280; Deniker: *Races of Men*, 1900, p. 422.

† M. Broomhall, *Chinese Empire*, 1907, p. 5; Von Brandt in Harmsworth's *History of the World*, 825.

‡ E. H. Parker, *China and Religion*, 123, where there is a detailed account of the Nestorian and Manichean movement in China.

Christian priests in China, presumably Nestorian, numbered 300.*

Amongst other landmarks left by the Nestorians upon Asiatic culture are, it is believed by some authorities, the written characters of the Mongolian and Manchu languages, which are derived from the Syriac script, through, it is alleged, the Nestorians.†

Arabic culture, too, was indebted to the Nestorian Christian literature for its knowledge of Greek science, as it is found that nearly all the Arabic translations would seem to have been made by Syriac writers from Syriac Christian versions.‡

At the present day the Nestorians of Kurdistan, in whose hands these charms are found, are almost illiterate, probably as a result of several centuries of Turkish oppression.

THE CHARMS, THEIR GENERAL FORM AND USES.

These charms appear to constitute a recognized body of spells, as several copies have been found of different ages and from different localities, though, from the great variations presented by the four manuscripts edited by Dr. Gollancz, it is evident that there is no recognized order or number of the spells, whilst some versions are much more expanded than others.

They appear to be intended for the use of an official priesthood. One of the manuscripts is inscribed as having been in the possession of "the deceased martyr George from Abajalu."

Technically, the majority of the charms are, properly speaking, "amulets" or "phylacteries," as they are intended to be written out and worn upon the body.

Their efficacy depends obviously upon the ancient pre-

* M. Broomhall, *op. cit.*, 6; but Von Brandt puts the number at 3,000, *loc. cit.*, 825.

† Hovelacque, *op. cit.*, 100.

‡ Renan, *Hist. Générale des Lang. Semitiques*, iii. 3, 2; Hovelacque, *op. cit.*, 157.

sumption that all evils, diseases, and misfortunes are caused by malignant spirits, who, by the invoking of the sacred names or other words of magical power, are expelled or laid under a ban, and compelled to do according to the desires of the utterer or wearer.

The uses for which they are expressly prescribed in their titles show that the charms were esteemed to be of practical service in most of the affairs of everyday life.

From an analysis of those uses I would classify the spells into the following categories: (1) *Prophylactic*, or protective; (2) *Curative*, or exorcism; (3) *Luck-compelling*—e.g., to compel the favour of a judge or other official; (4) *Counter-Magic*—aggressive in character to counteract the evil eye and witchery of hostile sorcerers.

Some of these uses will be evident from the titles of the following spells:

Binding the Cramp Demon of the Heart.

- " Fever.
- " Chattering of the Teeth.
- " Pain in the Head.
- " Serpents.
- " Scorpions.
- " Mouth of a Mad Dog and Wolf.
- " Mouth of the Sparrow and Mouse.
- " Fear of a Journey by Night.
- " Evil Apparitions and Evil Dreams.
- " Household Quarrels.
- " Going to Law.
- " the Favour of the Judge.
- " Food.
- " Riches and Merchandise.
- " the Vineyard and Cornfields.
- " Milk not to Spoil.
- " Cow for the Milker.
- " Fire from Standing and Stacked Corn.
- " Pestilence amongst Sheep and Cattle.
- " Arrows and Weapons of War.
- " Evil Eye and Counter-spells.

In form, these Syriac spells are relatively simple, and generally are without instructions for elaborate ceremonial and magical materials in their preparation, like those of the

developed animistic kind. They depend mainly upon the sacred name or words of power for their conjuration. These words of power are a strange medley of Old and New Testament extracts, with Chaldaean and Babylonian mythology and tradition and classic Greek and Roman paganism. In these respects they resemble to some extent many of the Jewish amulets* other than "Solomon's Key."

At the head is usually placed an invocation of the sacred name, sometimes a cabalistic and unintelligible formula, but generally of the Christian Trinity. The extracts from the Old and New Testament texts are appropriately selected on the basis of sympathetic magic, where the names of the things are idealized into being equivalent to the things themselves. This seems to be based upon or cognate with Jewish practice. The recitation of the Psalms as an antidote for illnesses was a custom of the ancient Jews, and continues even to the present day, and particular Psalms are esteemed for particular diseases.† In the Syriac charms the Virgin Mary and archangels, and many saints, Jewish and Christian, are invoked by name; also King Solomon, as the incarnation of Wisdom, with the magical names believed to have been engraved on his signet-ring.

The concluding word of the spell is generally "Amen." The headings are all written in *red* ink, which is a colour widely credited with magical power.

PRE-CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS.

Pre-Christian elements are noticeable in the majority of the charms. In addition to non-Biblical names from classic paganism, there are several cabalistic words of power which are possibly vestiges of archaic Aramaic, or primitive Chaldaean, the meaning of which is now not apparent or lost—though some of these may be cryptic words, which have been mutilated by illiterate scribes.

Many of the charms seem to me to be manifestly pre-Christian charms adapted to Christian use by introducing

* Gaster, *Encyclop. Relig. and Ethic.*, iii. 454.

† *Idem.*, 454.

Christ or the Virgin Mary and saints in the place of or in addition to the pagan divinities and saints of the earlier versions.

Thus, in the following spell for "Binding the Weapons of War," when the words which are not italicized by me are omitted, the charm still retains the form of a spell complete in itself, and presumably the older version.

"FOR BINDING THE MACHINES OF WAR."*

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! The Voice of our Lord which cutteth the flame of the fire: † the Voice of the Lord against Gog and Magog, the governors and chiefs of Meshech and Togarmah: ‡ the Voice of the Lord against the craft of wicked enemies, against evil doers, and against the stones which they fling with the machine and with the gun. § May these [stones] not be moved, nor heated, nor come forth from their [machines] mouths against the one who heareth these writs, but let them be as the dead in the midst of the grave. Amen!"

"O thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell!" || "And when Jesus was entered into the ship, and His disciples followed Him, and they awoke Him, saying unto Him, 'Save us, Lord, for lo we perish!' Then Jesus arose, and rebuked the Sea." ¶

"By that power I bind, expel, anathematize the stones of the engines of war, and the balls of the guns of the wicked enemies away from him who heareth these writs, by the prayer of the Holy Virgin, the Mother of Fire. Amen!"

Here the reference to "The Mother of Fire" and to the machines for throwing heated stones suggest to my mind great age for this charm. The goddess entitled "Mother of Fire" is still invoked by the Chaldeans at the present day in their prayers and benedictions.** It would be interesting to ascertain her identity. The word for gun—namely *tupa*—is now commonly used in Mid-Asia for a cannon, and may possibly have been a later insertion to adapt the spell to modern firearms.

* No. 16A, p. xxxv. Dr. Gollancz informs me that "machine" is a better rendering than "engine."

† Ps. xxix. 7.

‡ Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3, 6.

§ The word for "gun," namely *tupa*, may be a modern interpolation.

|| Matt. xi. 23; Luke x. 15.

¶ Matt. viii. 23-26; Mark iv. 37-39; Luke viii. 22-24.

** Dr. Gollancz, *op. cit.*, xxxvi.

A positive instance of substitution of a Christian element for an older pagan one is found in Spell No. 6A, for compelling the favour of prefects and official authorities. It reads: "I bind them . . . by the power and the garment with which *Alexander the son of Philip* was clothed, with which he subdued the whole earth." In a duplicate text in the British Museum the MS. substitutes the name of the Christian Emperor *Constantine* for that of "Alexander the son of Philip."*

CABALISTIC ELEMENTS.

The outstanding cabalistic features in several of these charms suggests comparison with the somewhat analogous charms in early Brahmanism after the separation of the Indian branch of the Aryan group of tribes from Iran, and recorded in the later Vedas of about the fourth to the fifth century B.C., as well as the early Buddhist spells of about the same period or slightly later, of which I have given numerous examples elsewhere.†

The following are some instances, and the cabalistic names in italic capitals are found by Dr. Gollancz to be quite untranslatable and unintelligible, whilst other parts of these texts are obscure, probably from their archaic nature.

"BINDING THE FEVER" (Charm No. 17c).

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! *THSIMA* upon the fever of . . . , the son of . . . ; *ASIMA* upon the fever of . . . , the son of . . . ; *ZUSIMA* upon the fever of . . . , the son of . . . ; *ABRIMA* upon the fever of . . . , the son of . . . ; by the prayer of Mary, Mar [= Master] Simon Peter, John, Paul, the blessed Apostle, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Amen!"

"FREING THE FRUIT CROPS FROM THE CATTLE" (No. 18c).

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! *KIKI*, *KIKI MIKI*, *MAKI*, *KI*.

"Cut off a piece of the sowing seed of the plots, from the house, from the area, from the dwelling of . . . , the son of . . ."

* P. 94.

† "Some Ancient Indian Charms from the Tibetan," *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1894, pp. 41-44; *Buddhism of Tibet*, 1895, 387, 571, etc.

This formula of the hypnotic order generally suggests at least an external resemblance to that of the early Buddhist incantatory charm for Snake-bite and for good crops, which latter were believed to be dependent on the Snake-spirits. The Buddhist formula runs: KHRILI MILI HALA,* with variants: KILI-MILI KILI-MILI and HILI-HI MILI MILI TILI TILI, etc.

"FOR CHATTERING TEETH [AS STAGE OF FEVER?]" (No. 17A).

"*GMIHID GIHID, GHJR, GMHJR.* Write [these words] upon the wood of a willow-tree (*Helapā*) twig and hang it in the house."

"BINDING THE PREFECTS" (No. 11C).

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! *ARGI, DARGI, BARGI, ZARGI, MARGI, HARGI.* May the Sun and Moon be with him who bears this charm, as God loved Moses, chief of the Hebrews, as God loved David, as God loved the prophet Daniel."

The British Museum Version has "*DARGI, MARGI, KARGI.*"†

THE SERPENT DEVILS.

The ancient and almost universal conception of the spirit of Evil as a serpent—a belief derived from ancient Chaldaean and Egyptian sources and adopted by the Jews in their Old Testament and reflected in the New—is prominent in many of these charms, which also retain vestiges of the earlier pagan forms of this serpent myth.

The primitive belief was doubtless founded in archaic times upon the deadly harm wrought by terrestrial serpents, and these Syriac spells are manifestly intended to protect mainly against earthly snakes, though supernatural ones are also specified. These latter are of many kinds, in keeping with the early notion of a multitude of spirits, good and evil.

"BINDING THE SERPENT OF THE WATERS"‡ (No. 23C).

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! The voice of the enchanter and men wise in magic love, stops the ear so that it will

* *My Buddhism of Tibet*, 405; Hœrnic, *Bower MS.*, 228, 238.

† Gollancz, *op. cit.*, 97, para. 55.

‡ Literally, "Sea-monster." Dr. Gollancz, *op. cit.*, lxxxiv.

not hear.* Root out, O Lord, the teeth of the [sea-?] lions as water is poured out! I bind the black serpent, the red serpent, the dark grey serpent, the silent serpent, the sea-monster [‘leviathan’], son of the sea-monster, *Zargin, Zargin, Zerzain, Zargigin!* I bind them by Jeremiah the prophet, by Moses, and by Daniel! I bind all kinds of serpents and reptile evil and low from off the body and soul, from the children of him who carries this charm! Amen!”

“BINDING THE SERPENTS” (No. 37A).†

“In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! As for the crouching lion and the young dragon, I bind their feet, and may their soul enter into iron chains! As for the poison of the accursed serpent, like that of the deaf adder [which will not hearken to] the voice of the whisperer, the charmer, and the enchanter,‡ may God break their teeth in their mouth,§ and the Lord uproot the serpents’ teeth! Thou didst break the heads of the dragons in the water, thou didst crush the heads of the dragons of leviathan,|| and of all the serpents; of the speckled serpent, the red serpent, the black serpent and the white serpent, the offspring of deaf serpents.

“*And the serpent went and adorned herself; she stood in the way¶ and joined the body of the peacock; she stood in the way by cunning, which has exercised itself thenceforth and unto all eternity. Amen!*”

The remarkable construction of the last paragraph suggests that it is a cryptic extract from some ancient, and as yet unknown, ritual. It seems to me to connote the universal sun-myth of the conflict between the Sunlight and the powers of Darkness—the archaic myth of the golden peacock or Phœnix as the spirit of Light warring against the atmospheric serpents or dragons as spirits of Darkness—the *Garuda-Nāgā* myth of India, and the Phœnix (or *Fang*) and Dragon of China and Japan.

The feminine character assigned to the most malignant of the evil spirits is noteworthy and in keeping with early, as well as late, Oriental mythology, and presumes, in my opinion, for the origin of such myths a date antecedent to the Jewish conception of Satan as the “father” of Evil.

* This is a slightly different construction from text, but is authorized by Dr. Gollancz.

† Dr. Gollancz, *op. cit.*, xlvi.

‡ Ps. lviii. 4-5.

§ Ps. lviii. 6.

|| Ps. lxxiv. 13-14.

¶ Dr. Gollancz tells me this is the literal meaning of the word translated by him as “prevented.”

THE GREAT SHE-DEVIL "MIDUCH" OR "ZARDUCH,"
THE MOTHER WHO STRANGLES CHILDREN.

This spirit is represented in the charms (Nos. 19A; 5, 6, 7B; 1, 2, 11, 23, and 25C) as obviously the most dreaded of all the devils.

The personality of this demon, which is said by Dr. Gollancz to be unknown to Jewish and Syrian literature and tradition, is so interesting from the comparative standpoint that I note down here her various epithets, in the hope that some of these may lead to her identification with an early Babylonian, Egyptian, or other foreign female demon with similar functions, who has her analogue in Brahmanist and Buddhist mythology, which possibly derived her remotely from Chaldean. For the most malignant spirits of present-day Brahmanism and Buddhism, as of old, are females, represented respectively by the "Great Mother" *Durgā* and *Hārītī* (who I find is one of the modes of *Durgā*), both of the bloodthirsty devouring *rakshasī* type.

A remarkably close parallel, indeed, I find exists between the legend of this Syriac she-devil and *Hārītī*, "The Stealer of Children" of ancient Indian myth, as preserved by the Buddhist literature, and one of the favourite objects of Græco-Buddhist sculpture in the early centuries of our era.* For ease of reference I place the two legends in parallel columns. The details of the Syriac are found in spells Nos. 7B and 25C, and the Buddhist "*Hārītī*" are given in The Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxi., *Saddharma Pundarika*, by Dr. Kern, pp. 371-373.

PARALLEL BETWEEN THE SYRIAC "ZARDUCH" AND THE INDIAN
BUDDHIST "HĀRĪTĪ."

Syriac "*Zarduch*" or "*Miduch*."

1. "*Zarduch*" is described as
"The Mother who Strangles Children."

Indian Buddhist "*Hārītī*."

1. *Hārītī* is described as "The
Mother who Steals and Devours
Children."

* See my article "Evolution of Buddhist Cult," in *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1912.

Syrian "*Zarduch*," or "*Mūdūch*."

2. She appeared to "the monk and hermit of God, Mar [= 'The Master'] Abd-Isho, at His hermitage on the Mount of Eden, and revealed her protective spell to him."

3. She appeared in the form of a "hateful woman, a frightful vision."

4. She said "I have twelve other names [in addition to '*Mūdūch*']: *Geos*, *Eālilla*, *Lāmbros*, *Martlos* (or *Mouelti*), *Yāmnos*, *Sāmyos* (or *Salmi*), *Demos*, *Dirba*, *Apiton*, *Pegogha* (or *Pegaga*), *Zarduch*, *Lībīta* (*Lībith*) [or?] *Malvita*. Whosoever will write them and hang them upon himself, his house will I not enter, nor do harm unto his wife, nor unto his children, nor unto anything which he hath or will have."

Indian Buddhist "*Hārītī*."

2. She appeared to the monk, The Master, "The Lord Buddha," at his hermitage on the Mount of the Vulture's Peak at Rajgir, and revealed her protective spell to him.

3. She appeared in the form of a "giantess," and the epithets of some of her associates, evidently modes of herself, bear the epithet "tusked" (*danti*), implying a "frightful vision."

4. She (with her associates) "said with one voice," "We also O Lord will afford protection . . . and gave to the Lord the following words of spells: *Iti-me*, *iti-me* (5 times), *nī-me* (5 times), *ru-he* (5 times), *stu-he* (5 times), *Spā-hā* ! [= Invocation of Fire]. No one shall overpower or hurt such preachers [as use this spell], no goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, sorcerer, spectre, gnome . . . no sorcerer producing ague, etc." That these talismanic words were possibly titles of this divinity is suggested by the same text which records that the consort of *Hārītī* and his associate, chief of the *Kumbhānda* demons, on the same occasion gave their spells, in which several of the names are known epithets of *Durgā*, or *Dhūrāṇī*, the great "Mother-Earth," of which *Hārītī* is, as I have shown, a mode.

The epithets of this Syrian *Zarduch* in the above list present, it will be noted, in many instances a Greek form, other forms of obviously the same name which occur elsewhere in the collection I have placed within brackets.

The title which is given the first and most important place, namely *Geos*, seems to me to define her essential character as "Mother-Earth" from the Greek *gē*, "the

earth." That Greek influence should be thus prominent is not, I think, to be wondered at when it is remembered that Nestorius was the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Greek the language of the New Testament. Possibly "*Lambros*" of the list may be intended, I suggest, for the Assyrian "*Labartu*," a female demon who attacks children.* Respecting "*Zarduch*," which manifestly recurs as *Zargi* and *Tarji* and "the sea monster *Zargin*" in other spells against fever, poison, etc. (see Nos. 19A, 11, and 23C), I would suggest that it may possibly be derived from, or cognate with, the Persian *Zahar*, "poison." For in the analogous Indian Buddhist spells, the word for "poison," *Hala* (in Sanskrit) is invoked in the spell, and forms also in reduplication a title of the god who saves from poison, *Avalokitesvara*.

SCORPION SPELL

The Syriac spell should be compared with the analogous Indian Buddhist spell for earthly and supernatural scorpions, published by me in my "*Buddhism of Tibet*," pp. 405 and 474. It is as follows:

"BINDING THE SCORPIONS" (No. 38A).

"Put together the two scorpions (then say): Thou art sealed, bridled, and stopped by the two angels Gabriel and Michael. I bind the mouth of the scorpions by the staff of Moses the Prophet, by the mantle of Elisha, by the ascent of Elijah, and by the ring of Solomon-bar-Jaki. Amen!"

DOG-BITE CHARM.

This charm also generally resembles that of Indian Buddhism, published by me in the above-quoted book, p. 406. The Christian charm runs:

"BINDING THE MOUTH OF DOGS" (No. 21A).

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! By the greatness of thine arm they shall sink as stones.† Make them still, O Lord God, make them still by that stone which was put upon the mouth of the

* *Encyclop. Religion and Ethics*, iii. 411.

† Exod. xv. 16.

tomb of our Redeemer. By it may these dogs be silenced, through the prayers of my Lady, the blessed Mary, and of Mar. John the Baptist, and through the prayer of all the martyrs and saints of our Lord. Amen!

"Say the benediction over three morsels, and throw them in front of the dogs."

ATTRIBUTES OF A JUDGE.

The charm to compel the favour of a judge for a man going to law is illustrated by a crude drawing bearing the inscription: "This is the ruler executing judgment, with his pipe, sword, purse, goose, and fire." It would be interesting to find the source and meaning of this category of curious attributes of a ruler or judge, and especially the "goose."

MONOTHEISTIC FORM OF THE ANIMISTIC SPELLS.

The monotheistic form given to most of these spells, which are essentially of an animistic and polydemonist character, is probably owing, it appears to me, to the adoption of the monotheism of the Jews and Christians by the users of the earlier forms of the spells. In those spells retaining more of the pagan elements a great number of evil spirits are named. Whilst in others, presumably later, the evil spirits are cited under a variety of epithets, as if these represented the gathering of the different spirits of the different tribes and nations who had adopted the monotheistic religion into one individual, under the influence of the monotheistic idea of the Jewish and Christian theology.

The relative absence in these charms of the magical materials and ingredients so extensively prescribed for the preparation of animistic charms, and prominent in the earlier spells of Chaldæa, Iran, and India, appears to me to be owing to the prominence given to the Christian dogma of "The Word was God." This idealistic dogma seems to have been literally interpreted by the Nestorians of these charms as justifying the belief that the mere WORD of God when spelled or uttered constituted a sufficient spell in itself.

CONCLUSIONS.

The following conclusions result from my foregoing study of these charms :

1. These Nestorian Syriac charms, whilst professedly for the use of Christians and employing Christian formulas freely, are manifestly for the most part *pre-Christian* spells, in which Christian elements replace or supplement the earlier pagan elements.

2. The use of these charms is the result of a fusion between early animistic cults and the monotheism of the Jews and Christians.

3. The animistic and polydemonist elements are manifestly of similar general character to those of ancient Chaldaea and Iran on the one hand, and to those of the Brahmans and Buddhists of ancient India on the other, as expressed in the Atharva Veda of the fourth century B.C. and its Buddhist offshoots.

4. A presumption is thus established that *the Brahmanist and Buddhist spells were founded upon those of Chaldaea and Iran, and brought to India from the West* (as the parent Indian character itself, "the Brāhmi," is now known to have been). The mere negative argument that spells are not prominent in the earlier Vedic hymns, which are admittedly fragmentary, counts for little in this regard.

5. In particular the similarity which I have traced between the great she-devil *Miduch*, *Zarduch*, or *Geos*, and the myth of the Buddhist *Hārītī*, a mode of the Brahmanist *Durgā*, as the relentless aspect of Mother-Earth, is manifestly more than merely accidental. As a corollary to this, I have shown, in a previous article, that the *Bountiful* mode of Mother-Earth was represented in ancient India by *Chandā* with *Hārītī* (as "The heart-ravishing Mother") in the mode of a Buddhist Madonna, evidently the prototype of *Tārā* (Kwan-yin of the Chinese), the "queen of heaven" and "mother of the [deified] Buddha,"

and incorporated apparently the older myths of the Assyrian cow-goddess *Astarte* and the Egyptian *Isis*.

6. The personification of Evil as a *female* (serpent) is presumably anterior to the Jewish conception of Satan, and seems to me to date probably to the early matriarchical stage of primitive society.

7. The monotheistic form exhibited by these spells, which are essentially animistic in character, is probably the result of the unification of the multifarious animistic spirits under the influence of the monotheistic idea adopted from Jewish and Christian theology. The relative absence (or elimination) of the magical materials customary in the preparation of animistic spells appears to me to be due probably to a literal construction having been placed upon the Christian mystic dogma of "The *Word* is God," which seems to have been interpreted as signifying that the mere sacred "*Word*" when spelled or uttered was a sufficient spell in itself. The same idea is found in Brahmanism, where Manu alleges that Brahma as the Creator *Prajāpati* uttered the word "*bhūr*" which became this earth [*bhū* = Sanskrit for "earth"], "*bhuvah*" became the firmament and "*Svar*," the sky.

APHORISMS OF THE FIRST FOUR CALIPHS OR SUCCESSORS OF MUHAMMAD.

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY THE LATE DR. WORTABET.

(Continued from p. 69, January, 1913.)

Truth.

To accept truth is one of the commandments of religion.

The chief part of religion's duty is truthfulness.

A man is saved from much trouble by his truthfulness.

The face shines only when a man is truthful.

The range of falsehood is for an hour, that of truth is for ever.

Speak the truth though it be against you.

A little of truth repels much that is false, even as a little fire consumes much wood.

To know that you have lied is a sufficient reproach to you.

He wins who is true, and he fails who is false.

A truthful man attains by his truthfulness what a liar can not attain by his cunning.

Hypocrisy is a despicable thing which the hypocrite finds in his heart.

Confide not your secret to a faithless man.

He who seeks your advice should never be deceived by you.

How can a man lead another when he misleads himself?

Never promise what you are unable to fulfil.

Never confide in one who has divulged your secret.

Aims.

The measure of a man's worth is the measure of his aims.
A man's anxieties are according to the measure of his aims and projects.

It is a long anxious time to the man whose aims and plans are high.

The struggles of the soul are the greatest of all struggles.

Action.

An active life is a religious duty.

A man's worth is what he is able to do well.

Your means of living will seek you as you seek it.

Dare difficulties and you will overcome them.

To do everything well is a great blessing to life.

A man who lives in ease and sloth is far away from success and happiness in life.

Great men are for times of great adversity.

Trust and Patience.

The best means to be free from anxiety is resignation.

Resignation heals the wounded heart.

He is a happy man who firmly trusts in God.

Trust not in a man who has no religion.

Be patient and you will obtain what you seek.

He who believeth in God is truly rich.

The weapon of a believer in God is prayer.

No man believeth in God whose heart is full of doubts.

Sleep in certainty is better than prayer in doubt.

One of the rich treasures of faith is patience in tribulation.

Happiness in life is a delusion.

Hope.

Hope for good and you will have it.

When all hope is given up the heart is relieved.

Hopelessness of the heart is rest to the soul.

Of all woes despair is the greatest.

In the deceits of hope man lives and dies.

A man wastes his life when he gives up himself to deceitful hopes.

The grief is long when the hope is short.

After every night comes a day.

Joy and Sorrow.

The sweetness of joy is less than the bitterness of sorrow.

No man is ever safe from the misfortunes of life.

He who knoweth himself should ever be sad and wary.

The heart is straitened when circumstances are straitened.

In every heart there is an anxious thought.

Suspicion is one of the forms of grief.

Live contentedly and you will live like a king.

Friends.

One of the greatest miseries of life is heartlessness.

Make no friends of worldly men, for if you become poor they will despise you, and if you become rich they will envy you.

The friendship of men continues as long as its cause continues, and when the cause ceases friendship comes to an end.

Confide not in a friend until you shall have tried him.

The most painful blows are those which come from a friend.

Gentle words are the bonds of hearts.

Cheerfulness is the bond of friendship.

A cheerful face is another gift from God.

The sight of friends is a great happiness.

The choice of a friend shows what a man is like.

A wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.

Friendship is sure when forbidden things are avoided.

Friends are spies upon our faults.

A friend's visit is an increase to love.

Three things win love—piety, humility, and generosity.

In times of adversity true friendship comes to light.

Friends who are just are few.

Companions.

Keep away from a wicked companion, for he is like a drawn sword against you.

One of the greatest evils of life is a bad neighbour.

Every bird seeks his kind.

The intimate companion of a man is like himself.

Be courteous to men and you will be saved from their misdeeds.

The most wicked of men is he whom men avoid.

A wise youth is better than a foolish old man.

He deceives you who shows you the way to do evil.

He deceives you who provokes you to anger for no just cause.

The agony of death is easier than to sit with him whom your heart dislikes.

Intimacy with wicked men is a great harm.

Gratitude.

Gratitude is a means of seeking more favour.

That favour is vain which meets with no gratitude.

The gratitude of a good man shows itself in his deeds, and the gratitude of a bad man goes not beyond his words.

Humility.

Be humble before God, and he will raise you to honour.

A noble-minded man will never be insolent and overbearing though he may have attained the highest rank—even as the mountain which no winds can shake. Not so the base man who on the least occasion is moved to a haughty spirit, even as grass is moved by the faintest breeze.

A high position needs lowliness of spirit.

No one depreciates himself except he be wise, and no man has a flattering opinion of himself but a fool.

Modesty.

The signs of a good man are modesty, generosity, and harmlessness.

The best mate of generosity is modesty.

Modesty is a covering to one's shortcomings.

Of religious duty one third is modesty, another third is reasonableness, and another third is generosity.

Gentleness is a great help to man.

Good temper is a rich possession.

True Honour.

A man has more reason to be proud of his noble deeds than of his noble ancestry.

A man's deeds show from what stock he comes.

To be true to yourself, and to do to your fellow-men as you do to yourself, are the two great qualities of a noble mind.

Do nothing which may disgrace your honour and good name.

To conceal your sufferings is true manliness.

The best praise is that which comes from the best men.

It is an evil praise that comes from evil men.

To seek praise without merit is folly.

To pay a debt is a sacred duty.

Honour your elders and the young will honour you.

Generosity.

Be generous to others from what you get.

No generous man is slow in giving, or quick in an act of revenge.

To do good to one who has done you evil is to conquer him.

These three things are the perfection of a noble character—to give without being asked, to perform without having promised, and to be generous when one has only little.

The best charity is that which is hidden.

The generosity of a poor man is an honour to him, and the niggardliness of a rich man is a humiliating shame.

A small gift is better than pretexts and apologies.

Never regret a forgiving thought, nor ever exult in the punishment of others.

He who flaunts a kindness soils it.

A charitable man continues to live though he may have been taken into the abodes of the dead.

Kindness is a treasure, see to him with whom you entrust it.

The penny of a poor man given in charity is more acceptable to God than the gold piece of a rich man.

Fear God and you will fear no man.

Resist your passions and you will have peace.

A man is brave when he has faith in God and in himself.

He who magnifies himself will be humbled, and he who proudly trusts in himself will fall into a snare.

Anger.

When you are angry be silent, and when your passions rise consider.

One of the traits of a fool is haste to anger on the slightest occasion.

A wise man overcomes his passions before he overcomes his enemy.

Restrain your anger and you will be happier for it.

Violence of temper ruins a man.

Envy.

Envy is the greatest fault in man.

Envy is the cause of hatred.

Beware of envy, for it will harm you not your enemy.

Envy is an incurable disease which is never healed except in the death of either the envious or the envied.

The torture of envy is a sufficient punishment to the envious.

There can be no peace of mind to the envious.

How just is envy ! it begins in him who harbours it and then slays him.

Life is a misery to them who hate each other.

Avarice.

Avarice is a disease of the soul.

Avarice is a contemptible thing in man.

A rich miser is poorer than a poor generous man.

The niggardliness of a rich man is a real punishment to him.

Avarice is a murderer to the avaricious.

A miser is a treasurer to his heirs.

Ask no favour from one who you fear will refuse you.

In contentment is wealth, in avarice is misery.

Every greedy man is a captive, and every avaricious man is poor.

Wealth and Poverty.

Thirst for wealth is more violent than thirst for water.

A wise man should guard himself against the intoxication of wealth, power, learning, praise, and passions of youth ; for there is in them all an evil breath which deprives a man of reason.

The greatest evil of wealth is that which leads to evil deeds.

A little that sufficeth is better than much that leadeth to wickedness.

Wealth increases the passion for it, and defiles the character.

A covetous man goeth to destruction without his knowing it.

A heart void of trouble is better than a purse full of gold.

The best wealth is that which is spent in the way which God commands.

Pinching poverty leads to wicked deeds.

The worst kind of poverty is vain hopes.

A man's character may be tested by these three things—wealth, power, and affliction.

He has gained no wealth who does not make a proper use of it.

Contend not with others for the good things of this life, for they are paltry.

Blessedness.

Blessed is he who grieveth for his sins, and taketh heed to his steps so that he doth not fall again.

Blessed is he who overcometh himself and is not overcome by it, and governeth his passions and is not governed by them.

Blessed is he who checketh his anger and giveth not way to it, and who disobeyeth the behests of his soul, and is not destroyed by them.

Blessed is he whose heart is free from malice and his soul from deceit.

Blessed is he who reacheth the right path before its doors are shut.

Remember God and you will find rest to your soul.

The softest bed is to him who lies down free from fear.

A fearful man loses his fear when he comes into what he fears.

The sorrow of many a sorrowful man may bring him to lasting joy, and the joy of a joyful man to lasting sorrow.

Be contented and you will be rich, trust in God and you will be strong.

God commands you to do nothing but what is good for you, and forbids you nothing but what is harmful to you.

Count not a thing evil from which you have obtained good, and count not a thing good from which you have got evil.

Poor son of man, how very ignorant he is, and how negligent of the right path which he should take !

Health.

Blessed is he whom God has blessed with good health.

Sound health comes from abstemious habits.

He lives long who is not overburdened with toil.

A man knows the value of these two things only when he has lost them—youth and health.

Long health is indeed a great blessing.

Gluttony is the great enemy of man.

Temperance is a great preventive of many diseases.

Abstinence from food is the best medicine, gluttony the worst prolific cause of disease.

Youth, Old Age, Death.

The remembrance of youth is a grief.

Birth is the precursor of death.

No rich man can escape death because he is rich, and no poor man can be delivered from death because he is poor.

How can a man escape when he flees from God, or be delivered from death when death seeks him?

It is an anxious thought to know that you must die.

The envoy of death arrests work, and reveals the vanity of worldly hopes.

The venerableness of old age is more beautiful than the bloom of youth.

Darken not the brightness of your grey hair by sin.

Follow in old age what you have neglected in youth.

Were man to see how short is the span of life, he would hate its works and vanities.

He who knoweth this transient abode of man should toil for the abode which is eternal.

A wise man should regard the misdeeds of his life as a misery and misfortune.

(To be continued.)

HINDU DRAMA ON THE ENGLISH STAGE.

BY WILLIAM POEL.

THE neglect of the study of Hindu drama in England is to be regretted, and cannot consistently be justified, more especially as there is a similarity in the dramatic art of the two countries at their best periods. The so-called "classical drama" of modern times did not draw its inspiration direct from ancient drama. Greek civilization and Greek art moved eastward before it came to Europe, and modern art derives many of its most beautiful characteristics from the Orient. But for centuries European culture has been obsessed by the influence of Greece and Rome on the one hand, and of the Holy Land on the other. It is only now becoming generally recognized, among the English, that the great nations of the East had a rich and beautiful literature. In fact, the brilliant Sanscrit poet Kalidasa, the flower of the renaissance of literature and learning in Asia in the sixth century of the Christian era, may be said to be more widely and popularly known in India to-day than Dante is in Italy or Shakespeare in England.

It may be stated without exaggeration, says Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, that modern German scholarship has done more to elucidate the ancient history and literature of India than the scholarship of all other nations of Europe. Indian poetry is better appreciated in Germany than in England or in France. Indian dramas are often acted on the German stage, and nearly twenty years ago Mr. Dutt

found a cheap and neat edition of "*Vasanta sena*"—a German rendering of the Sanscrit "*Mrichchakati*"—in all the shop windows of Wiesbaden and Frankfort. The play had been often acted on the stage, and was fairly well known to the general public.

Professor Rapson remarks that one of the most interesting aspects of the study of Sanscrit is the comparison which can be instituted between Hindu drama and that of Greece and Rome. It differs from the Greek in being lyric and not epic, in its disregard of unities, in the impossibility of its drama having its consummation in tragedy, and in the necessity that the motive of the plot shall have its origin in love.

Now English drama reached its high-water mark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the form of the theatre and that of the play both resembled the Indian theatre as it existed at a period at least ten centuries earlier. Kalidasa, the greatest of the Indian dramatists, and our own Shakespeare, are more closely allied as poets and thinkers than is generally allowed by scholars. Especially are they similar in their love of Nature and their skill in describing it, in their affection for children, their reverence for women, and as poets of love. It was but natural then, for the Elizabethan Stage Society to wish to introduce to the notice of Englishmen Kalidasa's masterpiece, "*Śakuntalā*," which was given for the first time in English in the gardens of the Royal Botanic Society, Regent's Park, London, on July 3, 1899. The following particulars are taken from the programme :

Names of some of the actors: King, Mr. Frank Dyal; Jester, Mr. W. A. Mackersey; Kanwa, Mr. Arthur Broughton; Śārngarava, Mr. Alfred Stalman; Saradwata, Mr. Edgar Playford; Mātali, Mr. Rawson Buckley; Fisherman, Mr. Leonard Howard; Śakuntalā, Miss Imogene Surrey; Priyamvadā, Miss Virginia Carlisle; Anasūyā, Miss Deane; Gautamī, Miss Waddington; Nymph, Miss Ashwynne; Nurse, Miss B. Van Raalte; Aditi, Mr. Lorenz Tucker; Messrs. Samuel Allen, Alfred Nimmo, G. S. Giyani; Misses Cassey and Briscoe.

The music under the direction of Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch. The bards will chant their verses in the original Sanscrit.

The play is arranged in eleven scenes, and there will be a short pause after the eighth scene.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., Dr. Mullick, Mr. G. Singh Giyani, and Miss Stuart Hardy, for very valuable help in the preparation of the play; and to Captain Nath and Mr. Giyani for the loan of valuable costumes, and to the Indian gentlemen taking part in the performance.

One of the chief difficulties in connection with the performance was the fact that a good English translation of "*Śakuntalā*" did not exist. Sir William Jones's translation continued to be the only one until Sir Monier Williams wrote one in 1872, and these were the only two translations existing in 1899. Both the English translations have their beauties and their drawbacks. Sir W. Jones's style is classical, and preserves to some extent the graceful sweep of the Sanscrit. But much of the language is inappropriate as spoken dialogue, and in his rendering of Sanscrit verses into English prose the rhythmic beauty of the original is lost. Sir Monier Williams acted wisely in differentiating the verse from the prose, but in both his style is unattractive, and less suited to the stage than even Sir W. Jones's rendering. It was finally decided, therefore, by the Elizabethan Stage Society to keep to the latter in a modified form.

With regard to the production, the Society was greatly indebted to Indian gentlemen then resident in London for help and advice. Mr. G. Singh Giyani, a student at Gray's Inn, gave up all his spare time to the coaching of the actors in what is always a most difficult task—namely, the imitation of Indian pose and gesture. The place of representation, with its background of Oriental foliage, could not have been better chosen; while the music to the lyrics, played on Elizabethan instruments, under Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch's direction, gave charm and distinction to the performance. Three Sanscrit lyrics were set to English verse by Arthur Symonds that they might be sung to music, and, as they have never appeared in print, one of them is given below :

"We, the leafy trees and flowers,
 Leave you all our shining hours ;
 May the winds upon you strow
 All our odours as you go ;
 May the lotus-loving pool
 Glimmer green and shadowy-cool
 Where your feet delight the grass ;
 May our branches as you pass
 Cover you with holy shade,
 And the whole green world be made
 Brighter, softer, cooler, ah !
 Kinder for Śakuntalā."

There was a distinguished and appreciative audience present at this performance, including many Oriental notabilities. The London Press wrote of the play and of its production with that ignorance and apathy which it shows towards every form of drama which is not farce or melodrama. The *Standard* wrote, "'Śakuntalā' is not only the most ancient drama in existence, but also one of the most interesting," and then it went on to explain how the heroine, with her innocent little *girl*, was let loose in a pathless forest, where she lived on herbs, berries, and fruit, milk being contributed to them by the faithful gazelle! The *Daily Graphic* stated that "the novelty and hardihood of the enterprise, and the curious form of gratification afforded, will, however, compensate for the species of aberration that the selection involves." The *Daily Telegraph* remarked that "the performance had an interest of its own, though, as may be imagined, a play dating from the eighth century or earlier appealed to the antiquarian tastes of the audience rather than to their emotions." The *Daily Mail* said: "It is not a play, but a charming and haunting poem." Strange to say, only two of the papers pointed out what had most claim to be publicly noticed, and that was, to quote the words of the *Daily Chronicle*, that "the dramatic force of the piece is more in the modern method than would be supposed"—a truth expressed more intelligently, because more sympathetically, in the *Daily News*, as follows: "In the course of this simple and affecting story, there are

scenes so profoundly stirring that it is surprising to find how little remote is the drama in a primitive form from the stage-play of our own day." It remained, however, for a theatrical paper called the *Stage* to confess that "Śakuntalā" was "an ancient Indian drama which, in stage convention and characterization, resembles to a considerable extent the works of Shakespeare himself."

Referring now to the second performance of "Sakuntalā," given by the Society at Cambridge last summer, it is gratifying to notice that during the interval there had been some advance made in England in the knowledge and general appreciation of Indian drama and sentiment. And this sympathetic intelligence, so conspicuous by its absence twelve years ago, had a beneficial effect, not only on the method of presenting the play itself, but also on the audience, and above all on those who, as educational authorities, were indifferent to Eastern literature. That so staid and conservative a body as the professional board of the Cambridge Local Lectures, which regards all acted drama as a frivolous amusement, should patronize a representation of one of Kalidasa's finest plays, and even summon courage to squeeze half a line into its report to record that the performance was "remarkable," was a triumph not only for Indian drama in an English University, but it was also an important step towards educating public opinion to recognize that classical drama in the theatre should be taken seriously.

If, however, this was the most noteworthy result of the Cambridge performance, it was by no means the only one. There was no longer any carping criticism in the Press as to whether the play should or should not be regarded as a masterpiece. The *Manchester Guardian* has always held a leading place among newspapers for the excellence of its dramatic criticisms, and its critic, after seeing the performance, stated that "the spectator feels lifted into the highest region of rare poetry," and that "it is not too much to say that new revelations of the drama are made known

by "Śakuntalā." In the *Athenaeum* we read that the play is "instinct with passion and grace, and might well be added to that store of wisdom in art which is being increasingly discovered in the East." Even the *Daily News* went so far as to admit that "these love stories are dealt with so much in the Shakespearian style that Kalidasa has been called the Shakespeare of India. And that at a time when Shakespeare's Saxon ancestors had little more idealism than was suggested by the short sword and the deep flagon"; while the *Cambridge Chronicle*, in calling attention to the importance of the performance, added: "We cannot refrain from congratulating the producers of the famous Indian romantic drama 'Śakuntalā' on their brilliant achievement."

The stage presentation of the play, compared with the previous one, gained appreciably in two ways. It was far more correct in its costumes and traditions, while the "multiple" scene added a picturesque background that was not only novel, but one which gave to the characters an environment in keeping with the East and with the period of the play. Without, however, the help of Mrs. P. K. Ray and Mrs. P. L. Roy, it would have been impossible for any English producer to have obtained a suitable atmosphere in which to present the story, so unfamiliar is the English actor with the intricacies of Hindu life and art. The following particulars are copied from the first page of the programme:

Cambridge Summer Meeting, 1912. The Elizabethan Stage Society.
Thursday, August 1, at 4.30 and 8.30 o'clock:

KALIDASA'S "ŚAKUNTALĀ,"

written in the fifth century, and now acted in English in the Examination Hall of the University of Cambridge. The play produced by Mr. William Poel.

Names of some of the actors: King, Mr. Clarence Derwent; Jester, Mr. Nigel Playfair; Kanwa, Mr. Guy Rathbone; Śarngarava, Mr. Charles M. Warburton; Warden, Mr. Edwin Coates; Durvasas, Mr. E. Cresfan; Nātalī, Miss Eileen Thorndike; Śakuntalā, Miss Irene Clarke; Priyamvadā, Miss May Carey; Anasūyā, Miss Jean Anderton; Gautamī, Miss Evans;

Nymph, Miss Edith Rhys ; Nurse, Miss Simpson ; Fisherman, Mr. William Clark ; Mr. Ewart Wheeler, Master Manville.

Music arranged by Miss Rosabel Watson. Musicians : Miss V. Lasker, Miss Marjorie Clemens, Miss Summer, Miss B. Clarke, and Miss Phyllis Hasluck.

Stage Manager : Mr. Val Cuthbert.

The play will be acted on a "multiple" scene, showing the Forest Jungle, the King's Palace, and the Elysium Fields. There will be short intervals after Scene 3 and Scene 5.

The thanks of the Society are due to Professor E. J. Rapson, to the Librarian of the India Office, to T. W. Arnold, Esq., to Mrs. P. K. Ray, and to Mrs. P. L. Roy, for valuable assistance ; to Mr. F. W. Hubback for translating the lyrics ; and to the Indian students who have kindly consented to take part in the performance.

The English version of the play now used for the first time has been copyrighted, and the dramatic rights protected.

It was thought advisable to prepare a new acting version for the Cambridge performance, with a view to preserving the mixture of verse and prose which is one of the features of the original. And, undoubtedly, in this respect the best translation that has yet appeared is that of the French author Bergaigne.*

But the late Mr. Harinath Dé, of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, began a translation in English which certainly would have superseded all others, had the translator unfortunately not died, leaving only two out of the seven acts finished. We quote part of the opening soliloquy spoken by the Jester in Act II. :

" Heigho ! My companioning
With this hunt-enamoured King
Hath to a shadow worn me out.
' There a boar crashes ! ' ' There a deer
Flies from the thicket ! ' Pealing shout
On shout like this bedins my ear.
While summer's ardours burn,
And since with heat the streams are dried,
We must perforce be satisfied
With such drink as stagnates in
Pools whose putrid waters turn

* " *Sacountala* : Drame en sept actes, mêlé de prose et de vers, traduit par Abel Bergaigne, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, et Paul Lehugeur, Professeur au Lycée Charlemagne " (Paris, 1884).

Bitter to the taste or sour
 With the drop from hour to hour
 Of leaves upon them. But sore thirst
 Could drive us to such drink accurst.
 At random quite we dine. Yet worst
 Of all is that we chiefly eat
 Of palate-scorching roasted meat.
 Elephants trumpet, horses neigh
 All night, and drive sweet sleep away.
 And, willy-nilly, we must wake
 Ere dawn, aroused by horrid din
 Which those game-greedy sons of sin
 The forest-ranging huntsmen raise."

A large part of Mr. Harinath Dé's translation was used in the new version, so far as it went, and Mr. F. W. Hubback, of Trinity College, Cambridge, made an excellent translation of M. Bergaigne's verses for use in the remaining acts, while for the prose portions it was decided to retain the modified version of Sir William Jones. As a whole the new version had the advantage of being something more than a mere translation. It had literary merit, and was treated with sufficient freedom by the writers to make the dialogue convincing to an English audience. One or two of Mr. Hubback's verses should be quoted, for they preserve all the charm and delicacy of Eastern poetry:

"KING. Here is the bank of stone my mistress graced,
 Here is the bed of bloom her body pressed,
 Here o'er the lotus flower her finger traced
 Sweet words of love unto myself addressed.
 On her fair arm I saw this garland lie,
 Here everything recalls her charms to me,
 From this entrancing nook I cannot fly,
 Where still my lady I do seem to see."

"HERMIT. The rising sun appears in all his glory,
 While sinks the moon in pallor to conceal
 Defeat and conquest. Birth and death—the story
 Ever so must run. Naught is but woe and weal.
 Already does the moon-flower close,
 Low in the sky the star of night doth hover.
 So the pale beauty seeks her lone repose,
 And sleeping dreams upon her absent lover."

"KANWA. Go forth, fair maid, thy path shall bloom
With flowers of lotus blue along thy way.
For thee the sun shall temper his fierce ray,
And all the trees spread their propitious gloom."

* * * * *

"MĀTALI. See!
Where stands the hermit horribly austere,
Whom clinging vines are choking tough and sere;
Half buried in an ant-hill that has grown
About him, standing post-like and alone,
Sun-staring with dim eyes that know no rest;
The dead stem of a serpent on his breast:
So long he stood unmoved, insensate there,
That birds do nestle in his mat of hair."

That "*Śakuntalā*" was a play likely to succeed ultimately in winning the admiration of the English public was further illustrated by the performances given by Mr. K. N. Das Gupta at the Royal Albert Hall Theatre, London, in January last. Five representations in all were given. The London Press gave very favourable accounts of the production. At the first performance there were present His Highness the Maharajah of Jhalawar, the German Ambassador, the Servian and Danish Ministers, Lord George Hamilton, Sir William Hay, Lady Maidstone, Sir Richard Stapley, and Mrs. Cornwallis West. Mr. Das Gupta announced that he had compiled his version from twenty-six different translations. There is still another representation of this famous play to be recorded, as having taken place in London at the Gaiety Theatre as far back as 1886, when the theatre was under the management of Mr. John Hollingshead, and a troupe of Parsees appeared there in a repertory of Indian plays. No particulars, however, of the performance or of its reception have reached us. In the winter of 1911 some very beautiful tableaux illustrating the incidents in Kalidasa's play were given in London by Indian students.

Perhaps the most valuable object-lesson as regards Indian dramatic art that the English public and English actors have ever received in this country was seen at the Court Theatre, Sloane Square, in March, 1912, when the story of

Kalidasa's "Kumar Sambhava" (Birth of the War-God) was given in eighteen tableaux. This production was undertaken for the purpose of raising funds for the Indian Women's Education Association, whose president is Lady Minto. The tableaux were arranged by Mrs. Roy, from a translation of the play by Mr. Griffith. The costumes were copied from antique Indian prints, kindly lent by the librarian of the India Office; and the special Indian scenery was designed by Frederick S. Harrop. All the incidents in the tableaux were acted by some thirty Indian ladies and children, and it may be said without hesitation that in beauty of design and colouring, in grace and delicacy of pose, and in the finish and accuracy of its details, this performance was a revelation to Englishmen of the resources of Indian art.

Mr. Das Gupta, who founded the Indian Art and Friendly Society, and who has shown energy and industry, in the face of many difficulties, in his efforts to create a taste for Indian plays among English playgoers, gave his initial performance at the Royal Court Theatre in February of last year, and produced "Buddha." This consisted of a series of episodes arranged by S. C. Bose from "The Light of Asia," by Sir Edwin Arnold, all the spoken dialogue being taken from the poem. There was some ingenuity shown in the arrangement of the scenes and in the lights and colouring, the most noticeable feature of the production being the acting of Mr. Clarence Derwent in the title-rôle, who moved and spoke with striking dignity. The scenes and groups were pleasant to look at, and Miss Viola Tree was an attraction in the part of the Voice of the Wind. The play ran for a week, and drew large audiences from among those who were admirers of Sir Edwin Arnold's poem and of Buddhism; but as an illustration of Indian dramatic art it had little value, and the production did not lend itself to serious criticism. A more interesting performance, directed by Mr. Das Gupta, was the one-act play of the "Maharani of Arakan," by Mr. Rabindranath

Tagore, which was given last June in the small theatre of the Albert Hall, Hyde Park.

As a result of the success of "Buddha," a number of Indian students formed themselves into the Hindusthan Dramatic Society, and presented at the Whitney Theatre, Aldwych, London, a dramatization of the romantic Indian novel "Durgeshnandini," by the late Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, C.L.E., which they named, after the heroine, "Ayesha." This performance, given on June 6 last, did not reach the level of "Buddha," and as a representation of Indian art was without merit or distinction.

Before bringing this article to a close, it may be well to attempt some forecast of the future of Indian drama in England. The outlook is not altogether promising. For the sake of argument, let us suppose that there are as many Indians residing in London to-day as there are Germans or Frenchmen; then let us put the question, Would an Indian play, acted in Hindusthani, bring as many Indians into the theatre as a French or German play would bring in members of its own nationality? It is more than likely that the answer would be in the negative. The variety of races existing in India who differ considerably in their intellectual equipment, in their religious beliefs, and in their economic pursuits and interests, make it almost impossible for an Indian play to appeal with equal favour to all the diverse people whom the English name "Indians." Even so fine a play as "Śakuntalā" will arouse different emotions in the mind of a Hindu to what it will in that of a Muhammadan or a Parsee, though all of them may be natives of India. Religion and politics, moreover, raise social barriers and create prejudices more easily in the East than in the West, and many Indian residents in London are more essentially strangers to each other than the English are to them. Then, again, the Indian has a subtler brain than the Englishman, and quicker perceptions. He soon realizes how conservative and insular the English are in all matters connected with the theatre. He knows, besides, that the

majority of Indians living over here are students who have not much leisure, and very little money to spend on anything more than their education, so that the greater part of the receipts at the performance of an Indian play comes out of the Englishman's pocket. The result is that an Indian impresario is tempted to present an Indian play to the English public in a way that he thinks will best please it, and this involves modifications and compromises which rob native drama of its distinction in the eyes of scholars. If the Indians, like the Irish players, were themselves performers of their native plays, the atmosphere of Indian drama could be preserved. The Indian understands the English language often better than the Englishman, who has never taken the trouble to learn it, but he is not able to speak it in a way which is arresting and impressive on the English stage; while English actors show too much personality, and can rarely disguise their own temperament.

Fortunately, Mr. Das Gupta is an optimist and an enthusiast who is never discouraged by any amount of difficulties, and his determination to continue to present Indian drama for English playgoers will be watched with a good deal of interest by all students of the theatre. He is at present in touch with many Englishmen who are anxious for him to succeed, and it is hoped he will get support of a kind that will induce him to aim more at teaching Englishmen to admire the best of Indian art and culture than merely to exhibit a mixture of Anglo-Indian melodrama. What is most reassuring to all lovers of India is the knowledge that art follows commerce, and that the increasing importance of Asia in international affairs tends to concentrate European energy upon opening out the vast resources and treasures of Central Asia. Life in the East was at one time a joyful thing, and not a sad, thought-filled burden; and so it may become again when delight in its ancient art has penetrated to the West. Towards this end M. Foucher's two handsome volumes on

Greco-Buddhist art will contribute when they become known in this country with the help of Dr. Pollen's translation. Moreover, in the Everyman Library can now be purchased for one shilling Professor A. W. Ryder's version of Indian drama, which will do much to popularize the subject, though his work, otherwise erudite and complete, is not suitable for representation on the stage.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR."

ABDUL BAHÁ'S VISIT TO WOKING.

A MEMORABLE GATHERING.

It may not be generally known to our readers that there are in this country but two mosques, one at Liverpool, and the other at Woking. The latter, the white dome of which outward-bound travellers on the L. & S.W. Railway will have noticed to the left of the line as Woking is approached, is intimately connected with the *Asiatic Quarterly*, having been built by the late Dr. Leitner, editor of this *Review*, in association with the Begum of Bhopal, for use in connection with the Oriental Institute, to which it was then attached.

On the closing of the Institute after the death of Dr. Leitner the mosque was reserved for use on special occasions, the last being a memorial service at the time of the death of H.I.M. Mozaffar-od-din, the late Shah of Persia, on January 18, 1907.

It occurred to some friends interested in those matters of East and West with which this *Review* is concerned, that the presence in London recently of the Head of the Bahai movement (H. E. Abbas Effendi) afforded a fitting opportunity for bringing the mosque once more into prominence. Abdul Baha was accordingly invited to give there, under the auspices of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, a discourse on "World-Unity." So on Friday, January 17, there

assembled in the precincts of the mosque a unique and distinguished gathering of Asians and Europeans—Muhammadans, Jews, and Christians—to signify their sympathy with the ideal of unity between races and religions. The occasion was surely rendered all the more significant by the fact that, in popular imagination at least, a mosque has hitherto symbolized something of the stern isolation of an exclusive Creed!

On his arrival, Abdul Baha (H. E. Abbas Effendi) was welcomed at the Memorial House adjoining the mosque by Mr. Henry Leitner, son of the founder, who expressed his sympathy with Persia and Turkey; spoke of his father's lifelong devotion to Orientalism, and "conjectured of" him as "a stiller guest" on that occasion, and, "though in silence," watching and sympathizing with all. He was afterwards conducted to the mosque steps, around which a large number of people had assembled to welcome his coming, and where he was greeted on behalf of the visitors by the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, P.C., and Dr. John Pollen (representing the East India Association), a record of the proceedings was being meanwhile taken in the form of the photograph facing page 236. This exchange of courtesies over, a number of the Eastern visitors worshipped in the mosque, and then Abdul Baha, an impressive figure in his native robes, addressed the company in Persian from the entrance-steps on "The Unity of Religions," his remarks being fluently translated into English by Mirza Ahmad Solirab.

The venerable speaker began by dwelling on the essential unity of the human race and of all religions. Each religion, he said, is divided into two parts: its essential immutable part, which he called its moral aspect; and its changing, temporal aspects, which have to do with "the world of transactions and business." To the latter, with their dogmas and peculiarities incidental to differences of race and period, are due the antagonisms which divide mankind. He exhorted his listeners to investigate the

fundamental teachings of the religions of God. "Clergymen or priests might entertain the idea that Muhammad was antagonistic to Christ." This was erroneous. "All these prophets entertained love for each other, praised each other, and were friends. Why should not we, the followers of these prophets, be friends too?" We of this century were witnessing the dawn of a new era, the era of love and co-operation, as against that of hatred and competition. This era had been heralded by the Bab, who in the last century "proclaimed the law of the oneness of humanity, and enunciated universal peace between the nations and communities," and had gathered into his flock various communities, which, previously at enmity, to-day bore the utmost love to one another, and considered the whole world one great commonwealth. To-day, in the opinion of the Bahais, the Gospels, the Old and New Testaments, the Koran, and all the other holy books, constituted the Bible of the World.

At the close of the address, Dr. Pollen briefly expressed the amicable feelings of those present, and bade them all welcome in the name of the West and of the East. Abdul Baha, he said, was hastening that "diviner day," when all men would work together "in noble brotherhood." On behalf of Mr. Leitner, he announced that the mosque would in future be open for Muhammadans to worship in at any time they pleased.

Before leaving, our distinguished guest wrote as follows in Persian in the visitors' book: "O God, illumine this *Review*, and ignite this Society like unto a lamp, so that it may spread the Light in all directions."

Among those present were: the Turkish Princess Ouroussoff, Prince and Princess Sherriff, His Highness Mehmet (Ex-Prime Minister of Persia), Lady Blomfield, Lady Barclay, Sir Arundel Arundel, J.P., and Lady Arundel, Sir Richard and Lady Stapley, Dr. Abdul Majid, Khaja Kamaluddin, Maimutullah Shah, Shah Mohamed Yehya, Zafulla Khan, S. Bashir Uddin, Zafar Ali Khan, Sheik

Atta Ullah, Abdul Ghani, Mohamed Hasan, Mr. G. R. S. Mead (Editor of the *Quest*), Miss Alice Buckton, and a number of representatives from the Asiatic Society, the India Office, Muhammadan Brotherhood, and Oriental students from Oxford and Cambridge.—W. M. C. M.

THE LATE EMPRESS-DOWAGER OF CHINA.

As some of the newspapers are manifestly confusing the Dowager-Empress Lung-yü, just deceased, with her aunt, the celebrated Dowager-Empress Ts'z-hi, who died in 1908, it might be well to give a plain record of the whole family. The elder lady was the daughter of a Manchu named Hweichêng, who had been *taotai* for the inspectorate round the treaty-port of Wuhu (of course, before it became a treaty-port); her father was created, after his death, a duke, and her mother died in 1870. Ts'z-hi was "indicated" for the Palace in 1852, advanced the same year to the rank of "Orchid concubine," promoted to "Comely superior-concubine" in 1854, and, on the birth of a son in 1856, once more raised to the degree of "Comely Queen"; in 1857 there was further queenly promotion, but she was never Empress. After her husband the Emperor Hien-fêng's death in 1861, and her son's accession, she and her senior colleague, the childless Empress Ts'z-an, were both created "Empress-Dowager." Her favourite brother Kweisiang inherited his father's posthumous dukedom; one of her sisters was the mother of Junglu, who was one of those to assist Ts'z-hi to assert herself and her child, the Emperor T'ung-chi, in 1861-62, and remained all his life a confidential friend. By Kweisiang's marriage there were three daughters. Meanwhile Ts'z-hi's other sister had married Hien-fêng's brother, Prince Ch'un, and of their two sons, one, the child-Emperor Kwang-sü, succeeded his cousin T'ung-chi in 1874; the other succeeded his father as Prince Ch'un in 1891. Ts'z-hi, who was practically ruler of China over the heads of both Emperors, T'ung-chi and Kwang-sü (cousins), naturally wished to marry her brother Kweisiang's

three daughters out well. Accordingly she insisted, in 1889, on Kwang-sü's marrying the eldest daughter, much against his will; for she was listless, very thin and sallow, three years older than himself, and endowed with bad teeth; the marriage was unhappy, apart from the fact that Kwang-sü himself had serious physical defects, and there were no children, either by herself (who became full Empress on her marriage) or by any of Kwang-sü's concubines. Her youngest sister married (according to Headland) Prince Shun, and her other sister the Duke Tsai-tséh (who came to England in 1905 with the Commission). As will be fresh in the memory, Kwang-sü and his aunt Ts'z-hi both died suddenly in 1908; but before her death the energetic Dowager had time to plant a third baby-Emperor on the throne: this was the younger Prince Ch'un's son, who was thus her grand-nephew both on the paternal and the maternal side. Meanwhile her niece, Kwang-sü's widow, became the Dowager-Empress Lung-yü, and Lung-yü's second cousin and brother-in-law, Prince Ch'un, became Regent for his son (Lung-yü's nephew), the Emperor Süan-t'ung. The Regent ultimately turned out an unexpectedly weak ruler, and accordingly, under the influence of her eunuch Chang Téh, Lung-yü began once more to establish over his head a third generation of "petticoat" government. Then came the revolution of 1911. Yüan Shih-k'ai from first to last treated the fallen Dowager chivalrously and generously; but old friends and relatives slunk away when power was gone; besides that, the Republican Government needed more space for housing, and it had recently been amicably arranged that the Dowager was to content herself with the western half of the Palace enclosure. This forlorn condition of affairs alone was enough to drive the poor woman to despair, sickness, and possibly suicide; moreover, the baby ex-Emperor is said to have turned out a dull and uninteresting child.

When Lung-yü married Kwang-sü, her father Kweisiang lived at Fang-kia Yüan (= the Fang family garden), which was also, perhaps, the residence of Kweisiang's father,

Hweichêng, when his daughter as "No. 2" concubine married Hien-fêng. Kweisiang was at first a Banner-General, and then did duty for five years (1876-1880) at Kobdo as civil colleague of the military governor there; he was then transferred to Uliasutai and Urga. All these places were outposts for "watching" Russia. On the marriage of his daughter in 1889 he was made "expectant vice-president of a board."—E. H. PARKER.

TRANSLITERATING vs. PHONETICIZING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—

May I add a few words to the discussion of Mr. Grant Brown's able paper on "A Common Alphabet for India." The common alphabet which Mr. Grant Brown suggests is that of the I.P.A. The Rev. J. Knowles also advocates a common (Romanic) alphabet, but prefers a modification of the Pitman script, which can be used both as a phonetic alphabet and also for transliterating—that is, it has symbols corresponding to those of the various Nāgari alphabets. For transliterating Mr. Knowles's alphabet has a rival in the script of the Geneva Congress of 1894. I see that Mr. Daniel Jones is in India, advocating the use of the Simplified Spelling Society's script; but I gather that he only recommends the use of the S.S.S. script for the writing of English. We may therefore without discourtesy ignore the S.S.S. script as a candidate for the honour of providing "A Common Alphabet for India." The "Hunterian" script, which you, sir, propose to use in this *Review* for transliterating Indian words, may also, perhaps, be left out of the reckoning. It is only intended for the use of Englishmen, and is equivalent to the French spelling which gives us "Nizam-el-Molouk, le soubab du Dekan."

The competitors, then, are the first three scripts, which for brevity I will take leave to call; (1) the I.P.A. script;

(2) the Romanic script; (3) the G.C. script. The first proceeds on the assumption that all existing scripts are inadequate, and proposes to find symbols for all distinguishable sounds in all languages; the other two provide transliterations for the Indian alphabets, but are ready to suggest additional symbols where the Indian alphabets are defective. Would it not be a good thing if European students of Indian languages could agree to adopt one of the three rival scripts before we ask our Indian friends to adopt one or other of them, either as a substitute for, or as a check on, their own traditional scripts? Let us, in passing, admit that the I.P.A. script has this advantage, that it is now much used for the teaching of European modern languages. It must, therefore, have been used by many Indians in learning French and German.

May I make another parenthetical remark? Granted that existing scripts are inadequate, there are obviously two ways of remedying this misfortune. We may (1) pronounce as we spell; (2) spell as we pronounce. The first is the method adopted by followers of the reformed pronunciation of Latin. If the Latin script indicated quantity, the reformed pronunciation would make it as nearly phonetic as any script is likely to be. There is a tendency in all languages to pronounce according to spelling. Even in English (in which many words are practically "ideographs") some people pronounce the *t* in "often," "soften," because it is written, and not from a respect for etymology. Indians think they pronounce as they spell, and, in fact, do much more nearly pronounce as they spell than most European people do. They have better alphabets and (in some cases) fewer vowel sounds. The advantage of pronouncing as we spell (as far as may be) is that we need not render existing books obsolete. To spell as we pronounce creates the difficulty that, in a language like English, it is difficult to agree as to the number of audible vowels. But I conclude a parenthesis which contains many debatable matters, and is not, I think, necessary to my

argument, which is, that before we can suggest "A Common Alphabet for India," we must decide which of the three rival alphabets we can recommend to our Indian friends as the best medium for recording Indian sounds. And here we must admit that the discussion showed that Indians will prefer a system which transliterates, and therefore perpetuates, Indian letters. They may be wrong, but if they are wrong, we have to persuade them that they are wrong. One of the obstacles to doing so is the letters *t* and *d*, which Europeans pronounce at the root of the teeth. Indians divide them into two sounds made by touching the roof of the mouth and the tips of the teeth to produce "cerebral" and "dental" *t* and *d* respectively. Some Europeans cannot hear this distinction. I know a Bengali novel in which the comic character, a harmless idiot, cannot hear it either. His comic pronunciation could not be recorded in any European alphabet, or in the I.P.A. alphabet as it exists at present. The Romanic and G.C. scripts, being transliteral, could record the joke. That is not necessarily a fatal defect in the I.P.A. script, since it reserves to itself the right of creating fresh symbols if necessary.

But let us deal with simpler and more essential matters. Let us for the moment confine ourselves to vowels. And since French is practically the *lingua franca* of Europe, let us consider the French vowels. French conventional spelling has ten vowel symbols—namely (1) *a*, (2) *é*, (3) *ê*, (4) *e*, (5) *i*, (6) *ô*, (7) *o*, (8) *eu*, (9) *ou*, (10) *u*. The I.P.A. say that two of these have to do double duty: *a* has the two sounds of *patte* and *pas*; *eu* has the two sounds of *seul* and *peu*. Hence we get the I.P.A. symbols of *ɑ* and *ɛ*: of *œ* and *ø*; *u* is made to take the place of *ou*, and *y* is substituted for *u*. We have also the new symbols, *e*, *ɛ*, *ə*, and *ɔ* to express the vowel sounds respectively in *été*, *tête*, *de*, and *note*. From an Indian point of view, the most important of these substitutions is the use of *y* to express the sound of German *ü*. It was a curious and interesting

change for Frenchmen to make, for, in French, what we call *sandhi* in India has progressed so far that the genius of the language is supposed to be hostile to what is called *hiatus*—i.e., the coming together of any two vowels separately pronounced. An Indian would admit the justness of this view. He would say that in a word like *pyed*, the real sound is *pyed*—i.e., that *i* becomes a consonant before another vowel, as *ati*+*ucca*=*atyucca* in India. (So *u* becomes *v* before another vowel, as *anu*+*eṣaṇ*=*anveṣaṇ*.) An Indian would therefore object to using *y* as a vowel sign. For him it is the symbol of the consonantal sound of *i*, as *v* is the symbol for the consonantal sound of *u*.

Now let me turn to the Bengali vowels. These are transliterated thus in the G.C. script : *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ṛ*, *e*, *ai*, *o*, and *au*. There are, in fact, two other vowel symbols, *ya* and *yā* (following consonants). These correspond, roughly, to the I.P.A. *ɛ* and *a*. *Ṛ* might be written *ri* if we wished to be phonetic. These three symbols are, it must be confessed, bad ones. Bengalis *might* want to pronounce *sūrya* and *satyānanda* as they are pronounced in Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, the sounds of *rya* and *tyā*, as they occur in these words, have disappeared from Bengali. (The words in question are now pronounced *sūrija* and *sattānanda*.) *Ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, and *o* are pronounced much as they are in other Indian languages, as in English "father," "hit," "meet," "put," "root," "rote," respectively. But *a* having become the I.P.A. *ɔ*, or something like it, *ai* has become *ɔi*, and *au* has become *ɔu*. But since *a* is *always* pronounced *ɔ*, *ai* *always* pronounced *ɔi*, and *au* *always* pronounced *ɔu*, Bengalis will object to the substitution of the I.P.A. symbols. The symbols are "phonetic," since they are always reserved for one use. When a Bengali reads the Sanskrit word "ausadh," he pronounces it "ɔuṣadh," but he *always* pronounces it so. And he thinks it to be of etymological importance to retain the Sanskrit spelling (which creates no phonetic confusion).

For this reason a Bengali has no objection to the use of

the G.C. script if anyone is eccentric enough to wish to transliterate Bengali letters into European letters. It is defective in three cases. The letters represented by *ḍ* and *ḍh* are pronounced as rough *r* and *rh* when a dot is written under them, and *y* is pronounced as *j* (*antastha ja*) when a dot is written under it. But the G.C. script was not devised for modern languages, and can be easily supplemented. I may mention that Mr. Knowles's Romanic script is equally deficient in this respect. In his script these three letters would be written as *ḍ*, *ḍh*, and *y*. It would, of course, be easy for him to devise some suitable modification. In the I.P.A. script these letters would become *r*, *rh*, and, I suppose, *d*₃. Mr. Grant Brown would perhaps urge that the letters are pronounced *r*, *rh*, and *j*. But a Bengali will say that though he pronounces *j* and *y* alike, he nevertheless wishes to remember that *sūrjja* was once *sūrya*, especially as, by convention, *sūrya* (or, rather, *sūryya*, as it is now spelt), *can* only be pronounced as *sūrjja*.

These are some of the objections which a Bengali will raise to the use of the I.P.A. alphabet as a means of recording his language. He is by no means averse from making phonetic experiments. In fact, some very daring experiments of this kind have been made by Mr. Durgācandra Sānyāl in his well-known "*Bhāṣā Vijñān*," and by others in the pages of the "*Vaṅgiya-Sāhitya-Parīṣat-Patrikā*." But the Bengali will refuse to give up spelling Sanskrit words in the Sanskrit manner unless the result is phonetic confusion. The problem, it will be seen, even from this rough summary, is very different from that of the phonetic spelling of English.

What of the other two alphabets? That of the Geneva Congress is only used for transliteration, and is not of much interest to Indians. It is simply a rendering of Indian alphabets into Romanic scripts, and is not appreciably easier to learn than the alphabets themselves. It is used extensively in Europe, and is useful in India to people who cannot read some other script than their own. Mr. Knowles's

script is every bit as good when used merely for purposes of transliteration, and is, indeed, better, inasmuch as it avoids the use of diacritical marks, which involve the cutting of new type as expensive as his own, and are more likely to lead to mistakes and confusion.

But what of Mr. Knowles's script as a phonetic record, as a supersession, and not a reproduction, of indigenous alphabets? I venture to think that its success will depend upon the extent to which Indian students of phonetics are prepared to reform their own script. In Bengal, at least, Indian students are alive to the fact that the local alphabet, though superior to European alphabets, is not really a complete record of spoken sounds. If they adopt new letters, they cannot but agree to transliterations of them for the benefit of those who do not know the local alphabet; but that they will adopt a Romanic alphabet *because* the local alphabet is defective, does not seem to me likely. The present tendency in Bengal is to advocate the use of the Devanāgarī alphabet (which is a "transliteration" of the Bengali alphabet) as a common alphabet for India.

With regard to the written languages (at least, of Northern India) the most promising plan seems to be to induce Indian scholars to examine them on phonetic principles, and to see in what respects they are inadequate to record modern sounds. They all claim to be phonetic, and perhaps *were* phonetic at one time. In Bengal a beginning has already been made, and, if I may be allowed to make the suggestion, phoneticians over here might do worse than place themselves in connection with Bengalis who realize the defects (less, of course, than those of European scripts) of their own alphabet.

There remains the question of the unwritten languages. Here there is no local prejudice to overcome, and all that students of these languages require is competent advice as to the best script for their purpose. A decision as to that can be arrived at as easily in England as in India. No one in the world has had so large and varied an

experience of the unwritten languages of India as Sir George Grierson, and if he cannot tell us what script is best for recording such languages, who shall? Perhaps with unwritten languages should be included languages such as Burmese and Tibetan, which have borrowed scripts from Indian languages of a different phonetic type, and therefore need the help of trained phoneticians such as Mr. Grant Brown. I have myself recorded languages of the Bodo group, and found the vowels of the Geneva Congress sufficient with only one exception—a guttural vowel something like the English “ugh.” But I may have missed vowels from want of phonetic training.

I am, sir,

Yours faithfully,

J. D. ANDERSON.

March, 1913.

NEGRO MAN IN BRITAIN.

Under the auspices of the Celtic Union, Edinburgh, a Lecture was delivered on the 21st inst. by W. J. Edmondston-Scott, M.A., author of “Elements of Negro Religion,” in the Philosophical Institution, on “The Age of the Stone Circles: or Negro Man in Britain.” Mr. David MacRitchie, F.S.A. Scot., presided.

The Lecturer discussed the many aspects of the “Non-Aryan” problem with particular reference to pre-Celtic Britain, its ethnology, history, and antiquities. He showed that the deeper scientific researches descended into European ethnology, the more and more assertive became the negro type of physiognomy—as evidenced by the anatomical characters of the oldest prehistoric skulls, a fact which argued the former existence of a negro race of Aborigines in Middle and Western Europe most probably associated with a milder and more equable climate than ours; that the character and contents of cave deposits and river drifts testified to general differences in negro culture; and that the infinite variety of culture-stages represented

from Mousterian to Neolithic and later times was just such as prevails universally throughout Modern India. He indicated how man's antiquity in Europe resolved itself into the problem of the age of India's native civilizations whose prehistoric culture had been diffused at a very early period all over the European Peninsula; and how the Eastern origin of this negro species pointed to its affinities with the *Kolarian* Aborigines of Bengal—the only negro race in the whole Asiatic mainland—from one of whose ancient tribes, now represented by the *Baske*, were descended the Basques of Europe, as could be proved from the structure and phonology of their archaic speech and the vestiges of Kolarian culture among them. On linguistic and ethnological grounds the lecturer concluded that the so-called "Pre-Aryan Problem" vanished with the solution to the old-time mystery about the origin of the Basques, and was one to which the scientific study of the Kolarian languages offered the only means of solution.

ADRIANOPLE.

There falls perpetual snow upon a broken plain,
And through the twilight filled with flakes, the white
earth joins the sky ;
Grim as a famished, wounded wolf, his lean neck in a chain,
The Turk stands up to die.

Intrigues within, intrigues without, no man to trust,
He feeds street-dogs that starve with him ; to friends
who are his foe,
To Greeks and Bulgars in his lines, he flings a soddened
crust,—
The Turk who has to go.

By infamous, unbridled tongues and dumb deceit,
Through pulpits and the Stock Exchange the Balkans do
their work,
The preacher in the chapel and the hawker in the street
Feed on the dying Turk.

The Turk worked in the vineyard ; others drank the wine,
The Jew who sold him plough-shares, kept an interest in
his plough.

The Serb and Bulgar waited till King and Priest should
sign,

Till Kings said : Kill—kill now.

So while the twilight falls upon the twice betrayed,

The *Daily Mail* tells England and the *Daily News* tells
God,

That God and British statesmen should make the Turks
afraid,—

Who fight unfed, unshod.

B. K.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

INDUSTRIAL INDIA.

BY SIR GUILFORD LINDSEY MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.

IN a paper submitted by me to the Indian Industrial Conference of 1906 I urged that, amongst other means of developing the industries and the vast potential wealth of India, it was necessary—

“To govern India, not on English grounds by people in England, but by the Government of India in the interests of India alone; and to resist the interference of the Home Government in any attempt to sacrifice Indian interests to the exigencies of English Party politics.”

At the second Industrial Conference of 1907 I submitted the following resolution:

“Resolved that this Conference urges on the Government of India—(1) To inaugurate a carefully considered policy of moderate import duties, which will not only yield a revenue that will relieve the land from the dead weight of taxation, but will also protect the industries of India from unfair and unrestricted foreign importation. (2) To foster international and inter-colonial trade by the exchange of mutual concessions and preferential treatment with the Colonies and with Great Britain.”

Few, I think, will dispute the axiom that our rule in India is a sacred trust into which we have drifted from force of circumstances, and that its Government should be strictly *in the interests of India*; but I would go farther than this in asserting that a selfish policy of rule in the interests of England is a foolish policy, because the prosperity of India means the prosperity of England.

Lord Curzon, in a debate on the Sugar Duties Bill in 1899, said :

" It is in the interests of India, and *India alone*, that this legislation has been proposed by us. We are exercising our own legislative competence with the sanction and consensus of the Secretary of State to relieve India from an external competition, fortified by an arbitrary advantage which can be shown to have already produced serious consequences upon our agriculture and manufactures, and which, if not unarrested, is likely to produce a continuous and dangerous decline. . . . This decline in the Indian industry, in which two millions of people are employed, and in which the annual loss has been estimated at £20,000,000 sterling, is due to the unrestricted competition of a bounty-fed article. Now, this is a state of affairs which neither the Government nor I, as the head of the Government, can consistently accept."

Five years afterwards he said : " But for our legislation, refineries that would have been closed were kept open."

In 1899, at the request of Lord Elgin, the Liberal Viceroy, the British Government joined the Brussels Sugar Convention, and, despite the prophecies of the opponents of that measure, the price of sugar did not rise ; on the contrary, the average price of beet sugar for the first five years, 1904-1908 inclusive, was lower than the average for the ten preceding years under the bounty system. And it was only in consequence of unprecedented failures of crops in 1909, 1910, and 1911, that the price has

risen. But even including these three years of failure, the average rise of price during the eight years under the Convention only amounts to one twentieth of a penny per pound of sugar. In August last, however, the Prime Minister withdrew from the Convention, for no reason that can be discovered except that it was an electioneering sop on the eve of a bye-election to conciliate the cocoa press and the jam and confectionery interests. There had been no previous debate on the subject in Parliament, and it was by the arbitrary action of Mr. Asquith that this deadly blow has been struck at India's industries. Well may we parody Lord Byron's description of the dying Gladiator, "Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday," for India has been "Butcher'd" to keep a British Cabinet in power.

Mr. Dutt, the President of the India Industrial Conference of 1906, in his opening address said :

"There is a difficulty about our fiscal legislation, which is oftener controlled by Lancashire than by us in this country. You all remember how Lord Lytton's Government was compelled to repeal the import duties on cotton goods against the advice and vote of every member of Lord Lytton's Council, except Sir John Strachey and the military member; and when the duties were reimposed, how Lord Elgin's Government was compelled to impose an excise duty on mill produce in India *to conciliate Lancashire*. I know of no act in modern fiscal legislation more unwise and hurtful to an infant industry than the imposition of an excise tax unknown in any civilized country, and I know of nothing more humiliating to the Government of a great Empire like India than the correspondence which you will find recorded in Parliamentary Blue-books leading to these fiscal changes."

Mr. Dutt's charge that this injustice has been forced on India *to conciliate Lancashire* has been admitted by the

Master of Elibank, the Liberal Under-Secretary of State, who in 1905 said :

" India is essentially a Free Trade country, admitting all goods on equal terms, and even penalizing her home industries by the imposition of excise duties, *really for the advantage of Lancashire.*"

Nor are sugar and cotton the only industries penalized. An excise on Indian tobacco has been imposed to conciliate the cigarette-making constituency of Bristol, and on jute to conciliate Dundee ; but in the latter measure the mark has been over-shot, and has inflicted injury on the jute industry of Dundee.

It is not in fiscal questions alone that the mischievous interference of the Home Government has been felt. I speak from bitter personal experience with regard to the railway department with which I was connected. With every change of Ministry, or Viceroy, under political party influence, questions of management, control, gauge, and policy have been reopened, causing want of continuity, confusion, and enormous waste of money. During the first ten years of my tenure in office there were five radical changes in control and management. Railways were constructed on one gauge and afterwards altered to another. The Punjab Northern Railway was commenced on the standard gauge, then nearly finished on the metre gauge, and finally completed on the standard gauge.

In 1881 political pressure was put upon Lord Hartington, to the advantage of "private enterprise," to conciliate English speculators, and Lord Ripon came out with orders to reverse the able railway policy of Lord Lawrence, which had been eminently successful. This change was forced on the Government of India notwithstanding the strongest protest of the Secretariat officials. In a minute to the Government of India I protested that the Home Government was showing a want of patience that resembled the policy of children digging up seeds to ascertain whether they were growing.

The Accountant-General, in a powerful Note, showed that Lord Lawrence's railway policy had been successful beyond all expectation; that in no respect was greater efficiency insured by a Board in London than under Government control; that, under the proposed reversal of policy, the State was to part with its profitable lines to private speculators when they had begun to show a profit, keeping its unprofitable railways in its own hands while carefully guaranteeing the speculators, however, at the expense of the State, from any possible loss, whether due to their negligence or not. He further pointed out that the proposed concessions to one railway alone were equivalent to a gift of at least half a million sterling, taken from the pockets of the Indian ratepayer, and sent out of the country. But all protest was in vain. Lord Ripon had his orders, and, after reading these protests, he simply minuted upon them:

"This may be allowed to drop quietly.—R."

There is, however, another mischievous political influence that has to be conciliated in order to catch votes. India is sorely afflicted by a certain class of "Little England" Members of the "Pagett M.P." type, that Rudyard Kipling has immortalized—men utterly ignorant of Indian questions, and devoid of Indian experience, who come out to India for a few weeks in the cold season with prejudiced minds, to stir up sedition and disaffection, to decry the Government, to scoff at its officials, and to return to England more ignorant and prejudiced in their partial knowledge than when they set out. These men pose as authorities on Indian questions. Of such Kipling writes:

"And I laughed as I drove from the station,
But the mirth died out on my lips,
As I thought of the fools like Pagett
Who write of their Eastern trips.

"And the sneers of the travelled idiots
Who duly misgovern the land;
And I prayed the Lord to deliver
Another one into my hand."

These men raise the silly cry of "India for the Indians," apparently ignorant of the fact that India is a vast aggregation of nations of different races, religions, and customs. It has a population exceeding in number the population of Europe, and in it there are more than a hundred different languages in common use. From a state of chaos, internecine war, and bloodshed, it has been rescued by the British Rule, and consolidated into an orderly Empire; to use the words of Sir Edgar Vincent:

"Throughout the whole of this vast continent no sword can be unsheathed without our sanction. We have knitted together wrecks of ancient kingdoms with railway and telegraph. In every city we have opened schools and hospitals, and a Native Press is springing up in all the great centres of population. Enormous tracts of land have been redeemed from desert by our irrigation. Under our rule population flourishes and increases."

The cry of "Europe for the Europeans" would be far less foolish than the cry of "India for the Indians," for there is far greater diversity of race, language, religion, and customs in India than in Europe.

Surely, if the Government of India had more autonomy, such as is granted to our Colonies, and were exposed to less interference, it would be better ruled than by a Parliament which, under the party system, too often sacrifices the welfare of the country to private interests, and subordinates sound principles to the exigencies of electioneering politics and vote-catching. Surely, India would be better ruled and have greater freedom of administration, under the highly educated and experienced covenanted Indian civilians, who stand out in favourable contrast to the average English M.P., who, as a rule, is absolutely deficient in every qualification for sensible or sound administration. Mill has rightly said, "The British Government of India is not only the purest in intention, but one

of the most beneficial in act ever known amongst mankind."

My long and intimate connection with the Government of India, extending over eighteen years, enables me to confirm in the strongest manner possible the opinion expressed by Mill. Lord Curzon has paid a just tribute to the Indian covenanted civilians, attributing to them—

"A sense of responsibility and devotion to duty, a love of the country and sympathy with its people, developed to a degree that is without parallel in the history of any other country."

Arminius Vambéry, the celebrated traveller, in a letter to an influential native in Bengal, wrote :

"I am not an Englishman, and I do not ignore the shortcomings of English rule in India, but I have seen much of the world both in Europe and Asia and studied the matter carefully, and I can assure you that England is far in advance of the rest of Europe in point of justice, liberality, and fair-dealing with all entrusted to her care."

The absence of all protection* of Indian industries is a powerful factor in Indian unrest ; nearly all educated natives demand it. Mr. Dutt, in his Presidential address at the first Industrial Conference, said :

"Gentlemen, we will not consent to see our country made a land of raw produce, or a dumping-ground for the manufactures of other nations. I do not believe a country can permanently prosper by agriculture alone, any more than a country can prosper by manu-

* Free Traders, in argument, constantly misuse the word "protection," confusing it with "prohibition," thus implying that it involves the exclusion of foreign produce. The protection of Tariff Reform means the imposition of tariffs, which will place the home producer on an equality, or at a slight advantage, with his foreign competitor.

factures alone. The two must thrive side by side to give employment to the population of the country. . . . To-day there is a desire which is spreading all over India that by every legitimate means, by every lawful endeavour, we will foster and stimulate the use of our own manufactures amongst the vast millions who fill this great continent."

The native members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council are persistent in their demands for the protection of Indian industries. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy said :

"There is a general feeling in favour of protection in this country. A judicious protective tariff is demanded by intelligent public opinion in the interests of undeveloped industries."

Many other members have expressed themselves in a similar strain ; for example, Sir David Sassoon, Sir V. Thackersey, the Hon. S. Sinha, and the Hon. R. Mudholkar ; and the Secretary of the Government of India, has admitted that *if they had a free hand* they might be tempted to undertake a reform of Indian tariff.

In August, 1910, the Planters' Association of South India unanimously passed a resolution recommending an Imperial preferential import duty on coffee, tea, rubber, cinchona, cocoa, cotton, and wheat.

Twenty-eight years ago, commenting upon the remarks of Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and others on the poverty of India, I wrote the following in an article entitled "Imperialism for India," published in the *Calcutta Review* of October, 1885 :

"India, the land of the pagoda-trees ! India, the mine of wealth ! India, the wonder and admiration of Marco Polo and of travellers of former times ! India in poverty ! Midas, starving amid heaps of gold, does not afford a greater paradox ; and yet we have India, Midas-like, starving in the midst of untold

wealth. For India *has* untold wealth; wonderful natural resources, whether agricultural, mineral or industrial, but they are to a great extent dormant. It has coal of an excellent quality, it has fine petroleum, large quantities of timber and charcoal; it has iron of a purity that would make an English iron-master's mouth water, spread wholesale over the country, in most places to be had by light quarrying over the surface; it has chrome-iron capable of making the finest Damascus blades, manganiferous ore, splendid hematites in profusion. It has gold, silver, antimony, tin, copper, plumbago, lime, kaolin, gypsum, precious stones, asbestos, soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat equal to the finest Kabanka. It has food grains of every description, oil seeds, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, lac, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, fibres of every description—in fact products too numerous to mention. Its inhabitants are frugal, thrifty and industrious, capable of great physical exertion, docile, easily taught, skilful in any work requiring delicate manipulation. Labour is absurdly cheap, and the soil wonderfully productive. . . . Surely there is something radically wrong when India can be considered poverty-stricken amid so much wealth."

Ball in his "Economic Geology of India," says:

"Were India wholly isolated from the rest of the world or its mineral productions protected from competition, there cannot be the least doubt that she would be able from within her own boundaries to supply nearly all the requirements, in so far as the mineral world is concerned, of a highly-civilized community."

But the once-flourishing native industries have been crushed out by unrestricted foreign competition. Old slag-

heaps may be found throughout India testifying to the former prosperity of such industries; the splendid native iron and steel have been superseded by inferior material of foreign manufacture. India has every requisite for manufacturing and producing most things at a very low cost, and there is no reason why she should not supply the Mother Country and the Colonies with those articles which they do not produce; but no attempt has been made to foster international or inter-colonial trade by the exchange of concessions which would be mutually advantageous.

The coal-fields, so far as they have been explored, cover an area of 35,000 square miles, and are estimated to contain 20,000,000,000 tons of coal. In Bengal and Assam there is coal nearly equal in evaporative power to medium Welsh steam coal, though inferior to Aberdare. In some parts of India the supply of iron ore is on a scale of unparalleled magnitude, whole hills and ranges of it being of the purest varieties. There are also available in India millions of potential horse-power in the form of water flowing from the mountain ranges, capable of being converted into electrical energy at generating stations near the hills, and conveyed with slight loss to centres even at very great distances, where it can be utilized for industrial purposes.

With regard to sugar, Dr. Royle has stated that India could produce enough cane to swamp the world's market.

The present yield of wheat in India is about 44,000,000 quarters, or about 17,000,000 quarters in excess of the total imports of wheat and wheat flour into Great Britain. In the Punjab alone there is cultivable waste sufficient to produce 16,000,000 quarters, besides enormous tracts in Burma and other parts of India only requiring irrigation and population to bring them under the plough. If India had, by preferential treatment with regard to foreign wheat, the inducement of a steady and certain market to grow Indian wheat, there can be no doubt that the cheap labour and low railway rates prevailing in India could enable her to supply England with all the wheat she requires at rates

lower than those at which foreign nations now supply her.

India was originally the parent of the cotton industry. The very name "calico" is derived from Calicut, the place from which the famous longcloth originally came. India can grow cotton in such abundance that in 1909-10 she exported it in its raw state to the value of £20,850,000; yet, during that period, manufactured cotton goods were imported into India amounting in value to more than £24,000,000. India formerly produced excellent cotton, but it has degenerated and is short in staple. The Inspector-General of Agriculture declares that our knowledge of indigenous cotton is incomplete, and its degeneration is not due to inferior cultivation or to exhausted soil. The black cotton soil is very fertile, and he attributes the deterioration to the continuous use of unselected seed. Others say the short staple is due to a great extent to careless and improper cropping. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that if the cotton-growing industry had been fostered, the quality would have improved and the quantity increased, and Lancashire would not now have been dependent on the speculation of the American Cotton Rings for its supply.

Again, with regard to the demand for iron and steel. The London and North-Western Railway with its few hundred miles of line is able to manufacture its own steel rails, chairs, and other permanent-way materials, as well as its bridges, locomotives, and rolling stock. Surely India, with its 32,000 miles of railways, ought to afford a demand sufficient to justify the manufacture of some of these in the country.

It is now the accepted policy of the State to render India practically independent of external supplies as regards her army, by establishing Government factories in various parts of the country for the manufacture of arms, ammunition, clothing, equipment, and munitions of war. There is no reason why this policy should not be extended

to her State railways and other public works, and to the needs of the country in general. A broad-minded policy on these lines would open up the great but undeveloped wealth of India. I cannot agree with those who argue that there is no market for the produce of Indian industry. As regards internal consumption, statistics of our imports show that there is a large and increasing demand, and the very development of industries would increase that demand. Sugar, for instance, is one article which India is in a position to supply as cheaply as any country in the world, yet in 1909-10 sugar, probably bounty-fed, to the value of £7,680,000 sterling has been imported into India.

There is plenty of capital in India. The amount of wealth now hoarded is estimated at nearly 600,000,000 pounds sterling; but neither this, nor English capital, will flow into a market in which its operations are checked, and struggling industries are swamped by unfair and unlimited foreign competition. English capital has, for the most part, been attracted by heavy guarantees from Government.

Of late years there has been a considerable increase in Indian industries, especially in jute and cotton, but it has been uphill work; and there has also been very material progress in trade and commerce; but the development of the latent wealth and resources of India falls very far short of the magnificent potentialities of the Empire, and is not at all commensurate with the progress which ought to have followed the great extension of railways and irrigation works, which have proved so beneficial to India.

For many years the Government of India had to struggle against the hostile criticisms and influence of those narrow-minded "Little England" politicians who have denounced the construction of railways and irrigation canals as "*plunging the country into debt and irretrievable ruin.*" There can be no doubt that, at the outset, the interest on the money required for these works threw a heavy strain on the revenues of India; and it was only after many years that

she emerged triumphantly from the ordeal. Now, apart from the other indirect and enormous benefits conferred by the development of the country, these works yield a large and increasing revenue to the State, which has enabled it to relieve some of the dead weight of taxation that burdened agriculturists by the remission of land revenue, by advances to cultivators for seed, and by the reduction of salt-tax and income-tax. To use the words of Lord Curzon :

“ We have now secured the whole of our Indian railways and canals for nothing ; and instead of these costing us money, they have become a steady source of income to the State. . . . From this period of stress and labour has emerged an India, better equipped to face the many problems that confront her, stronger and better guarded on her frontier, with her agriculture, her industries, her commerce, her education, her irrigation, her railways, her army and police brought up to a higher state of efficiency, with every section of her administrative machinery in better repair ; with her credit re-established, her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and her loyalty strengthened.”

The annual net earnings of Indian railways now amount to £16,000,000, most of which would have been available as revenue to the State had it not been for the reversal of Lord Lawrence's railway policy, by which reversal the earnings of the company-worked railways have been handed over to private speculators, and taken out of the country, as foretold by the Accountant-General at the time of this reversal. The actual revenue from State railways is only £1,443,000, and it would be much greater, but the railway revenue is burdened with payment of interest amounting to £5,633,000, much of which is for the cost of railways which during construction are yielding no revenue.

In 1903 the faith of the English people in the virtue of Free Trade was rudely shaken by the historic speech of Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham, which formulated the policy of Imperial preferential tariffs; and in that year the question of joining in such a policy was submitted to the Government of India. It was, however, negatived by the Viceroy's Council, nominally on the ground that India had very little to give, nothing to receive in return, and much to risk, but the real motive for refusal is indicated in the following paragraph of the despatch :

"All past experience indicates that in the decision of any fiscal question concerning this country, powerful sections of the community at home will continue to demand that their interests, and not those of India alone, shall be allowed consideration."

Subsequently Lord Curzon has expressed his belief that but for the fear of such political interference India would welcome any practical scheme of fiscal reform, embracing preferential tariffs within the Empire; and when explaining in the House of Lords the motives which prompted the despatch of 1903, he said :

"In fiscal matters the Government of India has to take the views of the Secretary of State, whether it agrees with them or not, and those views are more likely to be guided and shaped by English than by purely Indian considerations. . . . Our real apprehensions, when drawing up the despatch about the fiscal future of India, were not so much economic as political. We said to ourselves, 'What guarantee shall we have, if any new system were proposed, that India should have free speech in the discussion of the subject, or a free judgment in its decision?'"

The idea that India has but little to give, and nothing to receive in return, is absurd. The value of annual imports

to the United Kingdom from foreign countries is about £507,000,000, while that from British possessions is only £170,000,000. There can be but little doubt that our colonies and dependencies could, and would, supply a great portion of that which is now imported from foreign countries if a well-considered policy of preferential tariffs were adopted; and the great interchange of trade would mutually benefit all parts of the Empire. As regards India, as I have already shown, the stimulus of a steady and certain market would enable her to supply wheat, cotton, and other articles at lower rates than at present, and render us independent of wheat, cotton, and other "rings."

Thirty years ago I published, in Calcutta, a book entitled the "British Juggernath," to show how the car of Free Trade, the idol which England worshipped, was bringing England under its wheels, crushing the life-blood out of England and its dependencies, and leaving in its train disaster, bankruptcy, and pauperism. From that book I quote the following paragraphs in which I formulated an Imperial preferential policy:

"England, with its dependencies, if properly governed, might be independent of foreign nations for its trade, commerce, markets, and production. . . . The only true and statesmanlike policy lies in governing the Empire and its dependencies *as one vast country*, the interests of any one portion of which should be considered inseparable from those of the whole; protecting jealously every industry; seeking every possible means of employing the labour and developing the resources of *all*; fostering every industry, when it needs fostering, and releasing the fostering care as soon as such care is seen to be unnecessary; protecting only to the extent that may be needed to prevent the decay of an existing industry,

or to enable a new industry to spring up ; the primary aim being to utilize the labour and produce of *the whole*, and to ensure a market for the produce in our own great United Empire. With our enormous territory, two and a half times as great as that of the United States ; with our enormous capabilities and varied productions, we ought, if governed rightly, to be able to secure this ; and, holding such an immense area of territory, we should have no want of healthy competition, without calling in foreign nations to compete with us.

"We have within our grasp an Imperial policy which would enable us to outstrip America in a far greater degree than she is now outstripping us. By an Imperial policy I do not mean that narrow, insular policy which takes all it can from its dependencies and gives nothing in return ; I do not mean that selfish policy which drove America to separate from us, and which is now disgusting our Colonies ; I mean a generous, enlightened policy which considers the welfare and prosperity of each, and every, dependency identical with its own. . . . But where are we to look for such a policy ? Surely not to the littleness (of English Government) described by M. Merimée, which '*commits all possible faults to keep a few doubtful votes*,' the policy that '*disquiets itself about the present, and thinks nothing of the future*' ; not to the politicians who put party before nation ; not to the petty caucuses of those economic charlatans who have impoverished the Empire. We want an extension of the franchise, but not *mob franchise* such as Chamberlain and his crew propose. We want in the House of Commons representatives of the interests of England's dependencies. We want practical, far-seeing, intelligent men who have seen the world in its different aspects, and know, by experience, its wants ; . . . representa-

tive men who have lived out of England long enough to have shaken off the idea that their 'Little Peddlington,' be it London, or Liverpool, or Manchester, or Birmingham, is the pivot on which the world revolves. We want, in fact, an Imperial Parliament, not a wretched caucus of narrow-minded party politicians whose view is limited to the horizon of the coming election."

At the time this was written Mr. Chamberlain was a strong Free-Trader, but by the irony of fate, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, he visited his colonies with open eyes, and became convinced that there are other interests of far greater magnitude than those of "Little Peddlington," and with splendid courage, at the imminent risk of political shipwreck, he returned to England as the Apostle of Imperial Federation on a basis of preferential tariffs.

In 1884 Sir Lepel Griffin wrote :

"The British Empire is still in its infancy, grafted, it is true, on an ancient monarchy. It only dates from the occupation of Virginia by Raleigh, three hundred years ago. It has grown to be the greatest Empire in the world with a territory of 9,000,000 square miles and 300,000,000 subjects of the Queen; and now only waits a statesman whose genius will gather it into one mighty Federation, animated by loyalty and dignified by freedom."

The time has arrived when we must decide whether we shall maintain our vast Empire or allow its gradual disintegration. A great opportunity is now afforded; shall we foster its industries and develop its enormous resources, or shall we allow the slow process of neglect to do the work of commercial disintegration and ruin? Shall we be content to sink into the condition into which Greece, Rome, Spain, and Portugal have fallen with the loss of their Colonies? Shall we again neglect the teaching of history and repeat

the gigantic blunder by which we lost our American Colonies? Before the revolution in America our subjects there were quite as loyal as those in Canada and Australia, yet their loyalty was insufficient to withstand the strain of neglect and disregard of their interests which led to their secession.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, January 20, 1913, a paper by Sir Guilford Lindsey Molesworth, K.C.I.E., was read, entitled "Industrial India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I., The Dowager Lady Lamington, Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Dixon Spencer, K.C.B., Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. H. R. Cook, Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., Dr. A. D. Denning, Mrs. White, Mr. F. W. Moore, Mr. R. L. Campbell, Mr. F. W. Grubb, Mr. C. S. Rao, Mr. Lawler Wilson, Sheikh Abul Razzak, Mr. Reginald Murray, Mr. H. M. Percival, Mr. D. S. Bendra, Colonel Kilgour, Mr. J. S. Cotton, Major and Mrs. Clive Wigram, C.S.I., M.V.O., Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. H. B. Molesworth, Mr. M. Ba Than, Mr. J. Tansley, Mr. J. T. Catterell, Mr. S. Rogers, Mr. Sada Ram Thind, Mr. B. P. Jagtap, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. W. F. Piper, Mrs. Ramsay Fanshawe, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the paper we are now going to listen to, which is on a subject we always conceive we know everything about, is one which is likely to arouse a certain amount of discussion—I hope of a friendly nature. It is a daring paper for our quiet Society, as it raises points on which, no doubt, most people have their own opinions. Sir Guilford states his opinions with great frankness, and I dare say they may be challenged. I trust it may not provoke anything acrimonious, but only a very friendly discussion. Sir Guilford is well qualified to give us such a paper, and I think when you have heard it read you will agree it shows a great amount of erudition and close attention to matters of a fiscal nature. I will now ask Sir Guilford to read his paper.

(The paper was then read, and received with applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, from the close attention the paper has received at your hands I think it is very obvious you have been extremely interested in hearing the views of Sir Guilford Molesworth. As I promised you, it is a vigorously written paper, and enunciates opinions with great fearlessness, and I dare say not entirely in accordance with all

the views of those present. I confess I am amongst those who do not find themselves completely sharing those fiscal opinions which he has just uttered. However, anything to do with the economic side of the question may continue for weeks and months in discussion, so I propose to condense my remarks to a very small compass. First of all, while congratulating Sir Guilford on the excellence of his paper, I would just allude to those points on which I find myself in accord with him. To begin with, I agree with his statement that we govern India not for the benefit of Great Britain, but for the good of India. That is an undeniable proposition, whatever mistakes we may make from time to time economically as well as politically. That is the object and desire of this country; and, economically, I think our interests are wrapped up with those of India, and therefore it would be most foolish on our part to do anything to impair her economic interests, because this should only react on our own finance and injure ourselves. He alludes to one instance where we have departed from this, and that is with regard to the excise we levy on cotton goods, and that is no doubt a standing grievance in India. The quotations he has given us show that we do it entirely in the interests of Lancashire, and not for the good of India. I also agree with his remark as to the Government having been the cause of great delay in the construction of railways, and having at times muddled and meddled in a very unsatisfactory way with railway development in India. There was one instance, to my own knowledge, of a small line constructed by private enterprise—the Barsi Light Railway—which I think took ten years for the Government of India to consider (why, goodness only knows) and I think it took ten months to construct! Then he says Indian industries might be developed; and as we make our own munitions of war and military armaments in India, why should we not also construct other goods? I understand the India Office now takes a more liberal view of Indian indents for Government and Indian purposes, which used to be restricted almost entirely to purchases in this country, but now allows of purchases being made in India. I think that is a departure in the right direction. Now I am going to allude to those points where I do not find myself in agreement with the lecturer. One quotation of his asks, Why should India starve in the midst of plenty? It was a very eloquent passage in which he described the wealth of India, and says, "Surely there is something radically wrong when India can be considered poverty-stricken amid so much wealth." It seems to me he is almost answered by a quotation from Lord Curzon a few pages farther on, where Lord Curzon concludes a very strong panegyric on what has taken place in India with: "Her credit re-established, her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and her loyalty strengthened." I think that rather counterbalances the furious indictment made by Sir Guilford in the earlier passages of his address, and I think anyone reading that passage by itself would think India and the Indian people were extremely poor. In one sense no doubt they are, compared with our idea, but I do not think they are unhappy in their poverty. (Hear, hear.) I went about a good deal when I was Governor of Bombay, and I could not see the slightest sign of starvation, or being pinched. We see far more in

our great cities than you will see there in India, but I quite admit that, taking our standard, they are poor, and everyone hopes that they will become richer, but you must remember that they are contented with their little. One knows, if acquainted with the economic conditions of India, that the Indian peasant, once he is assured of his livelihood for the time being, is quite content to do no more work at all until the pinch of starvation or poverty comes along and makes him work again; but the conditions of life are so different to those which obtain in this country that he is quite happy, when he has put by a little, to do no more work for the time being. This characteristic is not consistent with the storing up wealth or developing very rapidly the wealth of the country. Comparisons are difficult in this respect. You must take the natural characteristics of the people in addition to the actual facts of their material condition.

Sir Guilford refers to the hoarded money and the amount of wealth stored up in India which might be utilized to fructify industries. There again we have a characteristic of the Indian, who preferred, or had in the past preferred, to store or hoard his money, simply because he never understood investing it. This is a characteristic which is giving way before modern developments. He has now the great Tata scheme, other industries, and the Bombay mills, and he is learning, and desires to learn, to engage in industrial enterprises, and that characteristic will be broken down more and more, and more money will be coming into the market for the purpose of working the undoubted resources that have been enumerated by the lecturer. In one passage he alludes to how the railways are burdened by changes in the Government policy, and says that revenue has been taken out of the country and brought over here, instead of being utilized to the benefit of the Indian Government. I think that is a rather dangerous and fallacious proposition to lay down. One often hears how, in Australia, the extreme members of the Labour Party complain of the amount of interest that goes out of the country because of the money invested by this country in Australia. I think it is a very wrong idea. It was only the other day one saw it stated in the *Times*, on the question of preferential tariffs, how there is an indirect preference of at least ten millions a year to the outside dominions of the Empire—I do not know whether it included India—by which the Empire benefits as a result of the cheap rate at which money is lent in this country to the Dominions beyond the seas. There is no other country in the world which is so ready to lend money on such easy terms as this country. I do not know what interest accrues from Indian railways, but I suppose it does not exceed 4 or 5 per cent., and therefore it must not be considered because of this very moderate rate of interest that it is a drain upon the Exchequer of India. There was another point the lecturer might have made, and which I feel strongly about, and it is just the reverse of sending interest out of India, and that is sending capital out of India. At the present time India has over here something like eighteen millions of Indian money, and which is lent by the Secretary of State to banking and other financial institutions in this country for the benefit of those institutions. That is an Indian grievance, and it is the reverse of Sir Guilford's. In

one case the British public is lending money to India and getting a very moderate return, and the other is a case where the Government takes a huge amount of capital from India and lends it to banks or financial corporations, for the benefit presumably of those corporations, and I presume rather to the loss of India, but I am not sufficiently a financier to know that definitely; but I think it is clear these large sums of money—anything beyond what is wanted for the immediate payments due by the Government of India in this country—ought to be allowed to remain in India. (Hear, hear.)

Then the lecturer is a warm advocate of preferential tariffs. It is a very big question, and I cannot go into it now. I wrote a letter only last week to the *Times* about it. My view regarding the mathematical impossibility is, if you are to get the different partners of the Empire to raise so many different tariffs, how they are all in turn to benefit under a preferential system. If you have one single tariff, that would be quite simple, but where each country is to retain its own tariff—a tariff which is going to benefit the other parts of the Empire as well as itself—is an absolutely impossible ideal; and in regard to India, I think he is rather answered by the quotation he made from Lord Curzon in the House of Lords, when he said that a preferential tariff system between this country and India or the rest of the Empire would be probably based rather in the interests of this country than that of India. I am afraid that is almost inevitable. Again, in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme one of the difficulties was that of India, and how India was to come into any preferential system of the Empire. I will not go more into that question, because it is too big a one, beyond mentioning that last very powerful excerpt from a book of Sir Guilford's thirty years ago about free trade, when he concluded by referring to the Empire. Then he says: "Shall we foster its industries and develop its enormous resources, or shall we allow the slow process of neglect to do the work of commercial disintegration and ruin?" I do not think the last returns of our foreign trade for 1912 bear much evidence of ruin about them. I rather regard the attitude of those who drive capital out of this country as more tending to ruin than the fact that we have not got a tariff. The foreign trade of last year was well over a thousand millions, which is something enormous, and it would be very difficult to detect much ruin about it. Those are the remarks I venture to put before you, and I am sure I voice your opinion when I say we are all very grateful for the opportunity of discussing this subject in order to try and arrive at and understand the truth. Sir Guilford has had a large experience of India as an engineer of repute, who has often been consulted by the Government of India, and his views are valuable, whatever may be one's own views on this particular topic. Therefore I am sure I have my audience with me when I express to the lecturer our very warm thanks for his paper. (Applause.)

The Hon. Secretary (Dr. J. Pollen) read the following letter received from Sir Roper Lethbridge: Sir Guilford Molesworth's wide and varied experience, and his proved and admitted capacity as a distinguished man of affairs, give exceptional weight to this paper. And it is remarkably

opportune, for the recent controversy between Lord Crewe and Mr. Bonar Law, on the platform and in the press, has informed us, more clearly than before, wherein the rival policies for the development of "Industrial India" which now hold the field differ from each other. Lord Crewe tells us that the existing system must continue, because he and his friends consider that "Free Trade" is best for India. The existing excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the products of Indian cotton-mills must be maintained, lest its abolition should give protection for India. And the Under-Secretary for India has informed the House of Commons that if other Indian industries should show signs of serious development—e.g., the woollen industry of Cawnpore and elsewhere, the matches manufacture, and the iron and steel industry, and so forth—then their products must be subject to an excise duty equivalent to the import duties.

On the other hand, Mr. Bonar Law has told us that excise duties are utterly unsuited to the conditions of India, and that consequently he would, as an Imperial Protectionist, advocate the abolition of all excise duties, with the simultaneous abolition or reduction of the import duties on British goods, India to be compensated for that abolition or reduction—(1) by import duties on all competing goods brought in from countries outside the British Empire; (2) by export duties on Indian monopolies (such as raw jute and lac) when exported to countries outside the British Empire; and (3) by the most liberal reciprocity to Indian goods in all the markets of the British Empire, entering those markets free of duty in most cases, and always with a substantial preference over the goods of the foreigner.

Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper has shown us that, while the Cobdenite policy of Free Trade will continue to strangle all Indian industries—as in the past it has strangled the sugar industry, formerly nearly her greatest export, now nearly her greatest import—on the other hand, Imperial Preference will give every Indian industry the fair chance that is alone needed to make India, not only the greatest agricultural country in the world, as she now is, but also the greatest and richest manufacturing and industrial country.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said they had had a most incisive and even exhilarating attack upon the present system of the control of India by the Government at home. There were one or two points in Sir Guilford Molesworth's lecture on which he would like to comment. First the need "to inaugurate a carefully considered policy of moderate import duties, which will not only yield a revenue that will relieve the land from the dead weight of taxation," etc. He could not admit that the revenue Government derived from land was taxation; it was merely the rent which the joint owner of the land received from the cultivator. This land revenue obtains in every native State in India. With regard to the railways, he did not quite understand the lecturer's position; money had to be paid somehow to build the railways, and as far as he could see, the chief or only loss to India must be the difference between the interest which the Government would pay on their loans and the interest which the shareholders received when a company was formed and managed from England. As to the

mischievous effect upon the railways of changes of policy, he would like to point out that a company's management from London was stable and not exposed to those changes of policy which the lecturer complained of in the Government. Thirdly, with regard to the excise system on cotton goods manufactured in India. He entirely agreed with the chairman; he did not think there was a word to be said in favour of it. But there arose a difficulty: what was to be done? They could not expect the English Parliament to appoint a Government in India, and say, We will give you a free hand and let you do what you like. The Indian Government must be controlled by the Parliament that created it, and to speak of giving India autonomy seemed to him to be impossible under the present system. They could not turn India into a self-governing colony. As to the abolition of the excise duties, he did not think they could hope for much from either political party at home. He did not see how any change could be effected until the enlarged Legislative Councils throughout India had learned to take concerted action in emphatically and persistently pressing upon the Home Government the injustice of the duties and the need for their abolition.

DR. DENNING (Superintendent of Industries, Bengal) said that nearly three and a half years ago he went out to India, but unfortunately illness had cut short a career which promised to be more or less an intellectual feast. He believed that before long they would see great changes in the economic position of India; and there ought to be great changes. It was not very long since India satisfied her own sugar needs; her own crude furnaces provided all her metallic requirements; her hand-loom furnished fine and coarse cloths for her own and other countries' needs; and her vegetation provided durable and beautiful dyes for all the world. But what happened now? Better organized industrial countries had found in India a rich market for their goods and manufactures. And what was India sending in payment therefor? Anyone who took the trouble to examine her exports would find that, apart from jute (mainly in the hands of Scotchmen on the Hoogly) and cotton (mainly in the hands of wealthy Parsees), they were principally raw agricultural products. However, there were indications of changes, and Indians were beginning to realize their country's immense natural resources. He did not think we helped India as much as we might or should in the matter of getting the necessary knowledge and instruction to develop these resources. Years ago the strength of English manufacturing interests was such that the State had interfered merely to regulate and not to assist industrial activities, and consequently the notion of State assistance to industries had been foreign to an Englishman's conception of the fundamental duties of a State Government. Now, however, in this country manufacturers had begun to appreciate the good services of the Board of Trade's Special Consultative Committee, with their Trade Commissioners, and our merchants were asking for a Consular Service with more commercial interests. If these were necessary and vital for the English manufacturer, how much more vital were they for the handicapped Indian industrialist? He wished sometimes some Eastern genii would make him Secretary of State for India for an hour; he would cut *the*

Gordian knot which made India more and more an agricultural country. India's industrial position was compared with the position of Japan; the Japanese industrialists had undoubtedly had more State help than Indian industrialists. When they attempted seriously to help India, they would find a lot could be done; he hoped the time when such serious efforts would be made was not far distant.

MR. CHISHOLM wished to ask a question on a point that was not quite clear. The lecturer stated that the loss to India arising from imported sugar amounted to 20,000,000 sterling annually, and later on the lecturer stated that the total imports of sugar amounted to £7,600,000. Surely the loss to India on account of imported sugar could not be three times the value of the total imports! As to the neglect of industries, a great deal of money and energy had been spent on preserving what were called "Indian art industries," with the result that these industries, mostly useless, had degenerated into mercantile rubbish, because the majority of people in India were ignorant of quality. To give an instance of this ignorance, a few years ago, under exceptionally favourable circumstances, he had produced in India, with Indian materials and workmen, every known potting body and glaze from common earthenware to translucent porcelain. He brought specimens of these wares to England, armed with letters to the India Office, but he found that no one in the India Office, or at South Kensington, understood clearly what a potting body was; as a matter of fact, he was seriously recommended to study the porous goglets of Sind, and to visit Madura and inspect the beautiful globe gurras made there. Equivalent to instructing an armourer to visit a theatre and study the beautiful pasteboard helmets and shields used by actors! He felt himself incompetent to speak on Tariff Reform.

SIR BRADFORD LESLIE said he had some acquaintance with the Indian people; perhaps one reason why they were always poverty-stricken was that they were very improvident and constantly in debt. The village mahajun, or money-lender, took great care that they never got out of debt; their crops were mortgaged to him before they were grown, and he charged exorbitant interest. The mahajun may be excused for charging high interest because of the possible failure of the monsoon, but if in one season the crops perish for want of rain, he carries the debt on at compound interest. Another direction in which the ryots are very improvident is in the marriage ceremonies of their daughters; when bumper crops fill their grain yolabs, wedding processions with bands of musicians abound. It is right that the people should rejoice, but an army of Brahmins and priests take advantage of these occasions to plunder them in every direction, and one such function may swallow up a year's income. Cremations and funeral ceremonies are also made the occasion for extortion. Again, the zemindars, landlords, and their naibs, or agents, in addition to rent, levy cesses on the ryot to cover any extraordinary expenditure of their own, and Maharajahs and Rajahs, and their armies of retainers, have all to be supported, and live in palaces built at the cost of the ryot, who occupies a squalid mud hut; and if there is anything left, the chances are it all goes in litigation for the benefit of the lawyers.

If some of the enlightened Indian Princes would take an interest in housing their subjects, the cultivators of the soil, by helping them to provide rat and snake proof concrete plinths to their houses, instead of insanitary mud floors, and by greatly improving their physical condition, it would be the best education they could give. By proper organization and co-operation of the people themselves, the cost would be by no means prohibitive; the Government would doubtless do all in its power to assist by giving facilities for transport of material. With more comfortable dwellings, the social condition of the people would be raised, and habits of thrift would be encouraged. Such plinths, 3 feet high, would have projecting cornices to keep out rats and snakes, and I doubt not that the residents would be proud of their improved dwellings and decorate the sides of the plinths with frescoes.

Maharajahs could not do better than devote some of their hoarded crores to such a purpose.

MR. BENDRA said that 150 or 200 years ago Indians were able to produce sufficient clothing and other things, and he did not see why, when they were now living under a peaceful Government, they should be dependent for more than 90 per cent. of their manufactured goods on other countries. India could produce food for four times her population, but could not now produce sufficient clothing. That was chiefly due to the want of expert advice. Here in England people were always receiving education, and wherever anyone went in Great Britain he saw technical schools or polytechnics where the people went to acquire knowledge. The want of such facilities was the chief cause of the lack of progress in India. If the people were educated they would quickly recognize the benefits of co-operation. As a distinguished lecturer a few weeks ago had told them, Indians were quite willing to give their money to further co-operative credit societies once they thoroughly understood the benefits arising therefrom. Another drawback was that in the interests of Lancashire manufacturers countervailing duties had been imposed, and the laws passed in such interests were opposed to the good of India. Although England in the present highly developed state of its industries did not need protection, India did. Things in their infancy did need protection, and Indian industries were in that stage, and should be protected. At the same time he did not agree that there should be a policy of preference.

He thought it was a good plan for the Government to start factories for the manufacture of stationery, etc., in India; and later, if they were allowed, the people who were now blamed for hoarding their money would be willing to take over those industries. He thought that was the best way to help the people. It might be said, if their industries were developed to such an extent, the people of Lancashire would suffer. That might be so. But it was too much to expect that no one should be selfish; everyone was selfish to a certain extent. He did not think, however, that Lancashire would suffer in the long-run; he thought it and Great Britain as a whole would eventually benefit. A prosperous, contented, and loyal India meant a strong and powerful and progressive British Empire. West

and East should advance together, each helping the other in the cause of progress and civilization.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said that he agreed with the argument of the last speaker that more technical education was required in India, but he disagreed with his assertion that Protection without Preference was necessary. The last speaker admitted that Lancashire goods would still be required by Indians, but Protection would raise their cost in India, which the mass of the people could not afford.

The lecturer quoted on the first page of his paper his statement in 1906 that it was necessary "to govern India, not on English grounds by people in India, but by the Government of India in the interests of India alone." Why India *alone*? Certainly India had been entrusted to the care of England; but was nothing due to England? India had been brought out of chaos into order solely by the establishment of the *pax Britannica*? The fearful invasions from Central Asia had thereby been stopped, as well as internecine warfare. India was protected from invasion by land by an army created by Englishmen, and by sea by the British navy. England had given India railways, telegraphs, the post-offices, and ports. Were not these benefits to be considered at all? If India had preferential treatment in wheat, what about Canada? Where did she come in? Canada and Australia could not be left out in the cold in that respect. Did they think that India had any chance in wheat-growing against Canada? He ventured to say not, in view of the recurring failures of Indian crops. As regards cotton, the lecturer was practically charging the British Government with the alleged deterioration in the staple of cotton. He would like to know when India produced more excellent cotton than now. Surely one of the great aims of the British Government had been to improve that staple? As regards sugar, was it not the case that most of the sugar coming into India of late years had come from Mauritius and from Java, where there was no export bounty?

He did not wish to argue about the rights or wrongs of Protection. He would merely say that in the present state of politics it was not feasible. He did not think that any political party would give Protection to India against England without Preference, but at the same time he believed there was a *via media* by which both countries might be benefited. He thought reductions might be made in the tariffs that existed on both sides. The British tariff on Indian tea was 75 per cent. *ad valorem*; on coffee, 19 per cent.; and on tobacco, 300 per cent.† Surely there was scope here for lowering the duties against India. Indian tobacco was intrinsically less valuable than Virginian, and the duty on it was levied, not *ad valorem*, but by weight, an actual discrimination against India. If they reduced the tariff on coffee by 50 per cent., it would beat the Brazilian coffee out of the market altogether, and the same preference would enable India to oust Javan tea. In the case of tobacco the duty should be levied *ad valorem*. Though tea and coffee planters were mostly British, they employed over half a million Indian workmen, and the Indian educated classes were waking to the fact that the interests of the workmen must be considered. He would suggest that India might give England, in

return, a preference on manufactured articles such as woollens and hardware.

In fact, his proposals amounted to this: That trade between Britain and India should be made, if not free, at least freer—a suggestion to which genuine Free Traders could not honestly object.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask the lecturer to reply to anything that has been said calling for reply:

The LECTURER: I do not know that I have very much to reply to. In regard to the apparent contradiction which your lordship has noticed in my paper, my comment on the poverty of India was based on the opinions expressed by Lord Mayo and Lord Lawrence, who stated that the poverty of Indians was so great that it was inadvisable to add to their taxation in any way. That was thirty years ago; and you will find on page 357 of my paper I have acknowledged the improvement in India to a very great extent, as follows: "*Of late years there has been a considerable increase in Indian industries, especially in jute and cotton, but it has been uphill work,*" etc. But the development falls very far short of the magnificent potentialities of the Empire. You must remember Lord Curzon's statement was made more than thirty years after the times of Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo.

With regard to the capital leaving the country, I referred, not to *capital*, but to *revenue* leaving the country—revenue which might have been received by the Government of India, and could have been employed very profitably in railway construction, in developing the country, in irrigation works, and also in relieving agriculturists; by advances to enable them to cultivate, by the reduction of salt-tax and income-tax, etc. Lord Curzon was enabled to do so by means of the revenue from irrigation and railway works, as stated on page 358.

With regard to Preference, of course it is too large a question to enter into; and I will merely say that the idea of one tariff for all the countries is an impossibility and an absurdity. Each colony must have its own tariffs, as at present; the preference must be given to our own people, and not to the foreigner. With regard to Mr. Chisholm's question about sugar, I merely quoted what Lord Curzon said in 1899, and the statistics I have given in regard to imports are for 1911-1912; the two cases are altogether different. In reply to a question from Mr. Moore as to the countervailing duties, they have been removed, with the result that the imports rose; they had fallen under the countervailing duties from four millions to two millions; and after the countervailing duties were removed they rose again to seven millions. There was a great deal of sugar sent from Java, but, as the speaker said, there was no export bounty on it. I merely mention that because the Java cane-sugar is imported to India at very cheap rates.

Mr. REID asked to be allowed to say a few words. He said that he was wearing cloth which had been dyed with pure Indian indigo, and to get it he had to go to a Mincing Lane indigo broker. In 1907 there was imported into London from India a million and a half, in round numbers, of indigo, and in the year 1911 only £67,000 worth. At the same time from Germany about £600,000 worth of aniline dyes were imported into this country!

The CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but it is now six o'clock, and I fear it is too late to ask the meeting to sit any longer.

On the motion of Sir ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman for presiding, and to the lecturer for his interesting and excellent paper.

The following notes dealing with the discussion have been received by the Hon. Secretary:

Though I am what is commonly called a Free Trader—that is to say, a person who does not understand how artificial restrictions can increase the bulk of trade—there is yet a good deal in Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper with which I entirely agree, and if I could only believe that prices are always *reduced* by import duties (as he seems to argue), I should probably go all the way with him. Perhaps the best plan will be for me to point out where I cannot follow him; and, unfortunately, on the very first page he raises the question of preferential duties, and would in that way set India at loggerheads with all her foreign customers. Now, the idea of complete free trade within the Empire is very fascinating, but as long as the Colonies will have none of it, and prefer dry-nursing their own infant industries, it is evidently unrealizable (as Sir Guilford Molesworth observes in his book), and the only question for India is whether it would pay her to quarrel with all the rest of the world in order to secure the measure of free trade that already exists between her and Great Britain.

On p. 347 of his paper Sir Guilford discusses at some length (and with much unnecessary heat) the question of Indian sugar, agreeing, apparently, with Sir Roper Lethbridge that 99 per cent. of the people of India generally should be taxed for the benefit of the remaining 1 per cent. engaged in sugar-growing and manufacture, and asserting positively, and without qualification, that the decline in the Indian industry has cost India £20,000,000 a year, and is due to the unrestricted competition of *bounty-fed* sugar. Now, the cost of imported sugar only amounts to about £8,000,000 a year, and it is not easy to understand how India can have lost £20,000,000 a year in that way, even if the imported sugar was all bounty-fed. Certainly there can be nothing deadly about this blow struck at India's industries, because India can easily protect herself again against sugar bounties, as she did before. I agree that the countervailing excise duty on cotton goods produced in India was unwise and even unnecessary, because the cotton goods are not, I believe, of the same class as those of Lancashire; otherwise there is nothing "unjust" about them.*

On p. 352 again, Sir Guilford states as a fact that the absence of "protection" of Indian industries is a powerful factor in Indian "unrest," and it may be admitted that the majority of educated natives, those at any rate who are interested in manufactures, would impose a duty of at least

* It would even appear from a letter in the *Times* of December 28, 1912, that the Indian cotton mill-owners have not suffered very much from the excise duty on their goods.

10 per cent. (instead of the 5 per cent. they already enjoy) on all manufactured goods, *especially those of Lancashire*; but that is no proof of the wisdom of such duties, and I may be allowed to quote as evidence to the contrary the opinion of Mr. Harvey, who has never made less than 12½ per cent., and generally makes at least 25, in his flourishing mills in the South of India, and says that he has never been able to decide whether "protection" or "free trade" would be the best for him. He is certainly not dissatisfied with things as they are—*i.e.*, 25 per cent. Still, it is not at all strange that the planters of South India should be unanimous in recommending preferential duties in favour of their own produce. It is also no doubt true that India could supply nearly all her own requirements if she were "protected" from foreign competition, but the protection would have to be prohibitory, and Sir Guilford does not approve of prohibitory duties. It is certainly not quite correct to say that India's industries have been destroyed by "unrestricted foreign competition"; the real cause was an improved method of manufacture. The power-loom destroyed the old English hand-loom manufactures, as well as those of India. It is also somewhat useless to say that India could produce enough sugar to supply the world's market when it could only be done by prohibiting the import of sugar grown on a better system. It is only free competition, and the example of countries like Java (which produces four tons of sugar to the acre against one and a half in India), that is ever likely to make India a successful competitor in the race for markets. And so with cotton; it is not bolstering it up by excluding competition that will improve the quantity or the quality, but the improved methods that are now, at last, being adopted by the scientific experts of the Agricultural Department.

I agree that there is plenty of capital in India; it is only misapplied. When I was in India two years ago I found that the authorities of the Temple at Rames-Wa-ram had made a contract in one village in Tinnevely, amounting to twenty lakhs of rupees, for the repair of that enormous structure alone. That capital has not been invested in more productive works is no doubt partly due to want of confidence in the permanence of our rule. Such confidence is a plant of slow growth, but it is something for us to be proud of that land which in 1820 had no saleable value (though equally well cultivated) is now selling at Rs. 3,000 an acre, and at that price pays 5 or 6 per cent. to the purchaser.

On p. 358 Sir Guilford says that "the faith of the English people was rudely shaken," etc.; he should have said "*some* English people."

On p. 360 Sir Guilford reminds one of Mr. Hyndman prophesying the bankruptcy of India in 1876. Even he must surely admit that neither England nor India is nearer bankruptcy than it was thirty years ago. His idea of proper government was, he says, to protect every industry, including, of course, agriculture, which is, of all, the most deserving of protection,* and that could only be done at the expense of our foreign trade. He shows a simple faith in those "moderate" duties which every nation begins

* As noted in the *Observer* on December 22, 1912, "when there is a protective tariff for manufacturers there *must* be a tariff for agriculturists also."

with, and would foster every decaying industry at the expense of the rest of the community, which can only mean that everything is made more expensive, in which case the consumer must have less to spend. As to Sir Guilford's bold contention that a protective duty on food must reduce its price to the consumer, one can only wonder if he really believes it. To a plain man it seems that such a surprising result could only be brought about by some reduction in the quality of the food in question.

(Signed) J. B. PENNINGTON.

I endorse the views generally expressed by Lord Lamington as to the arguments so frankly advanced by the lecturer. I do not think there is any justification for thinking that India is less prosperous now than it has ever been. I can see a great deal to prove the contrary, and nothing to confirm such an argument. India is backward in scientific agriculture and manufacturing industries. Some speakers have pointed to Japan as an example of a country being advanced in a comparatively few years from purely agricultural to the most modern industrial conditions. It seems to be overlooked that all the knowledge acquired was imported by the enterprise of the Japanese themselves. Their educated men went to Western countries and learned thoroughly all that was required, and, returning home, became the instructors of the nation. To show that Indians are quite capable of doing the same, it is only necessary to point to the Bombay cotton industry, to the cotton and oil presses in the mofussil, and the very considerable number of modern factories, all owned and worked by Indians, in the various parts of the country. How did Mr. Mukherjee acquire his knowledge and adaptability, and, solely by his own perseverance, become the head partner of the important engineering firm of Martin and Co., Calcutta? No amount of protection or nursing will make manufacturing industries pay for people who can do nothing more practical than sigh for the profits.

Lord Lamington is of opinion that India has one grievance—that of the alleged mismanagement of the Indian balances in London by the Indian Council. I venture to think and hope that his lordship made that statement under a misapprehension of facts. As explained by Lord Inchcape in the *Times*, the Indian balances in London accumulated at the end of the financial year 1911-1912 from happenings which could not have been anticipated. The larger portion was due to extra sales of Council bills late in the financial year. These were quite properly held for the purchase and remittance of silver. Another portion was a loan for railways budgeted for in India and issued in London, which proved superfluous owing to the growth of revenue with exceptionally good harvests in India, which could not be foreseen. During the incidence of excess balances, nothing better could have been done with them than the loaning them out at short notice. There was no safer investment in the world than the loans made to our principal London Banks. Between March and September at least, the money could not have been lent in India on the same terms at such good

rates or with such good security. The benefit of the loans to India was that she received the interest, and, by helping to ease the money market in London, relieved her trade of the handicap which dear money in London imposes.

(Signed) REG. MURRAY.

The principal criticisms on my paper have been based on a misapprehension of the nature of Imperial Preference, and on the exploded economic fallacy that an import duty on any article must raise its price to the consumer. Mr. Moore, for instance, assumes that I propose to make trade between Great Britain and India "freer, if not free," in the Cobdenite sense of the word; but this is absolutely opposed to the Imperial Preference which I advocate. He also assumes that I propose to leave the Colonies out in the cold. This is also incorrect; on the contrary, I have urged Imperial federation as a means by which "England, with its dependencies, might be independent of foreign nations for its trade, commerce, markets, and production, . . . the primary aim being to utilize the labour and produce of the whole, and to insure a market for the produce in our own great united Empire."

Other critics appear to have confused Imperial Preference with *Free Trade within the Empire*—an absurd and impracticable idea. Mr. Pennington, criticizing my view of the effect of import duties, says: "If I could only believe that prices are *always* reduced by import duties, I should probably go all the way with him."

The word "always" is not mine. In my book ("Economic and Fiscal Facts and Fallacies"), to which he refers, my words are: "In a large number of cases the imposition of an import duty has been followed by a fall of prices, numerous examples of which are given in the following chapters. To shallow thinkers such a result appears impossible, but a little consideration will serve to explain the apparent paradox."

The chapter then goes on to explain in detail the causes of this fall which may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. The foreign producer *must* sell his surplus produce.
2. He often sends in large quantities of produce to evade the duty before the Act comes into force, tending to produce a fall of prices.
3. The fall is rendered permanent by the stimulus to the home industry, and consequent home competition.
4. The home producer is placed on more equal terms with his foreign competitor.
5. If the industry be one of home production, the duty is paid by the foreign producer.
6. The revenue derived from duties, by relieving the home producer from other taxes, should enable him to produce more cheaply.
7. An import duty often kills a foreign monopoly that has kept up prices.

These reasons are not simply theoretical, but they are based on over-

whelming facts and actual experience. In my book I have given hundreds of instances of such a fall.

The benefit of a protective policy has been marked. It has developed industries previously impossible under free import; it has largely attracted capital, augmented revenue, and afforded increased employment and higher wages.

Carey, the well-known American economist, has shown that the periods during which the United States have relaxed their policy of Protection, have been marked by depression of trade, bankruptcy, and distress; whilst the periods of Protective tariffs have been marked by activity of trade and prosperity.

Mr. Pennington, in his attempt to discredit Lord Curzon's statement that the decline of the sugar industry has cost India £20,000,000, states that the value of the present import of sugar only amounts to £8,000,000 a year; but it is difficult to see any connection whatever between the present import of sugar and Lord Curzon's statement made more than twenty years ago, and based on figures supplied by the Financial Minister to the Government of India.

There is no reason why the production of sugar in India should not equal that of Java. Mr. Hadi, Assistant Director of Agriculture in the United Provinces, states that some twenty years ago the sugar factories of India were numerous and prosperous, but many have been closed in consequence of foreign competition; he has also shown how the production might be improved, and the out-turn increased by 50 per cent., with less cost than by the ordinary native process, and also by careful attention to cropping, cleaning, planting, irrigation, and other matters.

The following extract from the *American Economist* of November 22, 1912, shows how the sugar industry in the United States has prospered under the imposition of a duty on sugar:

"The Dingley Law in 1897 imposed a duty on raw sugar, which protected the sugar produce of this country, and instead of a few sugar factories being in operation, there are now seventy factories turning out this product, and it has been increased in fifteen years to 615,000 tons a year."

That this advantage has not been confined to sugar, the following extract from the paper of the same date will show:

"In 1889, before the McKinley Law was enacted, we imported 331,311 tons of tin-plate, at an average cost of 4.55 dollars per 108 pounds. In 1912 we are producing 800,000 tons of tin-plate, which is sold at an average cost of 3.84 dollars per 108 pounds. The total imports will not exceed 2,000 tons."

As Mr. Moore has doubted whether India could hold her own against Canada in the matter of wheat, I may say that wheat would be largely used in supplying British requirements, were it not for some rascality in a British corn-trade ring to keep up prices. For this I may quote the great authority of Sir George Watt, who has stated that "wheat could be grown in India and placed on the English market at about 3s. a quarter less than it could be grown here (in England); but the importation of it into England is

artificially hindered by the Indian merchant being compelled to adulterate the wheat by mud freight, which adds to the freight and raises the price; and it has to be cleaned out here."

With regard to cotton manufacture, I have already admitted that it has been considerably increased of late years, but the increase has not been "at all commensurate with the progress that ought to have followed the great extension of railway and irrigation works, which have proved so beneficial to India."

The area of Britain is less than one-fifteenth, and its population less than one-tenth, of that of India; yet its cotton manufacture employs nearly ten times the number of spindles that are employed in India, although cotton is indigenous in India, but not in Britain.

Of the world's supply of cotton, India provides little more than one-fourteenth.

GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.

MASS-EDUCATION FOR INDIA.

By P. C. TARAPORE, F.R.G.S.

IN his sympathetic and instructive work on India, Sir Thomas Holderness remarks: "Of all administrative problems, the improvement and diffusion of education in India is probably the one that, at the present moment, weighs most heavily with the Government." It weighs most heavily, too, with those leaders of the people who have the welfare of the general community at heart, and who wish to see the lower strata of the Indian social organism lifted up from the abyss of ignorance and illiteracy. During the last hundred years, the British Government have again and again reviewed the question in its different bearings. As far back as July 17, 1823—nine years before Parliament took the first decisive step towards State education in this country—the East India Company appointed a "General Committee of Public Instruction" to advise the Government in matters relating to Indian education. Not long after, Macaulay was selected to preside over the deliberations of this body, and the education of the masses was one of the questions it was called upon to consider. The famous Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1854, and the Report of the Education Commission of 1882-83 urged the claims of primary instruction in India. The Census figures, however, distinctly prove that mass-education made very slow progress during the whole of the nineteenth century. When, towards the close of that

century, Lord Harris, the then Governor of Bombay, advocated more vigorous efforts for the spread of primary instruction, it was, as it were, a voice crying in the wilderness. With the dawn of the twentieth century, however, a new spirit entered the atmosphere of Indian polity. The very first Parliamentary debate of the new century on the Indian Budget was signalized by an important speech made by Sir Mancherjee Bhownagjee, who showed, with a powerful array of facts and figures, that the educational effort of a whole century had failed to produce results equal to the practical requirements of the Indian people, and earnestly pleaded for the adoption of a constructive policy which would satisfy the actual needs of the country. A month afterwards, Lord Curzon took a definite step in India by publicly announcing that the existing conditions of mass-education were not right, and by pressing forward the special claims of elementary instruction in the common interests of the Government and the people.

The question has been raised, however, as to whether the education of the masses would not lead to further unrest and discontent in India, whether it would be politically wise to rouse the toiling millions of Indian peasantry from their present "state of uncomplaining passivity." Every far-seeing observer will nevertheless recognize that even if the masses were kept in their present state of illiteracy, they would not continue to remain in their present state of passivity, because of the increasing pressure which the march of events in India and elsewhere is bound to exert upon their mental condition. Lord Curzon in his address at the Educational Conference of 1901, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his book on "The Awakening of India," and Sir Valentine Chirol in his work on "Indian Unrest," have clearly pointed to the political danger to which the Government is perpetually exposed through the ignorance of the masses. But whilst the education of the working-classes in India is desirable in the interests of Government, it is also desirable in the

interests of the people themselves. Lord Reay laid down an important principle when he observed at a meeting of this Association: "The neglect of the educational needs of the rural population is to my mind all the more to be deplored, because the rural classes in India are not given to ventilating their grievances, and it is exactly because they do not ventilate them that the duty of Government in looking after their interests is all the greater." As his lordship has reminded us, the peasantry of India have their own special needs and grievances. On various occasions the British Government have made an honest effort to protect the interests of small agriculturists as a class, but their action has sometimes failed to receive popular support, as, for instance, in a case mentioned by the late Lord Northcote during a memorable debate in the House of Lords. An educated peasantry would be more likely to support the Government in any measures for their legitimate benefit and protection. By the help of mass-education and of district Durbars, such as Lord Sydenham has encouraged the Collectors of the Bombay Presidency to hold in different parts of their respective charges, a proper understanding between the Government and the people could be more satisfactorily established. If indebtedness and intemperance are to be reduced among the peasantry of India, if the ravages of famine and drought are to be minimized, if the co-operative credit movement is to attain its full measure of success, if village sanitation is to improve, and if superstition and ignorance are to be replaced throughout the land by progress and enlightenment—then I do not know how these necessary obligations can be fulfilled without making education permeate all the strata of the Indian community. No Government, however benevolent, can do as much for an ignorant peasantry as an intelligent peasantry can do for themselves.

The present illiteracy of the agriculturists is in inverse ratio to their proportion in the population of the country. Out of about 19,000,000 boys of school-going age

4,000,000 are in receipt of primary instruction. Of this total number, 1,400,000 boys—that is to say, 35 per cent.—would represent pupils drawn from the agricultural classes. On the other hand, out of the 19,000,000 boys of school age, at least 10,000,000 would belong to the peasantry; so that only 1,400,000 boys out of 10,000,000 of the agricultural population are in receipt of primary education, as against 2,600,000 pupils among the 9,000,000 boys of the non-agricultural population. These figures indicate that whereas among the non-agricultural sections of the community 29 out of every 100 boys of school age are receiving instruction, the percentage is only 14 among the agricultural population.

It will thus be seen that elementary education has been advancing among the non-agricultural sections of the community at a speed double that of its agricultural classes. Even then a literacy of 29 per cent. compares very unfavourably with the figures of Japan, and even of Burma and Ceylon. Every critic has to bear in mind, however, that the British Government had to face in India the effects wrought during centuries together by sharply marked divisions of caste, custom, and creed, such as Japan and Burma and Ceylon have not witnessed. In Burma the Government and the priests have co-operated in taking education to the masses, and the latter have received it with remarkable willingness. In India the spirit of learning has for centuries past been exclusive: in Burma and Ceylon it has for centuries past been expansive. As a result of the silent evolution through which India has passed under the British rule, we find literacy spread among all the sections of the Indian community, whereas it was previously confined to priests, merchants, and accountants.

All Indian reformers sympathize with Mr. Gokhale's desire that the work of this evolution should advance more rapidly than it has hitherto done. He has rendered a great public service by bringing forward a Bill which had no less

praiseworthy an object than to make primary instruction universal among all classes of the Indian population. The Royal Proclamation made at the Delhi Durbar of 1911 graciously declared that the demand for the extension of primary education was a "very commendable" one. That demand found further recognition in the eloquent reply of His Majesty the King-Emperor to the Address presented by the Calcutta University. Mr. Gokhale's Bill was opposed by all the heads of the Local Administrations consulted by the Government of India, who generally disapproved of the proposal to make primary education compulsory. The issues raised by the Bill, and by the diversity and importance of the problem itself, are so numerous and so vital to the interests of the people at large, that it behoves the Government to appoint a public commission to inquire into the whole question of mass-education in all its bearings. Such an inquiry would lead to the adoption of a more scientific policy for the instruction of the masses than has been hitherto followed, and, by its educative influence on public opinion, to more systematic efforts on the part of the people themselves to promote the education of the million.

What is the present position of mass-education in India? I have already shown that, whilst primary instruction is more widely disseminated amongst the different sections of the Indian community than was the case before British rule, the incidence of literacy is twice as great among boys of the non-agricultural classes as it is among those of the agricultural population. Therefore, to make education more evenly diffused throughout India, it is necessary to adopt special measures to forward the cause of primary instruction among the cultivators. It is only through an educated peasantry that we can advance the cause of agriculture, and make it more beneficial, not only to the toiling labourers who actually work in the fields, but to the entire 80 per cent. of India's population whose income is derived from agriculture.

What, then, are the causes that have retarded the progress of education among the peasantry? In India, from generation to generation, the *pothi* and the plough have been handed down from father to son, and because of the exclusive spirit of learning to which I have already referred, the peasant has derived all his knowledge from the language of farms and forests, of cows and buffaloes, of rain and thunder. The agricultural labourer makes his habitation wherever he can get a patch of land which he can cultivate, and has found in husbandry the sole occupation and interest of his life. His wife and children share his labours in the field, so that a farmer's boy is regarded by his parents as an economic "asset." The advantages of sacrificing the monetary value of the boy's work in looking after the cattle and performing other duties in the field, in order that he may receive an education in the three R's, are not apparent to the peasant, and whenever I had to open a new school in a rural area or talk to a group of agriculturists on the advisability of sending their children to school, I had to answer numerous questions as to the reality of those advantages to the peasantry.

We have seen that the cause has to make up more leeway among the tillers of the soil, and my practical experience impels me to think that the best way in which this can be done is by convincing the peasant that the sacrifice he has to make by forgoing his boy's share of work on the farm will be more than compensated for by the education he will receive. We must preach, we must persuade, and, above all, we must prove, that the education we are offering to the peasantry will be really helpful to them.

As Mr. Montagu remarked in his third Budget speech in the House of Commons, the Indian educational problem differs essentially from that of a country like England. He emphasized the fact that in India over 90 per cent. of the population live in villages; consequently, the question of primary education in India is a question that has mostly to deal with rural areas.

These areas may be divided into two classes : (1) villages where elementary schools have already been opened ; and (2) villages where elementary schools do not exist.

The second class is by far and away the larger one, being, numerically, as three to one.

This second class, again, admits of two sub-divisions : (a) villages which are large enough for the establishment of elementary schools ; and (b) villages which are so small that they would not provide sufficient pupils to run an elementary school.

Here, again, the second sub-division will be found to be much larger, numerically, than the first. As the Under-Secretary of State mentioned, there are no less than 675,000 villages in India with a population of less than 1,000 persons each. Of these, more than half the number consists of villages with a population under 500 persons each.

Making all due allowance for villages which are too small in themselves, but which are situated sufficiently near another village or villages to share with the latter the benefits of a school, it is no exaggeration to say that about 75,000,000 people would be excluded from the privilege of having any school at all, owing to the extremely small population of their respective villages. There is only one way in which this one-fourth of the Indian population can be brought under the influence of education, and I ventured to point it out in my letter to the *Westminster Gazette* of August 21 last, when I suggested the establishment in each Indian province of a number of travelling teachers for the benefit of small villages. As I stated in that letter, a peripatetic teacher could visit several small villages in the course of a week, and give primary instruction once every seven days to the children in each village or cluster of hamlets. The boys would be expected to attend their village class only once a week, and for at least six days out of seven they could still help their parents in their agricultural pursuits. The principle underlying the measure would be that

in areas otherwise inaccessible to educational influence, it is better to give some instruction than to give no instruction at all. This was the principle on which the Sunday-school movement in England was based, and it has been adopted in Scotland, Wales, Germany, and other countries with practical success. You have to-day in England peripatetic teachers conducting cookery classes, and Mr. Runciman has just adopted the plan in order to give agricultural instruction in the rural areas of this country. The expediency of treating the rural areas of India differently from urban ones has been recognized by no less eminent an educational authority than Lord Reay. In England, since the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1870, when a more or less cast-iron system was imposed upon the whole country, there has been a steady growth in the recognition of the dissimilar problems presented by the urban and rural districts, and there is to-day a marked tendency to make education in the rural and urban districts agreeable to the needs of each. The efforts recently made to impart to agricultural districts a distinct education in agricultural subjects indicate an immense advance in this direction, while the Technical Instruction Act, so widely adopted in industrial areas, is but a reasoned attempt to make the education in urban districts meet the special educational requirements in any given district. For example, a widespread movement exists in Lancashire to impart a knowledge of the latest improvements in methods of handling cotton.

It is in an equally practical spirit that we should order the educational problem in different parts of India. I venture to think that my scheme of travelling teachers would be found particularly adapted to the needs of rural districts. In the first place, it would reduce the cost of universal public instruction, as one peripatetic teacher could impart education to a number of villages. So long, too, as some house or room could be placed at his disposal for a few hours every week in each village where he holds his class, the construction of new school buildings would not

become necessary. Further, the scheme would prove a popular means of promoting mass-education in rural areas where full-time schools cannot be established. In many cases a peasant would willingly spare his boy from the field for only one day every week, whereas he might object to sending him to a regular school which would require the pupil to attend his class for six days in the week. Need I remind you that you have in the "half-timer" a representative of the same objection in this country? Parents who derived financial advantage from the employment of their children in various manufactories objected to the compulsory attendance of their children in the day-school. By every means in their power they sought to evade the compulsory provisions of the Act, and the "half-timer" represents the compromise. This helps us to understand that in a country like India this difficulty will be inevitably greater, and therefore it behoves educational enthusiasts to make haste slowly.

If some of the peripatetic teachers in India could be so trained as to be able to give practical instruction in improved methods of agriculture, not only to the boys attending the weekly class but also to their grown-up parents, the cause of India's greatest industry would derive material benefit.

The improvement of elementary schools already in existence, the opening of new schools in villages large enough to yield a fair attendance, and the establishment of a number of travelling teachers in each province, would involve a total expenditure far in excess of the present yearly outlay, and would go considerably beyond the estimate of £4,000,000 suggested by Mr. Thorburn. It is highly desirable that the increased expenditure should fall, as far as possible, on the wealthy and on the higher middle classes of India, rather than upon those who are comparatively too poor to bear any further burden of taxation. I cannot but agree with the view that there is sufficient money available in India for a wide extension of mass-education without adding materially to the rates and taxes. All we have to

do is to educate public opinion in India, and to convince the numerous generously disposed Hindu, Mahomedan, and Parsi men and women, who at present spend large sums of money on feasts and other futile charities, that their philanthropy would prove much more serviceable to their country were they to devote it to the cause of mass-education.

To influence public opinion in rural areas, and to help Government in meeting the heavy expenditure to which universal primary instruction must necessarily lead, I suggest the appointment in each Indian district of a School Board, the members of which might be nominated by the Collector or Deputy-Commissioner of the district in consultation with local education authorities.

The District School Board should include the revenue, judicial and educational officers of the district, but the majority of its members should be non-official, freely representing the leading landowners, merchants, bankers, and traders of the district. The District Local Board should have the right of sending elected representatives, and the headmen of villages should also be invited to elect a number of representatives from amongst themselves.

The general object of the District School Board should be to encourage the cause of education, and particularly of primary education, in the district.

The Board could arrange for its members to visit in rotation the schools of the district, encourage parents to send their children to school, advise Government regarding the opening of new schools, and place at the disposal of Government voluntary subscriptions and endowments for the maintenance of travelling teachers and peasant scholarships for the encouragement of mass-education. In every district public-spirited men would be found to give such subscriptions annually.

Mr. Thorburn, who read a very useful and suggestive paper before this Association last year, proposed the estab-

lishment of a large number of peasant scholarships. My own official experience among the aboriginal hill-tribes of the Jawhar State—where the ruler of the territory, Shrimant Krishnashah, gave valuable support to my educational measures—leads me to believe that the best course is to give only a limited number of such scholarships for diligent work, and to grant a much larger number as attendance scholarships to the boys of parents who manifestly make sacrifices to ensure their children receiving the benefits of elementary instruction. Mr. J. P. Orr, who, as Collector of Thana, did admirable work in promoting the cause of primary education among the Kolis, Varlis, and Thakurs of the district, followed this plan with marked success. I do not speak without personal knowledge when I state that a considerable number of children attending the Indian village school are not sufficiently fed, and I heartily sympathize with Sir Roland Wilson's view that it is a matter which calls for serious attention. In this country special measures have been taken under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1906, to feed poor children attending public schools. In India the grant of small attendance allowances would go far to mitigate the hardship, and to promote education among backward tribes.

Wherever elementary teaching is imparted, either by a school or by a travelling teacher, it should be provided free to children of poor parents. To make primary education indiscriminately free to rich and poor alike is misdirected generosity and bad finance, and we are glad to observe that Mr. Gokhale himself admits this principle.

An outstanding problem affecting mass-education is the question as to whether Government should have recourse to compulsion. In this connection I cannot do better than refer to the line of action suggested by Lord Reay. "What ought to be done," his lordship said, "is to proceed tentatively to find out the areas in which local authorities are prepared to undertake it, and then the Government ought

to assist them in every way." Lord Reay also drew attention to a vital condition governing educational progress by making the following observation: "You have to obtain the support of the people in order not to create a reaction among the people of India themselves, and a dislike of education which would retard the accomplishment of your efforts."

I would take this opportunity of submitting a course which would effect a reasonable compromise between the two parties to the present educational controversy in India, and at the same time fulfil the important principle emphasized by Lord Reay. In any district where the parents of three-fourths of the boys of school age could be persuaded to bring their children under primary instruction, the District School Board could then recommend the introduction of compulsion, after due provision had been made for placing all boys in the district within reasonable reach either of schools or of travelling teachers. Children living at long distances from a school or a village class should be excluded from the operation of such compulsion. On the recommendation of the District School Board, the Local Government might pass legislation bringing the proposed district under compulsion. The reason why I suggest formally submitting each such recommendation to the provincial Legislative Council is that the non-official members of that body, who would be expected to be in touch with local popular feeling, would, on an occasion like this, be able to make out a clear case for compulsion within the area recommended by the District School Board. No legislation should be passed that would impose compulsion on a district not recommended for such treatment by its popular educational body after consultation with the parents.

The advantage of the course I have proposed would be that the work of persuasion would precede, and not succeed, compulsion. The landlords on the School Board could more easily persuade the tenants working in their

fields to send their children to school than a mandate peremptorily issued either by a Local Board, or by a Legislative Council. By so doing, too, the landlords would naturally be impelled to feel a more active interest in the education of the children of those by the sweat of whose brow their income is obtained. We should then see less of shabbily clothed and underfed children. The elected representatives of the village headmen, too, can exert their influence among their fellow-villagers. In this manner we could advance education among the masses by obtaining the support of those who are naturally in a position to influence and lead them. By securing and encouraging the co-operation of these natural leaders we shall be able to instruct the lower classes without creating a reaction. The compulsion I have advocated is one which would not be regarded by the masses as oppressive, because the process of conversion would precede compulsion. In England compulsion was adopted after half a century of educative work, during which public opinion was continuously influenced in the direction of universal mass-education. Even then the Education Act of 1870 aroused such opposition that it materially aided in overthrowing the Government which placed the measure upon the Statute-book. It may be added that the Act recognized the necessity of creating District School Boards to act as links of co-operation between the State and the people. The District School Boards I have suggested for India must necessarily have a different constitution, because we must adapt ourselves to the special requirements of Indian rural areas.

For urban areas, I would suggest the organization by the Municipality of a School Board similar in composition to the District School Board, on which the official authorities should occupy seats by virtue of their office. In such areas it should not be found difficult in the near future to obtain a three-fourths majority of the parents, but I would still advocate every proposal for compulsion being brought before the local Legislative Council, because of the

educative influence such a course would exercise upon the minds of the people, and because of the confidence it would create that education was not being arbitrarily forced upon the masses.

The experiment might be extended to provinces not possessing local legislative bodies, after watching the results of its introduction in the larger and more advanced provinces.

But the statesmanship behind British rule will not have reached its high-water mark until it makes popular education in India not only universal, but also attractive, helpful, and profitable to the masses. Nothing would contribute so much to the prosperity of India and the contentment of her people as an education satisfactorily responding to their economic requirements. In India the call of the land is insistent—the call of thousands of square miles of land hungering for greater attention and better treatment. If we can teach the masses how to increase the output of land and to raise crops of higher value, we shall have done more for the material advancement of India than any other movement can possibly accomplish. Primary education is useful as a means, but whilst securing the means let us not lose sight of the end. To make education attractive and beneficial to the working-classes, it would be most desirable to have in each "taluka" or "tehsil" a large school of the type of the French *école primaire supérieure*, where children of peasants, handicraftsmen and labourers, could receive a literary education side by side with a training in scientific agriculture or in some other useful industry. Boarding-houses might be attached to such schools for the children of parents living at a distance from the school. An institution of this kind was established in his territory by Shrimant Patangshah, the late Raja Saheb of Jawhar, and it served a most useful purpose. From personal inquiries I have made among the peasantry, I feel assured that a great many agriculturists would be glad to send their boys

to be taught and trained in such an institution. Individual scholars could be maintained at these schools by public-spirited citizens, and landlords might be encouraged to give a few such scholarships to the boys of some of their tenants. A farm and workshop would be attached to each school, where short courses of instruction might be given to those who cannot regularly attend the institution. Such a scheme would answer the demand for a widespread diffusion of industrial education which Sir M. Bhownaggee made in the House of Commons thirteen years ago, which Sir John Hewett has publicly expressed, and which has now received the official support of Lord Hardinge's Government in a letter recently addressed to the Local Administrations, in which it recognizes the necessity of combining agricultural and industrial training with primary and secondary instruction in India.

I have not dealt with the special problems relating to girl education in India, because it is another vital question demanding careful and sympathetic consideration.

The future is full of hope and promise. We have to-day in India a high-minded Viceroy and public-spirited Governors following "positive and constructive policies" for the welfare of the people. The remarkable impetus given by Lord Sydenham to the cause of primary education, and the enlightened spirit in which he has helped forward the progress of agriculture and industries in the Presidency whose destinies he has guided so wisely and well, bear witness to the fact that statesmanship and sincerity of purpose are doing their beneficent work in India. Is it too much to hope that such efforts will evoke an appreciative response from her grateful citizens?

I am convinced that mass-education is not purely a matter of legislation and taxation, but also of active co-operation between the Government and the people in each district of the Indian continent. When such co-operation will have carried on its work for a decade or a generation

in helping forward a systematic and practical educational policy answering to the daily wants of over three hundred million human beings, both the Government and the reformers will be able to say to the masses in the words of Isaiah: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, February 10, 1913, at which a paper was read by Mr. P. C. Tarapore, F.R.G.S., entitled "Mass Education for India." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir George Kekewich, K.C.B., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Mr. George Greenwood, M.P., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Gillilan, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. K. H. D. Cecil, Mr. D. N. Reid, Miss Allen, Miss McKerrell, Miss Pargiter, the Rev. W. J. Gomersall, Mr. H. G. Read, Mr. J. C. Marsden, Mr. Syed Athar Hosain, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Mr. M. R. Dalal, Mr. H. S. Dastur, Miss Caswell, Mr. C. S. Campbell, I.C.S., Mr. S. H. Fremantle, I.C.S., Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, the Rev. W. Hind, Miss Hind, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Hutton, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mr. R. L. Campbell, Mr. S. Bashiruddin, Mr. S. Bahadur, the Misses Staley, Mr. Syed Mohammed, Mrs. White, Mr. F. T. Singh, Mr. Khurad Rustomji, Mrs. Bean, Mr. Om Prakash, Mr. H. A. Talcherkar, Mr. K. M. Thakor, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. J. M. Mehta, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. N. Shah, Mr. B. P. Jagtup, Miss Ashworth, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Rev. W. Llewelyn Williams and Miss Williams, Dr. T. Miller Maguire, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. and Miss Stevenson, Mrs. Barlow, Mr. A. F. Newman, Mrs. Munro Roger, Mrs. Borris, Mr. D. Wolff, Miss Billington.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have to introduce to you our lecturer, Mr. Tarapore. Mr. Tarapore belongs to a family that has produced three administrative officers. His uncle, Mr. Meherjibhoj C. Tarapore, C.I.E., as Dewan and President of the Council of Administration of Kohlapore, introduced the principle of internal Free Trade into the State—a pioneer measure aiming at Free Trade within the Indian Empire, recommended by me when Governor of Bombay, which other native states have afterwards followed Kohlapore in adopting. His younger uncle, Mr. Fardunji C. Tarapore, C.I.E., was the first Indian appointed to

an administrative post in the Public Works Department of the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Tarapore was recently asked to take up administrative work in the Jawhar State, where he abolished forced labour, introduced protective legislation for small agriculturists, and promoted primary education amongst the aboriginal hill-tribes of the State by opening twelve more schools and establishing nearly one hundred peasant scholarships. The Government of Bombay have in two resolutions expressed their appreciation of the reforms initiated by Mr. Tarapore. His scheme for the establishment of travelling teachers has been publicly supported. After this introduction I need only ask Mr. Tarapore to address you.

The lecturer, who was received with applause, then delivered his lecture.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL said that the lecturer had been dealing in moderate and restrained language with a problem which was one of the most difficult and delicate of those which had to be considered by the Indian Government. He wished to make a few criticisms, rather sympathetic than hostile, upon the lecturer's views. It seemed to him that India was looked upon in the paper as though it were pretty nearly all on one level, and the 300,000,000 of the people nearly all in the same condition. A public Commission was suggested, but he thought that would be too unwieldy for such an object over such a huge area as India with all its varying conditions. They had in India many different classes—towns-people, peasantry, educated, uneducated, high caste, low caste, and no caste, some so low that they were almost untouched except by missionaries. All were swept into the same scheme. There were wandering tribes and jungle tribes, and, in fact, an extraordinary complication of conditions. He thought it might be more desirable to have a Committee or a Commission for each Province, with experts from England, if necessary, to supplement the provincial experts. As to the four different classes of villages named by the lecturer, he knew one district where villages hardly existed, but where each farmer simply had his own homestead. That was another indication of the difficulties in the way. With reference to the question of travelling teachers he had had some experience in the South of India of an educational scheme for payment by results; a contractor took over and visited a number of schools in different villages, simply in order to obtain the grant for each pupil who passed certain examinations. This scheme was finally condemned and put an end to, as it was found that the result was mere cramming in order to get the grants. He entirely agreed with the lecturer as to the large amount of money wasted on feasts and festivals, and that suggested to him another source where they might possibly obtain funds, particularly in the South of India, where some temples received huge revenues, much of which was, it was alleged, wasted or misappropriated. In course of time contributions might be obtained for education from this source. As to the question of compulsion, English experience might be suggestive. Notwithstanding compulsion, he knew a gardener not long ago who could neither read nor write, and a farmer who could scarcely read and who could only sign his name, but managed to carry on his business by memory. Then Mr. Tarapore said he did not think there would be any need for a material increase in rates and taxes; there he

begged leave to differ *in toto*, and when Mr. Tarapore threw in free meals to poor children he did not know what huge increase might not result in increased taxation. Going back to the question of compulsion in England, and punishment for non-observance of the law in connection therewith, cases occurred before the magisterial benches where some poor woman was brought up and fined for having kept one of her children at home to look after the others, while the husband was a poor labourer or perhaps out of work. Imagine this sort of thing extended to India and ryots, or their wives summoned to courts many miles away to answer such a charge! In conclusion he might say that he had recently had a letter from the Director of Public Instruction in one of the Provinces who said—and it might help to reassure Mr. Tarapore—that his whole aim had been to make firm the foundations for the future. He entirely agreed with the lecturer as to the necessity for going slowly. (Hear, hear.)

MR. GREENWOOD, M.P., said that although he had only heard a short part of the address, he was sure, from what he *had* heard, it must have been very interesting and instructive. He must confess that he knew very little of the subject from the point of view of India, and he only ventured to address them on the invitation of Mr. Tarapore. The point he wanted to speak to them about was one in which he took a keen interest. He thought they would all agree with him that no education at all, whether of children or adults, would be complete unless there was included in that education the duty of kindness to animals. The question of the treatment of animals in India had of late attracted a great deal of interest and attention in this country, and he especially called their attention to the articles in the *Nineteenth Century*, recently contributed by the Hon. Mrs. Charlton, on this matter. He understood that in certain parts of India terrible things were done among certain sections of the people who had never been instructed in the duty of kindness to animals. They were told, for example, that for certain manufactured commodities, such as gloves, etc., goats and kids were skinned alive. (SIR M. BHOWNAGGEE: There are no gloves manufactured in India.) MR. GREENWOOD: That may be, but there are goats and kids in India. If the statement were not true nobody would be more glad than he would be, but it was made upon what seemed very good evidence. Then there was the question of the constant and cruel overloading of oxen. But he did not wish to go into details. He was glad, however, to have the opportunity of saying these few words. This matter was strictly relevant to the lecturer's address, for no people could be good, or healthy, or well-educated unless they had learned this elementary duty of kindness to animals. He hoped the lecturer when he came to reply would give them words of light and leading upon that important part of the subject.

SIR ROLAND WILSON said he had never seen a programme of Indian education more marked by reason and moderation, and he was particularly struck by the lecturer's attitude towards compulsion, and also his plea for the half-timer. He believed that was eminently a case for a modicum of book-learning, coupled with the practical experience and training that comes from the practical life of a child of poor parents who has to work

for his living, and he believed that plan to be greatly superior to the plan which was fashionable here of devoting all the active waking hours of a child to book-learning of a formal kind. Again, his plan of itinerant teachers ought to lead to great economy. He much preferred his notion of postponed and mitigated compulsion to any he had ever seen, but he was still not satisfied. Even if they got the approval of three-fourths of the people the hardship to the remaining fourth might be a very serious source of discontent. He was pleased to see the lecturer had recognized his suggestion with regard to feeding children before educating them, but even then there were difficulties in the way. The children being fed in the schools, while the parents were perhaps starving, seemed likely to excite unpleasant feelings between child and parents. The lecturer had rightly pleaded that if the Government did undertake the burden it should be thrown on the rich and not on the poor. But how were they going to effect that with the present revenue arrangements in India? As he understood it, the ryots paid a large proportion of the revenue; it meant that a person who was struggling for his livelihood, and who could barely keep body and soul together, had to pay the larger part of the expense. They would have to aim at the ideal of relieving from Government exactions everyone who was not in a position to keep himself physically efficient by his own labour. That was his ideal for this country, and for any other country. Until they had done that they ought not to dream of undertaking any other duties which were not absolutely and obviously indispensable. Were the other duties of the Government so well performed that they had a surplus available? Was the administration of justice so cheap and so thoroughly satisfactory that they could afford to think of other subjects? (Laughter.) Then what sort of education were they to give? Mr. Tarapore had suggested it should be almost purely industrial. That seemed to be on the right lines; it was the law of Nature that they should attend to the body first, and only after the body was fed to go to the spiritual. But was that likely to be done? Was the experience of Western progressive nations so favourable to the system of State-provided education that we should be in such a hurry to apply it to a country whose conditions were so very much less favourable? The education question was the most fertile source of dangerous collisions and disputes—after the labour question. We felt it in this country and in Ireland; it was one of the main sources of conflict in South Africa now; in Turkey it was one of the main sources of the trouble which had broadened out into the collapse, in attempting to force a certain kind of education on the Albanians. In Canada it was a very tender subject between the Catholics and the Protestants. In France they had the teachers in rebellion against the Government, and the priests in rebellion against the teachers. Education was by no means in an ideal condition, and all these objections seemed to him to apply with tenfold force to a country like India. He did not think the paper quite succeeded in getting over the radical objections.

SIR GEORGE KEKEWICH said that in former days he knew a little bit about British education, but did not profess to know anything of Indian education; but that if the picture painted by Mr. Tarapore was correct,

and the masses in India were in such utter ignorance as he had showed them to be, then their condition was a disgrace to any Government that ever ruled in India. It had been said that more education would tend to unrest, but he did not believe that for one moment. He personally had always found that the more ignorant the people the more easily they were led by agitators, and the more readily they believed in promises that would never be fulfilled, and accepted bribes that would never be paid. Such a vague fear of increasing unrest ought not to allow this country to keep on inflicting on the people of India the utter cruelty of keeping them in ignorance; the well-being of the people depended upon the absence of ignorance, and the development of intelligence led to the development of wealth. In addition to all that it would save the people from the curse of the usurer. Then as to the question of peripatetic teachers; in England they had been tried, but were exclusively teachers of special subjects; but he saw no reason why they should not equally be employed for teaching more simple subjects. It was a question of giving *some* education, and they should try to give something one way or another. Then came the great difficulty. Where were they going to get the teachers from to set up a school in every village? They would have first of all to set up an institution for the purpose of training teachers if they were to have efficient teachers, and if they had not efficient teachers they might just as well have none. As to the kind of instruction, the best instruction was first of all reading; teach them to read and they were then to a certain extent enabled to educate themselves. In addition he would give them a certain amount of industrial and agricultural teaching, and, as the lecturer had pointed out, their education must be free—the people of India could not pay for it. One speaker had rather laughed at the idea of feeding the children. Well, he would say feed them all! Education was useless without food; if a child was sent to school starving he could not be learning.

As to the suggested District Boards, he thought they were too large, and he would prefer to see the elected members up to about one half. As to compulsion, they would need to proceed tentatively and slowly; they could not enforce compulsion on a badly educated people. In this country the Act of 1870 did not introduce compulsion at one blow; it was not until ten years afterwards that it was made universal, and it would take probably much longer than that in India. If compulsion was thrust suddenly upon the people they would create a dislike of and distrust for education; they must first bring the parents to their side. In conclusion he wished to say they were all indebted to Mr. Tarapore for his admirable paper. Words, however, were all very well, but action was much better, and that action depended upon the people of India themselves. (Hear, hear.)

THE REV. WILLIAM JOSEPH GOMERSALL said he was afraid he could not say anything illuminating on the debate, but, as a friend of Mr. Tarapore's, he wished it to be recognized that he had three distinct qualifications for God-fathering such a scheme, and first of all was that indispensable qualification of enthusiasm, without which they could do nothing; and secondly, there was his enlightenment in regard to Indian affairs; and thirdly, the successful practical endeavour he had made in the State of

Jawhar, which they must recognize as a postulate to go on with. Agriculture was the backbone industry of India, and its agricultural population the most numerous; therefore its education must be a backbone necessity of future action in such behalf. It was said every school would close a prison, and no doubt that was quite true. The national spirit of India was being awakened, and something commensurate would have to be done. Therefore Mr. Tarapore was to be congratulated for opening up the way.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have to-day heard many most interesting speeches, and you will all agree with me that it was a pleasure to listen to the very enthusiastic observations made by that veteran educationalist, Sir George Kekewich. (Applause.) With regard to this subject I have no hesitation in saying that I consider that the duty of the British Government in India towards the agricultural population of India will not have been adequately fulfilled until the children of the rural classes are placed in a position that they can obtain sufficient education. (Hear, hear.) I shall not go into the details of what that education should be. As Sir George Kekewich has pointed out, certainly they have a right to be educated to read. They ought to be able to read the vernaculars, and they ought to be able to read such books as will make their agricultural labour more profitable than it is now. (Hear, hear.) One of the speakers has mentioned that the educational problem in most countries—and it is quite true—is a question which divides parties. In India it does not divide parties; Englishmen, Mohammedans, Hindoos, are all at one that what they wish is to see education introduced on a generous scale. In the towns, and in the municipalities, the difficulties are not insuperable. The agricultural problem is difficult because so little has been done, and there is so much to overtake. Now, one of the proposals which I consider practical—and I was very glad to find that Sir George Kekewich associates himself with it—is that of the itinerant teacher. The observation has been made that the itinerant teacher might involve payment by results. If that were the case, I should certainly be the first not to give any encouragement to the idea of travelling teachers, but I do not see that there is the slightest necessity to connect payment by results with travelling teachers. (Hear, hear.) Therefore we need not contemplate that objection. Well-regulated inspection of schools will be adequate.

Now, there is another question on which I hold rather a different opinion from Sir George Kekewich. Sir George has said, "Feed them all!" Well, I am bound to say, "Feed none!" and I will tell you why. What is a most satisfactory fact in India, and what is the most brilliant feature of Indian society? They have no Poor Law! The people themselves consider it their duty to provide for the poor so that no one in India shall suffer from poverty. I do not wish to take the first step in a contrary direction which would tend to sap private effort and weaken the independent spirit now so conspicuous.

With regard to compulsion, Sir George Kekewich has reminded us that here we have introduced compulsion very gradually. The proposals in the paper seem to me to be in the right direction. First of all, as to whether

you should take three-quarters or four-fifths of the votes of the parents concerned, that surely is a detail. What is essential is to get the public opinion of the district to assert itself in favour of compulsion. Once having secured that you can proceed without fear of reaction. Mr. Tarapore very properly gives an additional safeguard, that the matter must be brought before the Legislative Council, so that you have an additional guarantee that compulsion will not be introduced except where it is required. Let me give you an instance of how compulsion works in Scotland. In Scotland we have compulsion, but there the spirit of the people is so strongly in favour of education, both in the rural districts and in the towns, that compulsion needs hardly ever to be enforced; but in the last Scotch Education Act we gave power to schoolboards—it was optional—to apply compulsion to Continuation classes. There was some discussion about it, and I supported it. We have been disappointed. I believe I am right in saying that not even in the great towns, in Glasgow and Edinburgh, have they passed compulsory regulations with regard to Continuation classes. That shows you how careful we are even in Scotland not to enforce compulsion prematurely. I am sure sooner or later it will come. I myself am strongly in favour of compulsory Continuation classes. I do not know whether Sir George Kekewich agrees with me in that. (Mr. Reid: What about the "Isle of Lewis?") I am very glad to hear if that island has adopted compulsion. There was one speaker to-day whose remarks I cannot overlook, although he has left the meeting. I allude to Mr. Greenwood's observation about the humane treatment of animals. If there is one country where such lessons are not required, and where kind treatment of animals is, I would almost say, a creed, it is India. (Hear, hear.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there is one subject in the paper to which I must call special attention, because I think it is of the utmost importance. Mr. Tarapore advocated that "To make education attractive and beneficial to the working-classes" you ought to have in each "taluka" a school more like the French *école primaire supérieure*. From his own experience in the State of Jawhar, he showed that such a school would be popular, and is likely to succeed. I should like that to be known in India, and I think that the Government would do well, at all events, to start such schools. I have said before, and I say it again, the sure policy is to go tentatively and slowly. Then there is the question of the hill-tribes, to which Sir Arundel Arundel alluded; that is a problem which requires a special solution. Let us begin by dealing with districts in a normal situation, and take those in exceptional conditions afterwards. I believe in some parts of the Bombay Presidency very good experiments could be made with regard to those schools.

I shall not allude to the question of finance, although that, no doubt, is extremely important. We spend a great deal of money on many subjects which are less vital to the moral and material progress of India than this imperative need. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I am persuaded that as to the money which you will have to spend on this vital necessity, when the budgets come before the various Provincial Councils and the Imperial Council, you will find the official and non-official members well disposed,

and you will not find much difficulty in obtaining the estimates you require for the purpose. (Hear, hear.)

Finally, it remains for me to thank Mr. Tarapore for having alluded to what has been done by Lord Sydenham, who is now leaving Bombay, and I have seen with pleasure that his strenuous activity has been appreciated. I know well what my feelings were when I left Bombay, and I know that his feelings will be those of extreme regret, but that will be, as it was in my case, tempered by the experience that whoever labours in India on behalf of the welfare of His Majesty's Indian subjects will meet with the utmost gratitude. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. FREMANTLE said he had listened to Sir George Kekewich's remarks with great interest. No doubt general primary education was for the good of India, but he did not agree that education was necessary for some measure of economic progress; England, for instance, made considerable advances in economic progress while the people were still to a large extent illiterate. And as a Registrar of co-operative societies in India he had had experience of many societies which contained no literate member, and yet had had the effect of reducing the grip of the moneylender. Of course, economic progress would be quicker if the people had more education. The lecturer had, he was glad to see, laid stress on the necessity of convincing the majority of the people of the utility of education before the introduction of compulsion. But it seemed to him that something more than that was necessary if education was to be something more than an exotic not co-ordinated with the agricultural life of the country. An attempt should be made to explain to the people the true aims and ideals of education—at present their only idea was that it was going to make a boy into a clerk! A great deal of propaganda work and teaching was necessary for them to get some idea of what true education was. He thought it would be necessary to have in each place where a school was established local Committees of people who were really interested in the question. He was also strongly in favour of some industrial education being given in the vernacular; at present there was practically none.

MR. MEHTA, J. M., said: When I left home to-day I was not booked for Caxton Hall, but for another place near by. On my way to that place I was told that Mr. Tarapore was going to attack mass education. Having heard Mr. Tarapore only three months back formulating his scheme of travelling teacherships, I was rather surprised at this information. I am by no means unaware of such transformations. I have known an M.P. entering the House of Commons on the opening day of a new Parliament as a Liberal, and turning a Tory on the last day of the same Parliament. Of course, as the Speaker wittily remarked on that particular occasion, it is never too late to mend; but I was certainly not prepared to find Mr. Tarapore so completely metamorphosed in the short space of three months. After hearing him this afternoon, however, I am glad to know that my apprehensions were unfounded. I am delighted to find Mr. Tarapore elaborating with the same earnestness and enthusiasm the scheme with which he has been so whole-heartedly associated.

I find that Mr. Tarapore has been patted on the back by a previous speaker for not insisting upon compulsion. Conversion before compulsion is the new cry. I venture to think, however, that this is a mistake. If we are to wait for compulsion till everyone in India is made to realize the necessity of mass education, I am afraid we will have to wait for ever. I fail to see what room will be left for compulsion after everybody is converted to our views. Conversion will not come before compulsion. It is the same old story of wishing to learn swimming without going into the water; both are equally impossible.

Much has been made of a probable difficulty in obtaining trained and competent teachers. It has also been mentioned that Brahmins will not come forward to teach in several cases. In Baroda, where free primary education has been compulsory for some years, the difficulty has not occurred, and I am confident that in British India it will not be found insuperable. Regarding the much-abused Brahmins, I think that with all their faults they may be trusted to attend to their duties. I am not a Brahmin myself, but I cannot help mentioning that they are not as bad as their critics try to make out. Even to-day there are hundreds of Brahmins in India who are teaching hundreds of thousands of people quite free of charge.

MR. TARAPORE: I am grateful to all the speakers for the sympathetic manner in which they have received my paper. I very much value the suggestions that have been made by Sir Arundel Arundel, especially as they proceed from one who possesses most valuable administrative experience. I accept his view that if an inquiry is to be made into the educational problem relating to India, that inquiry might with great advantage be specialized. If special Committees were appointed to inquire into local questions, it would do much good to the cause of education over the whole of India. I am in perfect agreement, too, with his suggestion that those who are entrusted with the management of funds at the Hindu temples might be persuaded to devote part of those funds to educational purposes. We know that such a movement has been at the basis of educational progress in Burma and Ceylon, and I am sure that it only requires active persuasion on the part of educated Hindus, who are now awaking to the importance of the question, in order to prevail upon the trustees of large Indian temples to give part of the resources at their disposal for the cause we all have at heart.

With regard to Mr. Greenwood's question, I would say that with education, humanitarian ideals would also advance throughout the country. I hold with our distinguished Chairman that humanitarian ideals have been respected in India as in very few countries in the world; but if the masses are educated those ideals will not be forgotten, those ideals will not be weakened; they will be cherished with greater enthusiasm and earnestness.

I am very much obliged to Sir Roland Wilson for the sympathy with which he has received my proposals. He wanted to know how, if education were to be universal, we were to prevent the burden of the additional expenditure from falling upon the poor. I submit that if the rich and the

higher middle-classes were encouraged to give voluntary subscriptions and endowments, surely that would lessen the total expenditure, and would indirectly lead to a smaller burden being borne by the State. Sir Roland pointed to one flaw in my scheme for the fusion of the different branches of education. He said my paper only provided for the provision of literary and industrial education. He referred evidently to moral and religious instruction, but we have to go upon certain settled facts. In India it has been recognized that that kind of education had better be given by other agencies than that of the State. (Hear, hear.) That being so, I have to restrict my scheme to the requirements imposed by that settled fact.

I am very grateful to Sir George Kekewich for having supported my proposals regarding peripatetic teachers. He pointed out that in this country the agency of peripatetic teachers had been used for special teaching. In my paper I lay stress on the same point. I do not stop at giving to the masses a purely literary education; I believe that what the masses require is an industrial and agricultural training as well as literary education, and if the peripatetic teachers could give part of this special training side by side with literary education it would be an immense advantage. With regard to the question of feeding, I am afraid Sir George Kekewich is rather over-generous. I quite sympathize with his generous impulse, but one must also realize the practical difficulties. I maintain that there is a certain amount of misery and hardship to be found among the children attending the schools, and that it is the duty of the State and of the wealthy citizens to mitigate that hardship as far as lies in their power, and I have sought to indicate the means by which that can be done. I agree with his suggestion that the elected members of the District School Boards should be numerically as many as the non-elected members; but that is a matter of detail which can be settled afterwards.

I am very glad to find my idea of industrial schools supported by Mr. Freemantle, and that he also advocates the formation of local Committees to supervise and encourage the work of schools in local areas. I may mention that during my official connection with a small Native State I acted upon that very plan. I had a general Committee for the whole territory, and local Committees in different parts of the State, and those Committees seemed to do very good work. I agree with Mr. Freemantle that before we can make education universal we must bring about an awakening throughout the whole country. What we have to do is not only to take education to the masses, but also to take to them the idea that we are doing something for their real benefit. I think we are all agreed that the masses must have education, and that, as far as possible, education must be made universal throughout India. What kind of education that is to be is a matter of opinion, but I submit that primary education is entirely outside the vortex of educational controversy. What we ought to do, and what seems to be the vital part of the whole work is this, that we should approach the masses and enable them to realize that we are not overriding their freedom of action, but that we are seeking to enlist their voluntary co-operation in the progress of the community.

Before I close my remarks, I may be permitted to express my heartfelt

gratitude to Lord Reay—(hear, hear)—for the exceedingly sympathetic manner in which he has supported my proposals. I welcome his views, particularly as they are the views of one whose name is a household word throughout the Bombay Presidency. His constructive and far-reaching works in that Presidency have already been fruitful of priceless benefits to millions of people living in that Province. Let us trust that it may be given to everyone who is entrusted with the task of administration in India to emulate in his humble way the example laid down by his lordship, and to serve the ideal immortalized by Wagner, namely :

“To bring to those in darkness light,
To raise one's fellows sunk in night.” (Applause.)

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said he had been asked to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Reay for presiding, and also to the lecturer, which he did with much pleasure. They had a valuable contribution from the lecturer to the much discussed question of primary education in India. He had made certain original suggestions which were worthy of attention. He had asked for a commission of inquiry, and although Sir Arundel Arundel had not quite approved of it, on the ground that conditions in different parts of India were not similar, he had admitted that local inquiries would be useful. Sir Mancherjee was in favour of an inquiry being held, and it would not matter much if it was by means of a commission or through smaller provincial Committees. The next important point urged by the lecturer was in regard to travelling teachers. That seemed to him a practicable method of tackling the question, as it was evident that organized schools for villages could not be provided. There was great difference of opinion as regards “compulsion,” and Mr. Tarapore had to some extent advocated it. But if, as he said, compulsion was to be imposed in a given locality only if three-fourths of the people were in favour of primary education, the sort of compulsion he favoured became almost a voluntary acquiescence. The need for primary or elementary education for the agricultural classes at least had to his (the speaker's) mind become a pressing necessity, as, unless the youth of those communities were made to some extent intellectual, the measures adopted by Government for agricultural instruction, of which they often heard, would fail to appeal to the very people in whose interests those measures were devised. On the whole, the lecture was a well thought out chapter on the subject, as no doubt the several speakers who had discussed it that afternoon thought, and the author was entitled to their thanks. (Cheers.) As regards the noble chairman, all India was unanimous regarding his great sympathy with all that related to the welfare of his people, of which he had given copious proof during his memorable Governorship of Bombay. And although it was now some years since Lord Reay left the shores of India, he had always been ready and willing to seize every opportunity of evincing his continued interest in the concerns of that country. His finding time that evening to preside over their meeting, in spite of his numerous engagements, only proved him once again as an exemplar to others who had served in India in prominent positions to associate themselves on

their return home with what could be done here for the benefit of that land. He had much pleasure in asking the meeting to accord to his lordship a hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers.)

The proposal was seconded and carried with acclamation, and was suitably acknowledged by Lord Reay.

The following note has been received by the Hon. Secretary:

The weakest point about this paper seems to be the absence of anything like an estimate of the cost of educating (even primarily) and feeding, if necessary, about 15,000,000 boys. All Mr. Tarapore says is that "the expenditure would go far beyond the present outlay (on 4,000,000)," which is obvious enough, and "considerably beyond" the figure suggested by Mr. Thorburn, namely £4,000,000. That, at any rate, is quite certain, and the first question is, Where the money is to come from.

Now, Mr. Tarapore notes that in Burma "the priests" (being Buddhists) "have co-operated with the Government in taking mass education to the people, and that they have received it with remarkable willingness." As we all know, Christian missionaries have co-operated with the Government in the same way for more than 100 years with the same good effect; so much so that in most Christian villages the standard of education (both primary and even technical) is probably quite as high as in this country, and it is curious Mr. Tarapore does not allude to this fact or even include the temples (where education of a sort is carried on) among the probable contributors to his scheme. The managers of the temples are generally educated and always intelligent men. How is it they have shown no desire to emulate their Buddhist and Christian brethren? Mr. Tarapore should try to convert them to a more enlightened system of education, and to a better application of funds intended for religious purposes.

The best part of Mr. Tarapore's paper to my mind is the extreme caution he shows in discussing the question of compulsion. "No legislation," he says, "should be passed that would impose compulsion on a district not recommended for such treatment by its popular educational body after consultation with the parents"—so that "the work of persuasion should precede, and not succeed compulsion"; but, even so, is a bare majority of parents to coerce the minority?

On p. 381 Mr. Tarapore refers to "the political danger to which the Government is exposed owing to the ignorance of the masses"; "ignorance" of what? the "three R's"? He assumes in the next paragraph that the "education" of the masses is desirable in the interests of Government, but it is a fair question whether political agitators would not have less effect on a wholly ignorant than on a half-educated peasantry. It is, of course, true that even a knowledge of the "three R's" would be useful to the people themselves as some protection against the moneylenders and others who so often take advantage of their ignorance. As things are, however, I am inclined to think that the local Durbars are more likely to produce good feeling between rulers and ruled than any mass education we are likely to get for many years to come. Mr. Tarapore seems to

confuse education with intelligence when he says (on p. 382) "that no Government can do so much for an *ignorant* peasantry as an *intelligent* peasantry can do for themselves." The peasantry (in Madras) are "intelligent" already, and the question is whether as *agriculturists* a knowledge of the "three R's" would help their intelligence very much. When Mr. Tarapore speaks of an educated peasantry (on p. 384) he must mean "scientifically and practically educated." Agriculture is not to be learnt at an elementary school. The Tinnevely ryot, for instance, has very little to learn (or, at any rate, there are very few who could teach him anything) about the growing of rice; and if anyone could point out improvements in his system he is quite intelligent enough to adopt them, though he may not be able to read or write. I wonder if Mr. Tarapore succeeded in "proving" to the satisfaction of the ryots that the education he has to offer them was "likely to be really helpful to them"?

(Signed) J. B. PENNINGTON.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. ZORAH. By Taj. (London: *Methuen and Co.*)

This is a very prettily-told tale of refined Mahommedan life, told evidently by one who understands that life thoroughly. It is the story of the short life of a well-bred Eastern maiden, and the tale is pathetic in its gentle tenderness and delicate touches. The story deals largely with the Mahommedan faith, and its simple straightforwardness and tolerance. An Englishman, Denzil Stanford, I.C.S., is brought upon the scene, apparently merely in order that the father of the heroine may explain to him thoroughly the true meaning of the Islamic creed, and the significance of the words: "Be ye Moslems or Jews, or Sabeites, provided ye believe in one true God at the last day, and do what is right, you shall have your reward with your God; fear shall not come upon you, neither shall you be grieved!" And also, that "whoso commits himself to God and does good shall have his reward with God." Speaking to the Englishman, the Murshid says: "When your countrymen talk of the intolerance of Islam, may I remind them that during the thirteen centuries of its benign existence in this world Islam has burnt no man or woman at the stake, nor was there a Moslem inquisition to torture them ere they were burnt. No fire was ever kindled for a Moslem *auto-da-fé*; Moslems never closed the gates of knowledge to all but

their priests and their preachers; Moslems never committed wholesale slaughter in the name of God, or expelled hundreds and thousands of men and women and children from their country because of their religion; Moslem conquerors never exterminated whole nations because they were not of their way of thinking, or to get possession of the land they lived in, or of the gold they quarried." Certainly, in comparison with Christianity, it must be admitted Mahommedanism has been tolerance itself, and it is perhaps just as well that Christendom should be reminded of this simple fact at a time when the Western World is being flooded with false statements about the Turks and their evil ways and works. Throughout the book, the life behind the purdah is portrayed with fulness of knowledge and with interesting detail, and much shrewd advice is given from time to time in a quaint, homely, and amusing style. Thus, when a lady is starving herself and pining for her lover she is told: "You must not starve and look ill." "Never let a man see that you care for him, that is the surest way of making him indifferent towards you. Amuse him, look to his comforts, wear your brightest smile when he is with you, even if your heart is breaking. Beguile him with sweet words and songs, and I swear to you that he will follow you like a dog. Never sulk with him, never treat him with petulance, or say unkind words to him or taunt him, and above all never let him see that you are jealous." Again, the evil influence of Western civilization on Zenana life is denounced as follows: "Look around the Zenanas where the daughters have been taught English and English ways. They are forsaking all our old Mahommedan customs, and the ways that have been handed down to us from our ancestors. They have done away with our marriage ceremonies, and have introduced a one-day wedding. Even the style of dress is changed; they must now, forsooth! wear jackets cut according to the English pattern, with collars reaching up to their ears, and tie on their necklaces over their

collars; the sleeves are made long, reaching down to their wrists, hiding their beautiful bracelets and bangles, and their robes are cut like men's shirts and trimmed with English lace. These high collars and long sleeves are simply hideous, hiding the beautiful shape of the neck and jewelled arms." To this it is replied that "It is our duty to learn from everybody, irrespective of race or creed or religious opinions," and it is contended that the European system of training and bringing up children is far superior to the Eastern, and that the children grow up with more self-reliance, that Mahomedan children are indulged beyond measure and spoilt and allowed to say what pleases them. In many cases parents are led by the children, instead of it being the other way. From these conversations it would almost seem that the *modern* way of bringing up children in the West somewhat resembles the old Eastern system here condemned. Whole chapters are devoted to minute descriptions of Mahomedan marriage festivals and wedding customs, as seen from inside the Zenana; and the effect of stately durbars and regal ceremonies on the "purdahed" onlookers is graphically described. The "colour prejudice" is touched upon in the course of an animated conversation between two ladies of the Zenana. One lady says: "I do not know whether you have noticed the ill-bred English women that swarm in India nowadays. Their manners are abrupt and patronizing, and they are obsessed with an overweening idea of their own importance as soon as they step on our shores." "My father-in-law, who belongs to an old aristocratic family in Bengal, told me that it used to be very different in the time of John Company. He used to say he feared the colour prejudice was on the increase nowadays, and that had Christ been born a negro, the Anglo-Indians would resent being called Christians." She, however, goes on to point out that there are, of course, "English women and English women, as there are cakes and cakes," and she says that when in England she had

met English ladies who could be held up for examples to all the women in the world as perfect wives and mothers, and that in India also there are many European ladies of the best birth and culture who can be distinguished anywhere in a crowd even by the most ignorant Indian. The heroine, Zorah, closes the conversation to which she had listened attentively by saying: "I have been indeed fortunate in meeting only the better sort. The few Englishwomen that I know well are so lovable and good that I try to judge their sisters accordingly." Then she goes on to quote what she has heard of the gracious Queen Victoria, the Princess of Wales, and the Princess Mary of York, whose sympathy with their Indian subjects is so well known. The little tale ends very sadly. But the closing days of the heroine's life are cheered by the tender care of her school-mistress and friend, a Miss Talbot, who spoke and understood Urdu well, and who had devoted her life to the care of her Indian sisters. The character sketches throughout the book are faithfully drawn, and the little volume has been very carefully and clearly printed, and very prettily illustrated. The composition and perfect English reflect much credit on the author, or rather authoress, as we must presume she is—J.P.

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2. ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By J. H. Sarkar. (Calcutta: *M. C. Sarkar and Sons.*)

We have read this little volume of 250 pages with great pleasure. Opening it with the expectation of being instructed, we found ourselves entertained without being disappointed of the instruction.

The groundwork of the book is a literal translation of the Persian manuscript attributed to Hamid-u-din Khan dealing with the life and exploits of Aurangzib, the last of the Great Mughals. This groundwork, however, proves in effect to be the nucleus on which centres a series of essays by the translator on Aurangzib and his times of

(to affect the diction of the literal translation from the flowery Persian) "the most entertaining description." First of these, and introductory to the translation from the manuscript, comes a life of Aurangzib, succinctly, yet attractively, written. It sets out the perfect *tragœdia* of Aurangzib's career: how, born in the purple, he raised himself by his own merits to the throne, and turned his ability to augmenting and glorifying the Mughal Empire, till his prosperity evoked the nemesis of the high gods, who spared him to live to his ninetieth year and see disaster settle upon the achievement of himself and his house. Nor is the decline of his fortunes less pitiable because it is directly due to his own personal failings, and the untenable height of glory to which he had himself brought the Empire. The author does not fail to show, by his sympathetic handling of the story, that he appreciates its dramatic completeness.

Our interest in Aurangzib awakened by this introductory essay, we wish to know more of him, and, turning the page, we come to the translation of the contemporary (?) manuscript noticed above. Here we have in detail accounts of events and incidents in Aurangzib's life which have been touched on in the introductory biography, and these bring home to us in a remarkable way what manner of man he was, and fill us always with admiration, if not always with approval, of him, and in either case gratify the interest aroused by the introduction.

Supplementing the history set out in these first two parts of the volume comes a series of eight historical essays on various points of interest connected with the life and times of Aurangzib. Among these are the story of the Taj Mahal, and accounts of the fortunes and conquest of Chatgaon. An essay dealing with the daily life of Aurangzib's predecessor, Shah Jahan, is very happily introduced, accompanied by a parallel essay on the daily life of Aurangzib.

The volume ends with an encomium of "Khuda Bakhsh," the Indian Bodley, which is very pleasant reading.

The author pays a graceful tribute to the scholars who

assisted him by placing their manuscripts at his disposal—Mr. William Irvine, I.C.S. (retired), and Nawab Abdus Salam Khan Bahadur, retired Sub-Judge, Oudh. It should be as gratifying to them as to the literary world in general that their recognition of the brotherhood of men of letters should have enabled their fellow-scholar to give us so pleasing a work.—J. M. P.

3. HISTORY OF AURANGZIB. By Judunath Sarkar, M.A.
5s. net. (Calcutta: *M. C. Sarkar and Sons.*)

This is a painstaking and exhaustive work, giving a very vivid picture of the career of that conscientious bigot, who after a devoted reign of fifty years succeeded in bringing his great Empire to ruin precisely as many an empire has been ruined before. "Hence," as Mr. Sarkar observes in the introduction, "his reign is an object of supreme interest to the student of Indian history."

It would be impossible to summarize such a book to any useful purpose except at inordinate length, and it may, perhaps, be more useful to the author if I point out what appear to be blemishes in his otherwise meritorious book.

In the first place it would greatly enhance the value of the book if the date of events related were noted on every page; then genealogical details would be more conveniently given in the form of a tree. But the most disfiguring feature of the book is the fantastic transliteration of certain well-known words. However incorrect the common spelling of some Indian names may be, it is a mistake to alter it when it has become stereotyped; and such words as "Qandahar" for "Candahar" (or "Kandahar"), "Hawda" for "Howdah," "Taqavvi" for "Takkavi," "Qiladar" for "Kiladar," are certainly no improvement; whilst "Qalmaq" for "Calmuck," "Qipchaq," etc., show a misplaced passion for "Q's" that is positively enough to set one's teeth on edge, even if the words are pronounceable at all.

I have noted a few unfortunate misprints, such as "strang" for "sprang," on p. 130, "inspite" as one word, on p. 170; whilst to bracket "Thobal" Grant with Eldred Pottinger would be simply ludicrous to anyone who knows the facts of the first-named hero's story (p. 188).

On p. 41 it would have been more generally useful to have given the value of the "hun" instead of its weight. A map of India as it was in the reign of Aurangzib, with the places referred to in the text plainly shown, would have added greatly to the value of the work.—J. B. P.

4. THE CHRONOLOGY OF MODERN INDIA, 1494 TO 1894.

By Dr. James Burgess. (Edinburgh: *John Grant*.)

This valuable compilation answers to Disraeli's description of biography—"life without theory"—*i.e.*, it is a record of facts which the compiler has not dressed in a veil of opinions—his own or others.

Accepting it for what it professes to be, not a history but a chronology, the work is extremely useful to the student of Indian events during the period of European intercourse with India, and highly interesting to the general reader who finds a fascination in the varied and romantic tale of Indian occurrences. It unfolds with great wealth and accuracy of detail such thrilling episodes as the rise and fall of the Mogul Empire and the Mahratta domination; the entry of the Portuguese upon the Indian scenes; their successes and decay; the bold bid of the French for an Indian Empire, and their final defeat by their British rivals; and last, but greatest, the wondrous story of the growth of the British Indian Empire from the factory at Surat over the length and breadth of the Indian peninsula and the countries adjacent thereto.

The whole work, including a copious index, has been carried out with an amplitude and research creditable to its author—good qualities enhanced by the excellent paper and clear printing with which the book has been turned out.

Perhaps in future editions Dr. Burgess will give some details about the introduction of local self-government by Lord Ripon, and the imposition of an import tariff. These are matters which have had, in the first case, great developments, and, in the latter, much discussion. Perhaps, too, he will refrain from such oddities in spelling as Quandahar, Asai, and Banaras.

Hunterian spelling is surely overdone when it transmogrifies words which have been adopted into English literature.—R. A. L. M.

5. ANCIENT INDIA. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A. (London: *Luzac and Co.*)

This well-printed volume, which has the advantage of an introduction by Mr. Vincent Smith and of an index, is a collection of essays on Indian historical, religious, and literary subjects.

For example, Chapter I. consists of "A Historical Survey up to A.D. 700" of India; Chapter VII. describes "Sri Ramanujacharya, his Life and Times"; while Chapter XII. discusses "The Value of Literature in the Construction of Indian History."

The historical survey in Chapter I. is interestingly written, even if it contains little original matter. It shows that early Indian history is based rather on reasonable conjecture than ascertained fact.

Indeed, apart from the Vedas and the commentaries thereon, and the great epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the chief available sources of information are the historical accounts of Alexander's invasion of India, the rock and pillar inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka, and the writings of the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Hiuen Tshang. Sri Ramanujacharya was a Hindu saint who flourished in Southern India from about A.D. 1075 to A.D. 1150. He was a champion of the Vaishnavas against the Saivas, and was famous both as a controversialist and

as a commentator on the Hindu Scriptures. It has been suggested that he borrowed the chief features of his teaching from Christianity, but this Mr. Aiyangar will not admit. In Chapter XII. it is shown how literature supplements archæology and epigraphy as a source of Indian history.—R. A. L. M.

6. TO MESOPOTAMIA AND KURDISTAN IN DISGUISE. By E. B. Soane. (London: *John Murray*.)

The author of this excellent book of Eastern travel was lucky in so far as he needed very little "disguise." Speaking Persian like a Shirazi, he was able at once to pose as an Asiatic, and to pass all difficulties in this character. His account of his stay in Constantinople and his journey to Mosul is therefore very interesting. His favourite peoples all through his wanderings are the Chaldeans (whose old church has been "captured" by Rome)—the only Eastern Christians he looks upon with a kindly eye—and the Mohammedan Kurds. His accounts of the latter, and his visit to "Lady Adela," the very emancipated Moslem ruler of Halabja, are exceedingly fascinating and well told, as is the chapter on the very conservative town of Sulaimania. We learn much that is new about Kurdish history (and it is difficult, as is the history of all border peoples), and also a little about these very eclectic people, the Yezidis, or Devil Worshippers, of whom we wish the gifted writer could have told us even more.—A. F. S.

7. A BOOK OF THE WILDERNESS AND JUNGLE. By "Aflalo." (London: *S. W. Partridge*.)

This is one of the most delightful of "beast-books"—one to be enjoyed by old and young alike; for not only are there accounts of thrilling adventures with wild animals (specially contributed by sportsmen), but there are most

interesting accounts of the homes, haunts, and habits of the wild creatures when they are not being hunted.

The preface modestly explains the scope of the volume as an attempt "to be a kind of Nature-study book on a large scale, an introduction to the study of big game in our overseas possessions."

The reviewer must confess to having begun to read the book in the evening—preface and all—and instead of putting it aside, as every well-brought-up person has been instructed to do with a book, at bed-time, it was found impossible to leave off, and it was finished at an early hour of the morning *in bed!*—M. S. S.

8. VEDIC INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS. By A. A. Macdonell, M.A., PH.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford; and A. B. Keith, M.A., D.C.L. Indian Texts Series. Two vols. Pp. 544, 592. Price 24s. net. (London: John Murray. 1912.)

No one has contributed more than has Professor Macdonell towards making accessible to students of Aryan civilization the rich stores of historical material lying embedded within the earliest of all Indian literature, the Vedic hymns. In the present work, compiled with the collaboration of Dr. A. B. Keith, also a well-known Vedic scholar, Professor Macdonell increases still further our indebtedness to him. Herein is set forth with admirable clearness and conciseness most of the historical matter of the Vedas, laboriously extracted, analyzed, classified, and arranged for reference in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet.

It is in reality a classical dictionary of Vedic antiquities of the most ancient phase of Aryan civilization that can be realized by direct evidence. Its varied topics comprise most aspects of the social, domestic, and economic life of the people, and of the arts and crafts of those ancient times. Amongst other topics are to be found details of

agriculture, astronomy, burial, caste, clothing, crime, diseases, economic conditions, food and drink, gambling kingship, law and justice, marriage, morality, occupations polyandry and polygamy, the position of women, usury village communities, war, wedding ceremonies, widow burning, witchcraft, and many others.

The proper names embrace, not only persons, tribes, and peoples, but also mountains, rivers, countries, and other geographical data. Religion and mythology have been mostly excluded, which doubtless will be a disappointment to many readers who are attracted to the Vedas mainly for this material, in which they are so rich. We are, however, informed that the abundant data on these two inter-related subjects "have been relegated to a separate work," which is obviously intended for subsequent issue.

The usefulness and interest of the present work is much enhanced by the illuminating notes setting forth the results of recent research, and by the frequent citation of comparative parallels; whilst the precise references everywhere enable the information to be tested or amplified. Not the least important practical feature is the excellent typography, the details of which have been carefully chosen to facilitate rapid and easy consultation.

It is a much-needed and invaluable book of reference, compiled with immense labour and ripe scholarship, and it is indispensable to the student of the ancient civilization of India.—L. A. W.

9. INDIAN CHRONOGRAPHY: AN EXTENSION OF THE "INDIAN CALENDAR," with working examples. By R. Sewell, late of Indian Civil Service. Demy 4to; pp. xii, 187. Price 31s. 6d. net. (London: *George Allen and Co.* 1912.)

This fresh work by the erudite archaeologist and author of the "Indian Calendar," which has been for some years a standard treatise with epigraphists for calculating dates in Hindu chronology, is intended to supplement that work,

and facilitate still further the intricate computations. It is therefore to be welcomed as an aid in the important and difficult task of finding precise dates for the lost history of Ancient India, as recovered from the inscriptions that are unearthed from year to year, and dated in the various more or less vague local eras and astronomical cycles.

Besides this antiquarian application, it is also intended for the modern practical purpose of testing the genuineness of ancient documents, land-grant plates, etc., in the Indian Law Courts.

For this purpose, and to assist beginners in the art of making the necessary astronomical calculations, there is supplied a series of fully worked-out examples, in which the various processes are explained in detail. The author acknowledges his indebtedness for suggestions and material to several experts, notably to Dr. J. F. Fleet, the leading authority on Indian epigraphy. Mr. Sewell, however, claims that he himself is entirely responsible for the methods of computation, and for the teaching enforced in the volume.

A large series of new tables, compiled with much ingenuity and infinite pains, are provided, by which it is hoped that much time may be saved in making the astronomical and other reckonings. Several new tables are also appended for finding the true and mean longitude of Jupiter as well as for testing the correspondence of the Jovian year (*Bṛihaspati saṁvatsara*) with the current solar or luni-solar years, for the interpretation of the allusions recorded in the inscriptions and other documents.

The relatively late date of most of the unequivocally dated "early" Indian inscriptions is perhaps not generally known, even to the majority of Indian readers. Thus, the earliest mention of the *Śaka* era in a genuine inscription has not been found before A.D. 578. It occurs in the Bādāmi cave-inscription of a Western Indian *Chalukya* prince, dated in "*Śaka* 500 (expired) years"; but on this era see Dr. Fleet's article in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,

July, 1910, pp 818-824. Again, the earliest indisputable inscription dated in the *Mālava-Vikrama* era corresponds to A.D. 372. It is engraved on the pillar of Varika Raja Vishṇu-var dhana at Bijaya-gadh, in Rajputana, in the expired year 428. The earliest *Kali-yuga* era is not found before a date equivalent to A.D. 634-635. With regard to the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter the earliest mention is somewhat doubtful, though it is believed to have been well established in India by A.D. 550. From these facts and other data some practical conclusions are formulated for gauging the authenticity of documents claiming or purporting to be of great age. Thus, the specification of a *week-day* in a date professing to be earlier than about the year A.D. 400 is held at once to raise a suspicion as to the genuineness of the records. This is a book for the expert and for the more advanced student of Indian astronomical reckonings.—L. A. W.

10. THE BOOK OF PROTECTION: Being a Collection of Syriac Charms, with Translations and Notes. By H. Gollancz, M.A., D.LIT. 10s. 6d. net. (London: *Henry Frowde*, 1912.)

The interest of this book for most readers will doubtless arise from the fact, *not* mentioned in the title, that the collection is compiled for the use of Nestorian Christians.

It evidently forms a recognized body of Christian spells, for Dr. Gollancz has collected several manuscripts of different ages, which, although differing in the order in which the spells are arranged and in some details, nevertheless generally agree in the main elements. Of these manuscripts the text of three is now published for the first time and translated into English, with notes tracing the Biblical source of some of the quotations which are used as incantations. On the larger and more generally attractive question of the source of the pre-Christian elements, however, Dr. Gollancz does not touch. He says: "The specimens may now be allowed to speak for themselves, and it must be left to the student to dis-

cover how far they are original in thought, or to what extent they have been affected by influence derived from adjacent peoples."

As we find on examining the texts that they contain archaic and ancient pre-Christian vestiges of much ethnological and mythological and even historical significance, as they suggest amongst other things a Western origin for some leading elements in Indian Brahmanism and Buddhist myths, we have indicated these aspects of the contents in some detail elsewhere in this review.

Several of the spells are illustrated by quaint, crude drawings, of which twenty-seven are reproduced, including "Mar Georgis (that is, St. George) and the Great Dragon," "The Seal of Solomon," "Mar Gabriel," and "The Evil Eye," etc.

For rendering these texts and their translations accessible, Dr. Gollancz has earned the gratitude of students of comparative mythology and the early history of civilization.—
L. A. WADDELL.

11. THE STANDARD OF VALUE. By Sir David Barbour.
(London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*)

Sir David Barbour, who as financial member of the Governor-General's Council during the five years preceding 1893 was mainly responsible for the momentous step taken in that year of closing the Indian mints to the unrestricted coinage of silver, explains his views on currency questions and the reasons which led him to advocate that measure. He lays special stress on "the quantity theory of money," which he states briefly in the following terms: "Other things being equal, the level of prices is proportionate to the quantity of money," taking "money" to mean, in a country which has a gold standard, gold coins of full legal tender; to which perhaps should be added, "available for the purposes of currency."

Although it is true that trade is in the main an exchange of commodities for commodities, that prices and wages

bear such relations to each other as economic considerations require, and that these relations are independent of the standard of value; and although the employment of banking and other forms of credit lessens the need for using as currency so large a quantity of the metal adopted as the standard of value, still the gold price of any commodity means neither more nor less than the amount of gold for which that commodity can be exchanged at a particular place and time, and, as in the case of other commodities, the exchange value of gold, in relation to commodities generally, is determined by the law of demand and supply.

In discussing questions connected with this exchange value of gold, it is difficult to rid the mind of ideas based upon a somewhat narrow view of the use of gold as currency, and of the fluctuations which take place in the rates of exchange between different countries, owing to temporary alterations in the balance of trade between them; and possibly Sir David Barbour has not been able entirely to get away from such ideas. For instance, he repeats the familiar statement that if the scale of prices is too high in one country as compared with another, the imports of the former country are not balanced by its exports, the exchange falls, and the fall in exchange tends to stimulate exports and check imports, and thus bring about equilibrium; and if the exchange falls below what is called "specie point," gold is actually sent from one country to the other. And he says there is no other means by which the respective scales of prices in the two countries can be placed at their proper levels than by the export and import of gold. Obviously, this theory does not apply to the present enormous absorption of gold by India. The reason why gold is imported in such large quantities into India every year is not that it is required to meet the balance of trade and raise prices in India, by being added to the currency. As a matter of fact, only a small proportion of it is put into circulation as currency, and so becomes

"money" according to the definition of the quantity theory given above. The real reason why so much gold is imported into India is that the people of that country desire it up to the quantity imported more than they desire any other commodity, most of it being utilized for purposes of hoarding or the manufacture of ornaments; and to India gold is much more an ordinary commodity of trade than a form of currency.

Further, it is important to remember that, owing to the operation of international trade, the level of gold prices all over the world is regulated by the world's demand for and supply of gold in relation to its supply of and demand for all other commodities. So that the general level of gold prices—that is, the value of gold in exchange for other commodities generally—is regulated by much the same law as the value in exchange of iron, or wheat, or cotton, and cannot vary greatly for any length of time between one country and another, whatever be the actual amount of gold in each country, or the quantity of gold which passes between one country and another.

Thus the constant stream of gold, which is now pouring into India from the world generally, is simply due to India's demand for gold being keener than that of most other countries, and is the cause, and not the effect, of the variations in exchange on India. On the other hand, the constant stream of gold, which is annually leaving South Africa for the rest of the world, is simply due to South Africa's supply of gold being greater than its needs, according to the law of supply and demand. It is also important to realize that the recent rapid rise in the general level of gold prices, or, in other words, fall in the exchange value of gold in relation to other commodities, is simply due to the supply of gold exceeding the demand for gold in the world generally, as compared with previous conditions.

The second part of the book is of special interest at the present time, as it describes the reasons which led Sir David Barbour to give up his hope that the leading

countries of the world would be persuaded to adopt a system of bi-metallism, under which the ratio between gold and silver would be definitely fixed, and both metals made fully available for currency purposes, and also traces the history of the discussion which led to the closing of the Indian mints. That was a step which involved a very heavy responsibility, as it meant the fixing with relation to gold of the value of the rupee coin, which was used as the standard of exchange and value by one-sixth of the population of the world. It proved entirely successful in making the rupee exactly equal in exchange-value to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, whatever might be the rise or fall in the value of silver; and, as he shows, has had a great and lasting effect for good on the welfare of the millions of India, and especially of those classes whose wages are fixed by custom at a certain number of rupees, and to whom the further fall in the exchange value of the rupee, which would inevitably have taken place if the mints had not been closed, would have been disastrous.—J. W.

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12. THE MAHĀVAMSA; OR, GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON.
Translated into English By Wilhelm Geiger, PH.D.,
assisted by Mrs. Mabel Bode, PH.D. 300 pp. 10s. net.
(London: *Henry Frowde*.)

This is the third volume of the valuable series published for the Pali Text Society. The story runs that "King Dhāhīsenā bestowed a thousand pieces of gold, and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the *Dīpavamsa*." This *dīpikā* is identified by Fleet with the *Māhāvamsa*, and if this is so it would seem to be the "karma" of this work to be blessed with approval in high places, for we read that the expense of the present English edition has been defrayed by the Government of Ceylon. Thus turns the Wheel of Things! The Government of Ceylon had long contemplated a new and revised edition of Turnour's translation of the *Mahāvamsa* published in 1837.

and after correspondence with the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, requested Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids to undertake the editorship for Europe of the work. His recommendation that the actual revision be entrusted to Professor Geiger, who had just completed his own critical edition of the text, has resulted in the publication of the present volume, the admirable English translation being made by Mrs. Bode from Professor Geiger's German version of his own text and revised by him. The plan has been to produce a literal translation, as nearly as possible an absolute correct reproduction of the statements recorded in the Chronicle, this being indispensable for historical purposes. An introduction of over fifty pages is devoted to a thorough investigation of the historical value of the Chronicle, which Professor Geiger, in agreement with Fleet, regards as a "conscious and intentional rearrangement of the Dipavamsa, as a sort of commentary." As to the trustworthiness of the Chronicle, he quotes with approval a statement made by Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* to the effect that they could not suffer in comparison with the best of the Chronicles, even though so considerably later in date, written in England or in France. "They represent the traditions of their time, and permit us to draw retrospective conclusions as to earlier periods." "The fables and marvellous tales . . . with which tradition here decks out the victory of the Order and the true faith enfold a deeper meaning. The facts in themselves are extraordinarily simple, but to the pious sentiment of the believer they seemed great; and fantasy glorifies them with the many-coloured lights of miracle and legend." The final section of the introduction is devoted to an endeavour to "extract the historical kernel contained in the Ceylonese tradition concerning the Three Councils." Here, as elsewhere, says the writer, a genuine historical reminiscence underlies the tradition. The "kernel" he gives as follows: *First Council* (held at Rājagaha four months after Buddha's death): "After the Buddha's death, his nearest

disciples assembled in the capital to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid them down. This may then have formed the groundwork of the later Vinaya." *Second and Third Council* held respectively under King Kālāsoka in 383-382 B.C. in Vesālī, and under Dhammāsoka in Pātaliputra in 247 B.C.—the distinction between two separate Councils seeming, in fact, correct): "The first led to the separation of the Mahāsaṃghika from the Theravāda. The second led to the expulsion from the community of certain elements wrongfully intruded there." "The importance of the Councils, from the standpoint of the orthodox," says Professor Geiger, "lay in the elimination of tendencies which could no longer be regarded as consistent with the faith. But of higher importance was the resolve formed in Pātaliputra to bear Buddhism beyond the border of its narrower home. With this, Buddhism entered on its victorious progress through the Eastern World."—W. M. C. M.

13. VIŚVAKARMA. Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft. Part II. Chosen by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. 2s. 6d., Rs. 3. (London: Luzac and Co.)

The second issue contains three very beautiful examples of Shaivite sculpture (Nos. 30-31, 32, 33) and a fine sculptured figure of a woman from Konāvak. A dancing girl with *vāṇā* from Madura does not, on the whole, reveal that delicacy of conception to which we are accustomed in the Indian treatment of this subject; the face only, with its expression of sweet abstractedness (the girl is listening to her own music), contradicts the rest of the figure. There is nothing very noteworthy among the remaining examples. Krishṇarāya and his Queens, North Arcot, is distinctly "decadent." We presume that Dr. Coomaraswamy in collecting these examples intentionally gives averages with excellences; but we think that these publications would be

more educative if they included some critical or explicative commentary from the compiler's able pen.—M. M.

14. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE: Past, Present, and Future.
By W. J. Clark, M.A.(Oxon), PH.D.(Leipzig), L-ÈS-L.
(Paris). Pp. 214. 1s. (London: *J. M. Dent and
Sons, Ltd.*)

"The world," says Dr. Clark in his preface, "is spinning fast down the grooves of change. The old disorder changeth. Haply it is yielding place to new. The tongue is a little member; it should no longer be allowed to divide the nations." This is a timely publication, for the present age is supremely one of internationality, and the problem of diversity of language is a real one. Since first considered by Descartes and Leibnitz, it has been worked at theoretically by philosophers and philologists in all countries; but it is only within the past thirty or forty years that any practical progress has been made. Everyone has heard of Volapük, its rapid popularity, and its equally rapid fiasco, owing to which the cause of international language is even now still in some disfavour. From the phenomenal success of Esperanto, originated by Dr. Zamenhof of Warsaw in 1887, the practical utility and ease of acquirement of which is being continually demonstrated, it would appear that the problem is, however, at last definitely solved. We have ourselves taken part in these Esperanto Congresses, and the contrast of the celerity with which business is conducted, and the facility and spontaneity of speech and intercourse and ease of understanding among speakers and audiences embracing as many as thirty nationalities, with the halting procedure and irritating delay of cross-translation and difficulty of understanding and interchange of thought which is the disheartening rule in ordinary bi- or tri-lingual international congresses, is striking and undeniable. "Fac's are chiels that winna ding." And the amount of actual practical fact and official and public support which

Esperantists have succeeded in the short space of twenty-five years in winning for their cause must command the sympathetic approval and the cordial support of every man and woman who is not "blinkerred with prejudice." The criticism has sometimes been made—by those who have not studied the language—that Esperanto, having a vocabulary based on European languages, could not be easily learnt by Easterns. The astonishing spread of the language recently in China and Japan—and we ourselves have repeatedly received letters in Esperanto from Indians—is a sufficient refutation of that contention. As a matter of fact, Esperanto, though Western in vocabulary and grammatical terminology, is Eastern in conception, and Dr. Zamenhof—who is, by the way, a Jew—states that he presented the language under the accepted European nomenclature merely to make it more easily assimilable for Westerns. Now that Esperanto has definitely taken its place in public and private international life (thousands are using it daily), the whole question is well worth the study of every internationalist and philologist, and no better introduction could be offered than Dr. Clark's book, in which sound arguments and facts are put forward with a verve and breeziness of style quite American.—ZUL.

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15. DIE KULTUR DES MODERNEN ENGLAND. Published in sections under the auspices of the Committee for Anglo-German Understanding. Edited by Dr. Ernst Sieper. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg.)

It is indeed enheartening, at a time when the political air of Europe is heavy with war and rumours of war, to receive such a publication as the one under notice. For any who have tried to do practical work in the cause of international goodwill know that the chief obstacle to the progress of that cause is the woeful ignorance which prevails in any one country in regard to life and ideals in any other country. And this despite our vaunted means of

intercommunication, our railroads, our steamships, our posts, our telegraphs, our Press, and our multitudinous books. The average mind, for all these, still stays at home within the national boundaries. Not merely is this the case where West is concerned with East, but even where European has to do with European. Now, however, here at last is a serious attempt on the part of one nation—Germany—to learn all it can about at least one other nation—England. For the task which Dr. Sieper and his colleagues have set themselves is nothing less than this: to present to the German people an "exhaustive picture" of the "culture of modern England, political, social, intellectual, literary, and artistic." They have a threefold aim: (1) To help Germany to stimulate its own "cultural development," by drawing attention to those spheres of activity in which Britain is to the fore; (2) to provide, by a carefully planned presentment of facts, material which will help to make the study of the English language in Germany a real means of mutual friendship and appreciation between the two peoples; and (3) since to know and to understand is also to love and esteem—to make a firm popular basis for a true political rapprochement. The four volumes so far published indicate that the task will be finely fulfilled. It is impossible adequately to review these here; we can only give the titles, which are significant: Nos. 1 and 2, by Dr. Ernst Schultze, deal respectively with "The Intellectual Uplift of the Masses in England" (4s.) and "The Education and Welfare of the People in England" (4s. 6d.). They are no mere dry collection of statistics, but a living picture of a people very much alive. No. 3, by "Architect" Berlepsch-Valendas, treats of "The English Garden City Movement" (4s. 6d.); and No. 4, by Professor Singer of Dresden, deals with "Pre-Raphaelitism in England" (3s. 9d.). England and Germany are by aim and enterprise—especially in the East—so bound to come into relation in all spheres of action, that this series cannot fail, by its effect in Germany, to be of signal political

service. Our regret is that the barrier of language will prevent its having a like effect in England, for the knowledge that Germany is so sympathetically studying our country and its good points would certainly go far to correct the grievously erroneous misappreciations of the German character that are nowadays the fashion in some sections of our National Press. We also regret that there is as yet, so far as we are aware, no attempt on the part of Englishmen to publish in this country a similarly educative series on Germany. We hope this may be forthcoming. The more there are of such books, in all lands, the better.—
W. M. C. M.

16. PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1911. (Bombay: Printed at the *Government Central Press*. 1912.)

This Bluebook—probably one of the most bulky ever issued by the Bombay Central Press—is a vast mass of undigested and unconnected information about the affairs of Bombay. It would be extremely useful to students of those affairs, if only it had an index worthy of the name; but it is absurd to call that an "index" which simply gives, under an hon. member's name, the reference, "Matters of General Public Interest," to include many pages of matter on widely differing subjects.

17. CENSUS OF INDIA, VOL. VII.: BOMBAY. Part I., Report; Part II., Imperial Tables. By P. J. Mead and G. Laird Macgregor, of the Indian Civil Service. (Bombay. 1912.)

These volumes of the Imperial Census of 1911 give the details for the Presidency of Bombay, and the work shown in them is of a high order of excellence—in no way inferior to that displayed in the volumes dealing with the other provinces of the Empire.

One of the most interesting features of the Report is the

elaborate account given of the innumerable divisions and sub-divisions of the caste-system in the Presidency. The *Guglis* of Dwarka are a sub-division of the Gujaráti Bráhmans—and not, as some might suppose, the bowlers of any Bombay cricket teams.

Parts III. and IV. of Table XV.—E give some interesting details as to the ownership and management of factories in the Bombay Presidency. The number of Indians that run textile concerns which are incorporated as companies is seven times as great as the number run by Europeans.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, January, 1913 (Imperial Institute, London, S.W.). This issue of the *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute* contains reports of recent investigations by the Scientific and Technical Department of the Institute, of which two are of special interest to the general reader—(1) an article on the cotton industry of Nyasaland, showing its great extension in the Protectorate, and describing the evolution of a type of cotton which has now been acclimatized, and is recognized as a distinct commercial variety under the name of Nyasaland Upland; and (2) an article on Bermuda arrowroot, which, in the laboratory tests at the Imperial Institute, has been shown to evince distinctive properties from some "Bermuda" arrowroots on the London market that are reputed to come from Bermuda. A special article, illustrated by a coloured plate, is contributed by Mr. Gerald C. Dudgeon, Director-General of the Department of Agriculture in Egypt, on the cotton-worm in Egypt, in which the correlation of the yield in cotton with the degree of severity of cotton-worm attacks is examined in detail. The second part of an article on the coal resources of the British Crown Colonies and Protectorates is published, and there are other general notices respecting economic products and their development, among which is a comprehensive survey of the occurrence of bismuth ores—their distribution and utilization—throughout the world. The *Bulletin* concludes with some general

notes, and with a summary of the contents of the more important papers and reports published during the preceding quarter on subjects within its purview, and notices of recent literature.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), November and December, 1912, and January, 1913 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, December, 1912, January and February, 1913 (published by the Society at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Wealth of India*, a monthly magazine of information and instruction on agriculture, trade, industry, economics, etc., edited by G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A. (Madras: G. A. Vaidyaraman and Co.);—*Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, for the year ending March 31, 1912 (Rangoon, Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma);—*Les Vingt-Cinq Récits du Mauvais Génie*. Traduits de L'Hindi par Mathilde Deromps (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner);—*The Treaty of Misr in Tibari: An Essay in Historical Criticisms*, by A. J. Butler, D.LITT. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press);—*Reports of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1912*.

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices on the following works: *Arabic Grammar*, by S.

Spiro Bey (London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, by Charles Hose, D.Sc., and William McDougall, M.B., F.R.S., with an appendix on the Physical Characters of the Races of Borneo, by A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S., in two vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*Through Shên-Kan: The Account of the Clark Expedition in North China, 1908-09*, by Robert Sterling Clark and Arthur de C. Sowerby (London: T. Fisher Unwin);—*Wisdom of the East Series: The Way of Contentment*, translated from the Japanese of Kibara Ekken by Ken Hoshino;—*Ancient Egyptian Legends*, by M. A. Murray;—*Malayan Monochromes*, by Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G. (London: John Murray);—*The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, by Captain C. G. Rawling, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.;—*The Passing of the Turkish Empire in Europe*, by Captain Granville Baker;—*Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, by E. Torday (London: Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd.);—*Letters from the Near East, 1909 and 1912*, by Maurice Baring (London: Smith, Elder and Co.);—*Quelques Matériaux pour un Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Turque*, par Bedros Effendi Kerestedjian, édité par Son Neveu Haig, M.R.A.S. (London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Inner Life and the Tao-Teh-King*, by C. H. A. Bjerregaard (New York: The Theosophical Publishing Company of New York; London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Hindu Realism*, by Jagadisha Chandra Chatterji, B.A. (Cantab.) (Allahabad: The Indian Press; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.);—*With the Conquered Turk: The Story of a Latter-Day Adventure*, by Lionel James (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons);—*Bactria: The History of a Forgotten Empire*, by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S. (London: Probsthain and Co.).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—On the occasion of the State entry into Delhi on December 23, 1912, an attempt was made on the life of the Viceroy. As Lord and Lady Hardinge were proceeding on an elephant through the Chandin Chouk a bomb was thrown, which exploded in the howdah, wounding the Viceroy and killing one of the attendants. Lady Hardinge escaped injury.

We are pleased to learn that the Viceroy has quite recovered from his injuries.

The Viceroy opened his first Legislative Council in Delhi on January 27. In his address he took the opportunity of expressing his heartfelt gratitude for the genuine outburst of sympathy and devout prayers and good wishes that had been expressed from all sides during the time he had been suffering as the result of the bomb outrage.

A sum approaching £10,000 has been subscribed from various quarters as thanksoffering to mark the occasion of the Viceroy's first public appearance since the bomb outrage.

The Royal Public Services Commission commenced their sitting at Fort St. George on January 8, when there were present: The Earl of Ronaldshay, Sir Murray Hammick, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Theodore Morrison, Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald, F. G. Sly, G. K. Gokhale, W. C. Madge, M. B. Chaulbal, and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim.

Mr. H. L. Fisher not then having arrived, Mr. Justice Oldfield and Messrs. Ramchandra Rao and Subrahmaniyam Pantulu sat as co-opted members. A fairly large number of visitors were present. The chairman, Lord Islington, in opening the Commission gave an outline of the work before them, and the course of action contemplated. This included a visit to all the presidencies and provinces during the present year. It is their intention to limit their inquiry this year to the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Civil Services, leaving the other special services to their second visit next year. As matters under examination in many instances are extremely technical in character, and demand for their solution expert investigation, it has been arranged to co-opt certain assistant Commissioners in each province, one to represent the Indian Civil Service, and two the executive and judicial branches of the Provincial Civil Services.

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson presented to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in March the Indian Financial Statement, which shows the estimated surplus has been exceeded by nearly £2,000,000, the revised estimated surplus being £3,361,900, as compared with the Budget estimate of £1,478,300. The Budget anticipated a decline in the net railway receipts as compared with those of 1911-12, which were the largest on record, but the revised estimate shows that they were £3,000,000 higher. In addition to a special grant of £460,000 made to the provincial governments for education out of abnormally large receipts from opium, a further non-recurring grant of £2,157,800 has been made for the same purpose.

The Budget estimate for 1913-14 shows a surplus of £1,311,200. In the estimate of capital expenditure is a sum of £12,000,000 as compared with £9,000,000 for railways, and a further sum of £1,333,300 for initial outlay on the new capital at Delhi.

An extensive scheme for the reorganization of the judicial and provincial services in the United Provinces has received

the sanction of the Secretary of State, and will be introduced gradually as funds permit.

An official resolution on the educational policy of India was issued in Delhi on February 21. A number of highly beneficial reforms in school and University teaching are foreshadowed.

The Government of India have sanctioned the undertaking of forest surveys in the Andamans, and four surveyors are now employed on this task.

A Conspiracy Bill, which was introduced in the Legislative Council on March 5, assimilates the provisions of the Indian Penal Code to those of the English law on the subject. The Bill makes criminal conspiracy a substantive offence. An explanatory memorandum published with it dwells upon the existence of dangerous conspiracies and the inadequacy of the existing law to cope with them.

The following New Year Honours, among others, were conferred by H.M. King George V.:

Peers.—Sir George Sydenham Clarke, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.L.E., the Governor of Bombay.

Order of the Star of India.—To be Knight Grand Commander: His Highness Amin-ud-Daula Wazir-ul-Mulk Nawab Sir Muhammad Ibrahim Ali Khan, Bahadur, Saulat Jang, G.C.L.E., of Tonk, Rajpootana.

Order of the Indian Empire.—To be Knight Grand Commander: His Highness Sri Brahadamba Das Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondiman Bahadur of Pudukkottai, Madras.

Knights Bachelor.—Alfred George Lascelles, Esq., the Chief Justice of Ceylon; William Rees Davies, Esq., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Hong-Kong.

St. Michael and St. George.—Knights Commanders: Edward Lewis Brockman, Esq., C.M.G.; Chief Secretary to Government, Federated Malay States; Major John Eugene Clauson, C.V.O., C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to Government, Malta. Honorary Knight Commander: His Highness the Sultan of Kelantan. Com-

panion: John George Fraser, Esq., Acting Government Agent, Western Province, Ceylon.

Lord Willingdon has been appointed to succeed Sir George Clarke as Governor of Bombay.

The Hon. Mr. W. Teunon, I.C.S., has been appointed Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal, in place of the Hon. Mr. C. P. Caspersz, retired.

Mr. Thomas William Richardson, I.C.S., barrister-at-law, has been appointed a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta in succession to Sir Cecil Brett, C.S.I., I.C.S., retired.

Mr. Edward Lutyens and Mr. Herbert Baker, the South African architect, have been appointed by the Government of India to draw up the plans for Government House, and to assist in the selection of designs for other public buildings in Delhi. They will be assisted in their new work by Sir Swinton Jacob.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The Mysore Government has ordered a separate department of industries and commerce to be constituted in the State and placed under the direction of Mr. A. Chatterton, C.I.E. The functions of this department will be to assist private individuals by advice, loans, or any other manner considered necessary to enable them to start industries and new business concerns, such as the installation of mills, presses, irrigation and pumping plants on presses, rice-hulling machinery, etc. Experimental installations in industries and manufactures, such as sugar-cane plants, lathes for wood-turning, and silk-reeling.

INDIA: FRONTIER. — A punitive expedition has been sent to the Naga Hills to punish the villagers who recently opposed the police in the Chinlong District, where they had been sent to punish the Naga villagers for a head-hunting raid. This force had fifteen men killed and twenty-eight wounded. Later news states that the punitive force have captured and destroyed three villages, securing twenty-five guns and a quantity of cattle.

News received from the frontier states that in the Khost Valley the Mangals and Jadrans are again giving

trouble. The leading chief of the Jadrans has returned several hundred rifles to the Governor as his tribesmen refuse to render militia service as agreed upon.

PERSIA.—On January 16 the Regent of Persia appointed Ala-es-Sultan Prime Minister, who formed the following Cabinet: Vosukh-ed-Dowleh, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ein-ed-Dowleh, Minister of the Interior; Mustaufil Mamalik, Minister of War; Kavamo Sultaneh, Minister of Finance; Motamin-el-Mulk, Minister of Commerce; Musteshar-ed-Dowleh, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Mashir-ed-Dowleh, Minister of Education; Momtaz-ed-Dowleh, Minister of Justice. The personnel of this Cabinet has created a general favourable impression, and much is hoped for as regards the restoration of peace and order from Ain-ed-Dowleh's wide knowledge of the country and the prestige he possesses as a Prince of the reigning dynasty.

The section of the Baghdad Railway from Ulu Kishla to Karapuna through part of the Taurus, a distance of over thirty miles, has been opened to traffic.

THE PERSIAN GULF.—In connection with the operations for the suppression of gun-running from Muscat, a number of captures of rifles and ammunition have recently been made in Mekran and South-Western Beloochistan. These seem to show that consignments of arms still get through from the Arabian Coast.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—The opening ceremony in celebration of the completion of the work of heightening the Assuan Dam took place on December 23 by the Khedive, accompanied by Lord Kitchener, in the presence of a large gathering which included Sir John Willcocks and Sir John Aird. The Khedive received a telegram of congratulation from the King, rejoicing with him at the achievement of this vast undertaking which will confer far-reaching benefits on landowners and especially on poorer cultivators.

TIBET.—By a treaty between Mongolia and Tibet, the two States undertake, among other things, to open their

frontiers to each other for trade in each other's goods and products.

JAPAN.—Sir William Conyngham Green has been appointed his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and also to be Consul-General for the Empire of Japan.

Mr. Katsunosuke Inouye, the adopted son of the Marquis Inouye, has been appointed Japanese Ambassador to the Court of St. James in succession to Baron Kato.

CHINA.—The maritime Customs revenue for 1912 show the largest collection on record. It totalled in silver 39,950,612 taels, equivalent to £6,096,629; this shows an increase of 3,770,787 taels (£1,234,966) over that of 1911, which was the previous best record.

The Empress Dowager of China, Lung Yü, consort of the late Emperor Kuang Hsü, died at Peking on February 22.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The new Cabinet was formed towards the end of last December as follows :

General Botha, Premier and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. J. W. Sauer, Justice and Native Affairs; General Smuts, Finance and Defence; Mr. A. Fischer, Interior and Lands; Mr. F. S. Malan, Mines and Education; Mr. H. Burton, Railways and Harbours; Sir Thomas Watt, Posts and Telegraphs and Public Works; Sir D. de Villiers Graaff, Minister without portfolio.

AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Joseph Cook, M.P. for Parramatta in the Commonwealth Parliament, has been elected leader of the Opposition in succession to Mr. Deakin.

Mr. Frank Gavan Duffy has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of Australia, in succession to the late Mr. Justice O'Connor.

NEW ZEALAND.—The Dominions Commission held its first sitting at Dunedin on February 25. Sir Edgar Vincent expressed gratitude for the excellent arrangements and for the cordiality of their reception.

The exports from New Zealand during the past year

amounted in value to £20,078,000, as compared with £17,595,000 in 1911.

JAMAICA.—Brigadier-General Sir William Henry Manning, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of the Nyasaland Protectorate, has been appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the island of Jamaica, in succession to Sir Sydney Olivier, K.C.M.G., who has been appointed Permanent Secretary to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

OBITUARY.

THE following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Colonel C. G. Brind (Waziristan expedition 1894-95) ;—Colonel Frederick Bailey (Bhootan expedition 1865) ;—Major James Knox (Crimea, Indian Mutiny campaigns) ;—Major R. Anderson (Indian Mutiny) ;—Captain Sir William R. Goldsmith, R.N. ;—Captain the Hon. Somerset Ward (Crimea, Indian Mutiny) ;—Captain J. W. Pickthall, of the Indian Army ;—Colonel George Arbuthnot, R.A. (Indian Mutiny 1857-58, Abyssinian expedition 1867-68) ;—Colonel James Fitzgerald, late Bengal Army (Indian Mutiny) ;—Colonel Henry John Robbins, late R.A.M.C. (Afghan war 1878-79, Bechuanaland expedition 1884-85) ;—Admiral Sir William Dowell, G.C.B. ;—Maharaja Kumarika of Vizianagram ;—George Todd, I.S.O., late Scottish Education Department ;—Major-General H. C. Fletcher, late Indian Staff Corps ;—Major Gustavus Nicolls Kelsall, R.E. (Crimea, Bhootan expedition 1864-65) ;—Captain Gilbert Ralph A. J. Trotter, 5th Punjab Rifles (North-West Frontier) ;—P. Roscoe Allen, P.W.D. India ;—Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Lance, K.C.B., (Indian Mutiny, Dom Valley, 1872, Jawaki expedition, 1877, Afghan campaign 1878-80, Mahsood Waziri expedition 1881) ;—Major D. P. Seller (North-West Frontier of India 1897-98) ;—Major L. M. R. Deas (China 1900, Somaliland operations 1902-3) ;—Major Henry William Poyntz, 1st. Battalion Sherwood Foresters, Secundarabad ;—Captain Arthur Russell Hulbert, R.N. ;—Robert Macneil-ledge Adam, late Inland Customs Department in India ;—J. R. Bertram, a Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation ;—General Sir George Francis Beville, K.C.B. (Indian Mutiny, Afghan war) ;—Colonel C. Beadon (Russian war 1854, Crimean campaign 1855, China war 1856-57) ;—Major J. W. Malet (Afghan war 1878-80, Hazara expedition 1888) ;—Captain Charles Compton Rising, R.N. (China war, 1857-58) ;—Prince Bakhtyar Shah, C.I.E., the great-grandson of Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore ;—Major-General A. R. Walters (Indian Mutiny) ;—Colonel E. N. Henriques (Perak expedition 1875-76) ;—Dr. J. M. Barnett, late surgeon and Major of the Indian Army ;—Captain Oshert R. L. Hampden ;—Colonel C. B. Le Mesurier (Afghan war) ;—Sir John Worrell Carrington, late Chief Justice of Hong-Kong ;—Admiral F. S. Vander-Menlen (China 1857-58) ;—Colonel F. L. Edridge (Crimea, Indian Mutiny) ;—Colonel E. T. Hume, late Royal (Bengal) Horse Artillery (Indian Mutiny 1857-58, North-West Frontier of India campaign 1863) ;—Colonel Joseph Binning, C.I.E., V.D., honorary A.D.C. to the Commander-in-Chief in India ;—the Marquess of Sligo (as Lord Henry Browne he entered the I.C.S. and served in the Revenue and Judicial Department, and became Under Secretary to the Government of India in 1860, and retired from the service in 1886) ;—Surgeon-General George Bidie, C.I.E., hon. surgeon to the King, who served during

the Indian Mutiny;—Colonel Stewart Alexander Cleeve (Burmese war 1852-53);—Major F. D. Browne, of the Indian Medical Service;—Surgeon-General Sir Colvin Colvin-Smith (Burmese war 1852-53, Indian Mutiny 1857-59, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Colonel William Bell, Government Secretary (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Commander Eaton Wallace Pettey, R.N., C.I.E.;—Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Faulkner Sheppee, R.A.; Admiral Sir A. L. Douglas;—G. F. Webster, late of the Madras Civil Service.

We regret to record the death of Mr. Thomas H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I., formerly Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, which took place on March 10 at Bath in his eighty-first year. Mr. Thornton was a former Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1855. He was honourably mentioned by Sir John Lawrence for services during the Mutiny. After the Mutiny he was for some years magistrate and Deputy-Commissioner at Delhi, then Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, until his appointment as Acting Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, at first under Lord Northbrook, and subsequently under Lord Lytton. He accompanied Lord Lytton to the frontier in 1876, and negotiated important treaties with the frontier chiefs. As a staunch upholder of the Lawrence policy, he differed from Lord Lytton about the mission to Kabul, and was gravely apprehensive of the consequences, not without reason, as the sequel proved. He was also a warm supporter of Sir Robert Sandeman's pacific policy in Baluchistan, which was carried to a successful conclusion in no small measure through his efforts. He was not reappointed Foreign Secretary, but remained a member of the Legislative Council from 1877 to 1879, and subsequently became Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab. He was attached to the late King when he visited India as the Prince of Wales, and was president of the committee which organized the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in 1877. Mr. Thornton retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1881. Mr. Thornton was a member of many associations connected with India, and the East India Association in particular has sustained a great loss in his death, and at their meeting on March 18 the Council passed a resolution expressing their deep regret at losing one who had for many long years devoted himself so loyally with voice and pen to the public interests and welfare of the people of India generally, and to the service of the East India Association in particular.

March 26, 1913.





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